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A CITY OF VAGABONDS

THE LARGEST COLONY OF MENDICANTS IN THE WORLD, MERXPLAS, BELGIUM

A. F. VAN SCHELLE
Papenvoort, Belgium

It is a well-known fact that the question of vagabondage is at this moment one of the burning problems of the century, and is engaging the attention of modern ru'ers.

Old Europe, after the experience of more than a century, has found that the most drastic measures have achieved nothing, nor have they reduced the formidable army of paupers from which are recruited criminals and delinquents of all categories. London, notably, is concerned with the fact that the cost of their maintenance is considerably on the increase. It has been estimated that $600,000 have been given by private means, and that each individual costs a pound a week throughout the year. Legislation is busy in correlating the good-will of all the benevolent societies which have now no affiliation. To effect this a commission has been appointed intrusted with the duty of visiting and reporting on the best organized institutions on the continent.[1]

The result is that a number of brochures written by competent people have been published on this subject: with the consensus of opinion that the establishment of Merxplas, Belgium, is conceded to be, perhaps with one exception, the most practical of any on the continent. In order that the American public may

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws*, February, 1909.

keep in touch with this subject, it will be interesting to make a tour of this model establishment.

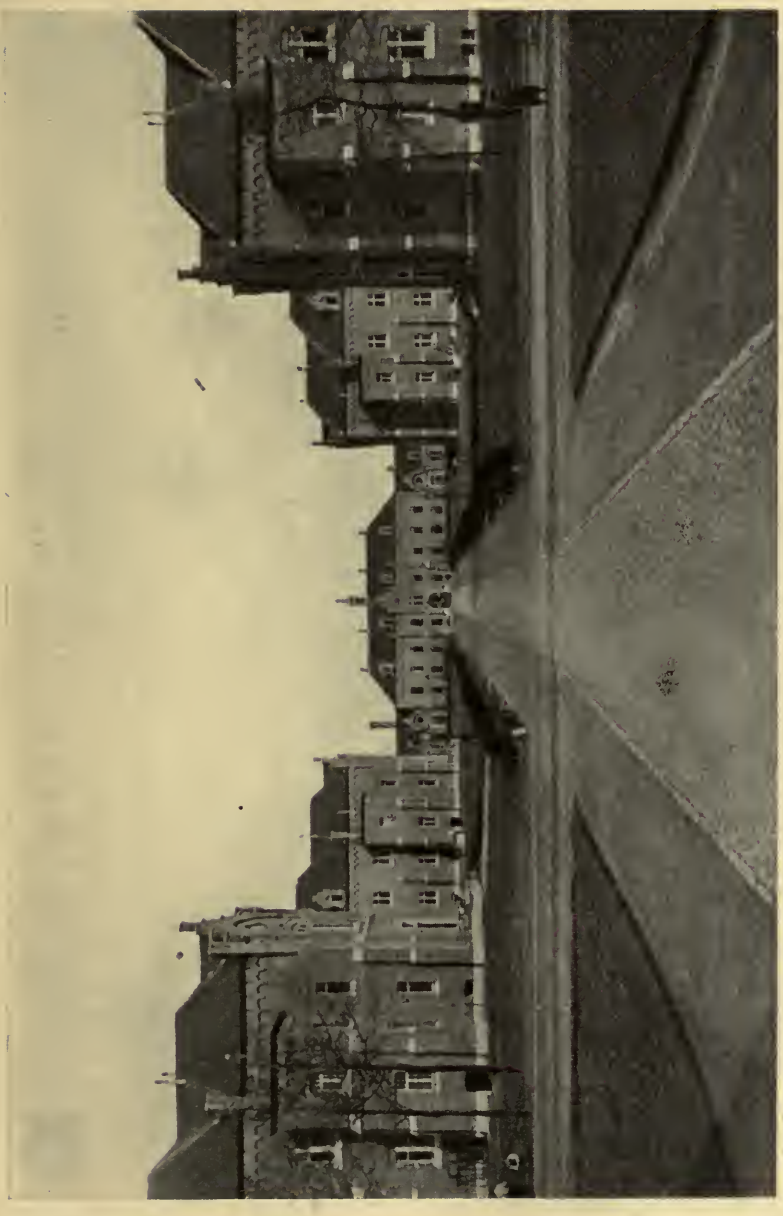
In the north of Belgium there lies a wild, uncultivated district. It is there that the Belgian government has created a vast establishment for the incarceration of all the beggars and vagabonds of the country. This "depot of mendicity" at Merxplas has now a population of over five thousand inmates, more important in number than those of Elmira, New York, Nanterre, France, and other similar institutions.

The visitor is at first sight charmed by a well-conceived, solidly built, well-distributed *ensemble* that gives a favorable impression of the whole. These buildings are dispersed over an area of 3,000 acres, comprising carefully cultivated fields which contrast agreeably with the arid moorlands of heather and marshes that surround them.

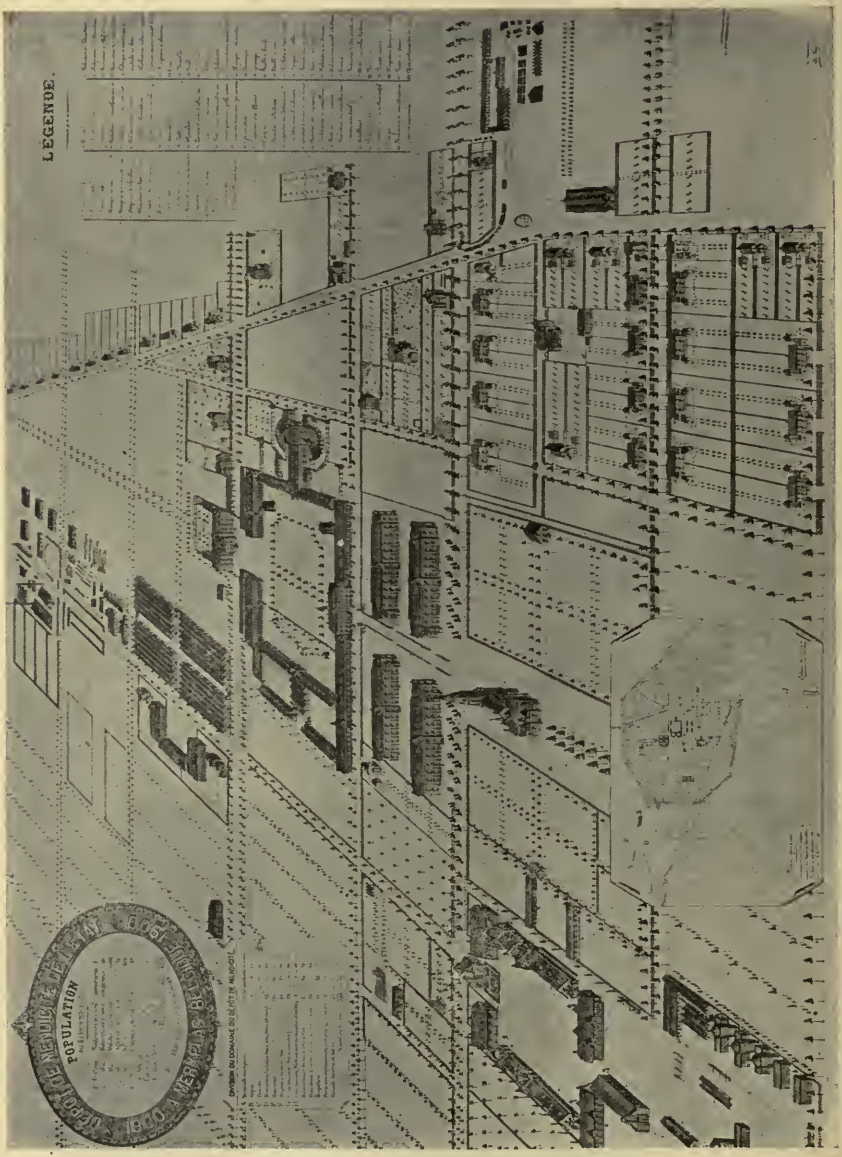
This oasis, created in the midst of this Campine Sahara, is the work of vagabonds: let us say, extraordinary as it may seem, that these improvements which represent the value of several millions of francs have not cost the government a penny. All has been accomplished by the work of the inmates themselves from the bricks to the carpenter work and the roofs that cover their heads.

The history of Merxplas can be summed up in a few words. In 1823, Prince Frederic of Nassau, strongly under the influence of the theories of Fourier, Owen, and other Phalansterians, conceived the idea of gathering indigent families on the frontiers of Holland and Belgium, and of creating there a new city, which would at the same time serve to colonize a wild country and act as a link in bringing the two peoples together. But unfortunately, the revolution of 1830 upset these humanitarian plans, and since 1840 the Holland benevolent societies have ceased entirely to function. Another cause of failure in this humane attempt was the error of taking men from the town without any preparation or apprenticeship and of putting them at agricultural work.

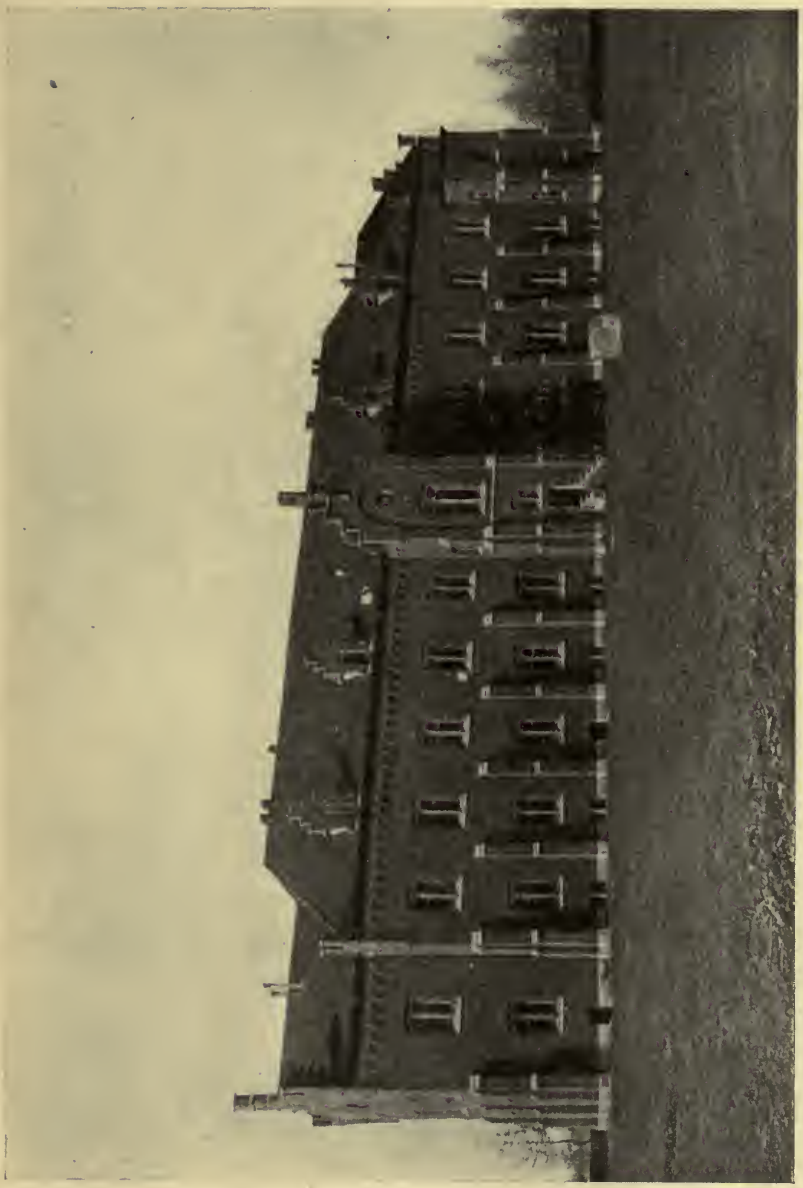
It was only in 1870 that the Belgian government bought the lands of the Holland benevolent societies.



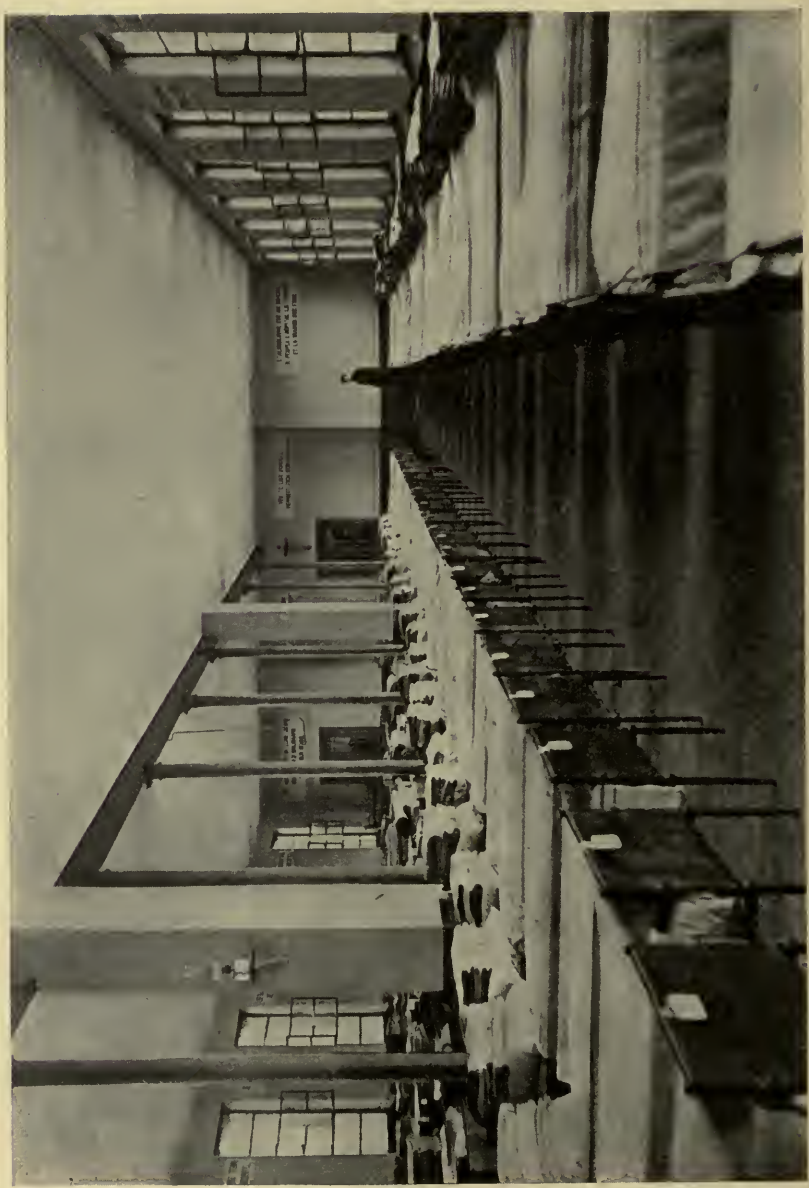
General View



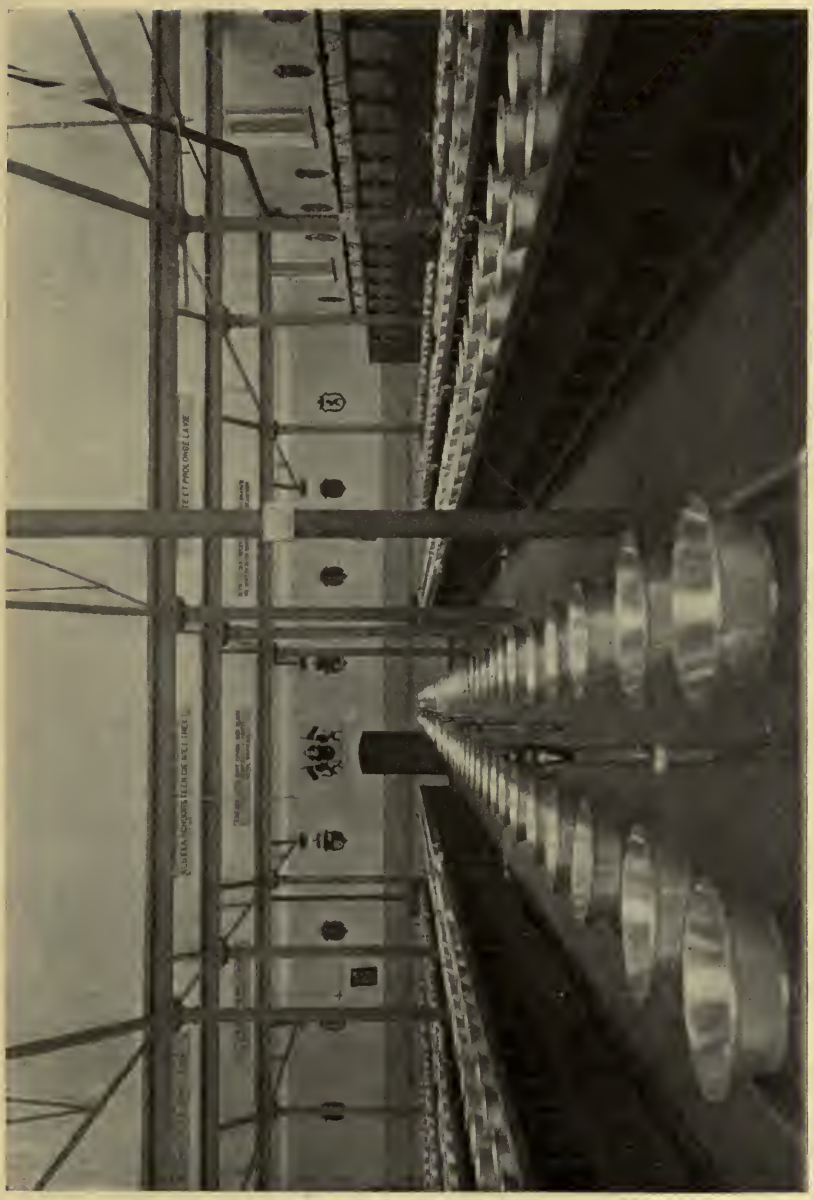
PLAN OF MERXPLAS



A Dormitory



INTERIOR OF A DORMITORY



LAVATORY

THE CHURCH

LEAVING CHURCH

At this epoch there existed in Belgium only the depots of mendicity created by Napoleon in the provinces (then departments). The administration differed in one department from that of another. In a word, there was no homogeneity, and the cost augmented progressively. With this fact in view it was decided to concentrate in establishing one sole, central station, situated at Hoogstraeten and Merxplas.

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH

At the outset, when the colonists were first confined, the length of term was from fifteen days to six months. But it was soon perceived that it was always the same individuals who returned to the colony: and as a consequence, the revised law of Mr. Le Jeune fixed the term at two to seven years for backsliders (recidivists) who returned.

The financial organization of the Belgian colonies is of the simplest: for each able-bodied colonist is paid 66 centimes (13 1-5 of an American cent) per day and per man. For incapaci-

tated inmates whose state of health demands a special regimen, there are paid 30 American cents per man, per day. One-third of this last-named sum is paid by the state, one-third by the province, and one-third by the commune to which the individual belongs. By means of this sum (66 centimes or Fr. 1.50) the administration of the colonies must without any subsidy from the government cover all expenses resulting from buildings,

MOUNTING OF THE GUARD

food, clothing, administration expenses, cost of first material, cattle, etc. These sums are evidently insufficient to cover the obligations of an establishment of this importance. But it is here that the practical rôle of the colony appears. There is demanded of the colonist, as a result of his work, a sufficient sum to supplement the expenses. The net product of the work of the colonists amounts annually to Frs. 400,000 ($80,000). But this profit itself is possible only in an establishment as vast as Merxplas, or where among the population are to be found labor-

ers in every trade. The organization of the colony is fundamentally agricultural, but experience has proved that skilled laborers are bad agriculturists. It was decided against their will to introduce foundries, smithies, workshops for mat-making, sabot-making, tailor work, a tannery, to supply employment in making carpets, furniture, shoes, straw hats, cement

A Road Tender

pipes and slabs, brick (8,000,000 per year), pottery, carriages and wagons, pearl buttons, trunks, and to provide work in weaving, spinning, preparation of chicory and tobacco, printing, book-binding, besides operating gas-works, water-works, mills, bakery, etc.

In order to avoid competition with outside labor, a question that concerns the old world as well as America, the government employs as much as possible the output of this labor for government uses. It should be said that the bricks are used only in

the construction of prisons; shoes and cartridge bags for the army; uniforms for the employees of the post; linen and cotton are woven for public institutions; furniture is made for government offices and courthouses. The surplus of labor which is not utilized by the government is put up at public auction.

This double system does not lay itself open to criticism. It

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT PRISON, WITH SENTRY

has the dual advantage of keeping each man busy at his own line of work and of being productive for the establishment.

Let us now say a word on the psycho'ogy of the colonists themselves at Merxplas. Admitting that 80 per cent of the vagabonds had been several times in prison, the population of Merxplas, taken in its aggregate, differs essentially from that of a prison, as is explained by Mr. Stroobant, director of the colony, a profound student himself, and thoroughly posted in this line of work. The greater part of imprisoned men after their term of servitude finish by entering again into the social

and industrial life—even if on a lower level than they formerly occupied. It is not the same with vagabonds who are liberated: for these, without exception, are so far inferior physically, intellectually, and morally, that their constitutional defects inevitably bring them back to the depot of mendicity.

The large psychological subdivisions are as follows:

1. Physical degenerates: phthisic, scrofulous, hunch-backed,

A Driver

one-armed, lame, asthmatic, stigmatic, syphilitic, epileptic, those suffering from tropical fevers, ulcers, etc.

2. Intellectual inferiors: feeble-minded, idiots, dazed, imbeciles, half-insane who have been treated in asylums and liberated as cured, but who are not cured, and quantities of individuals who have nervous ma'adies which affect the brain and render them unfit for work.

3. Moral delinquents: in the sense of obliterated moral obli-

THE FORGE

gation, perverts, subjects condemned for prostitution and other reprehensible vices.

4. A large number of persons whose frequent convictions have caused them to be rejected by society, such as pickpockets and thieves whose age has rendered them incapable of prosecuting their calling.

A Dormitory

In one word, *alcoholism,* which numbers its victims in all of these categories is a vice to which at least 70 per cent of the inmates of Merxplas are addicted. All these victims of their passions and of heredity are wanting in initiative, and constitute the most undesirable elements for civilization. In spite of all the care and moral influence with which these men are surrounded, it is not possible to make them normal members of society. The day that they are liberated from Merxplas the administration—well perfected as it may be—cannot give lungs to the phthisic, an arm to the armless, brains to the idiot, health

to the epileptic; and the same causes engendering the same effects perforce bring these delinquents back to the depot, after long or short intervals. These are the moral refuse that must be eliminated from society, and thus be prevented from reproducing their kind, and so increasing the army of incapables put under the care of the government and society.

At Merxplas all of these individuals work at gaining their subsistence, coming and going freely, in squads under the care of a single warder and a soldier. In the fields and woods, and along the roads are to be met brigades of agriculturists numbering in each about a hundred men. In the ateliers the impression of activity is given because the men work by piece.

To these men from two to six cents a day is paid, of which the half is given into their hands and the other half is put aside as a fund for them when liberated. By means of this special money they are allowed at the canteen at cost prices fat, bread, herrings, butter, tobacco, and other nourishing articles which serve to improve the life at the establishment.

All the rooms, dormitories as well as workshops, are well-lighted and ventilated, and extreme cleanliness is evident everywhere. Every week the inmates are allowed a bath; once a month it is obligatory.

At the time of our visit the 5,200 inmates of Merxplas were distributed as follows:

1st section: 170 men, refuse of humanity and those condemned for arson: these are locked up at night in separate cells and with no possibility of contact with others.

2nd section: 190 undisciplined individuals who are unmanageable, and dangerous for the warders.

3rd section: This is composed of the great mass of able-bodied colonists not comprised in the following classes.

4th section: 38 young men of eighteen to twenty-one years, condemned for vagabondage, and who are not admitted in reformatory schools.

5th section: 1,800 incapacitated men, who are provided with a better diet because of their physical condition—1,600 of whom

are employed at work suitable to their infirmities—and the remaining 200, incapable of working, are as incapable of cure.

6th section: comprises 47 men, who, sentenced for the first time, are kept from contact with the numerous backsliders.

The hospital comprises 140 inmates: these are taken care of by a doctor and eight sisters of charity.

The prison has 130 cells for solitary confinement, where the director has the right of imprisoning the most undisciplined for a term of three months.

The agricultural exploitation has a large farm directed by an agricultural engineer as its base. There are 30 horses, 300 head of cattle, 350 pigs, 400 sheep, poultry, and goats. The produce of the farm is destined for the hospital, and the surplus is sold to the staff and employees. The colony as a whole forms a vast, self-supporting organization which is universally admired.

The *ensemble* of all these sections, dormitories, refectory, kitchen, chapel, as well as administrative houses, distributed in the large and spacious avenues planted with oaks, gives the idea of a large, modern, well-lighted village supplied with waterworks, fountains playing, neatly kept lawns, and well-paved streets bordered with luxuriant flower beds, and makes for uplift, leaving a pleasant memory to the visitor who emerges from the somber pine-forests and wild moorlands into this little paradise in a "lost corner" of Campine.

A glance at the accompanying illustrations will give a better idea than can a description.

That which strikes the visitor is the good-will which reigns in the institution where only two or three punishments a day are necessary, and one arrives at the conclusion that it is just here where the greatest number of malefactors are assembled that there are the smallest number of crimes.

This result should be attributed to the absence of alcohol, absence of material wants, and also to the humanitarian way in which these unfortunates are treated. Belgium need not be proud of so great a number of delinquents, but it may well be proud of its very satisfactory solution of the problem of pauperism.

The question naturally arises, Is the organization of an insti-

tution so complete, so well planned in the most minute details, and so full of comfort, not an insult to the honest, hard-working laborer who is obliged to face hardship and the perplexities of life in gaining his daily bread?

We do not hesitate to answer, "No."

First of all, do not forget that the inmate of Merxplas is deprived of his birthright—liberty.

This population is a gathering of all the elements that are noxious when set free in the social strata. Their physical, moral, and intellectual inferiority, of which we have treated in detail, renders them incapable of gaining a livelihood. They live at the expense of organized society. In addition, under the influence of alcohol and their inherited degeneracy, they are predisposed to commit small and serious offenses, even crime; and thus their lack of moral sense prevents them from appreciating and weighing the consequence.

Finally, they associate with women of their level, and thus perpetuate a race as degenerate and vicious as themselves.

The population of Merxplas is destined to decrease the number of convicts by eliminating them from society and segregating them in an isolated part of the country, and constitutes a preventive relegation as profitable to the inmates themselves as to the mass of society.

The principle which must dominate in such a work must first of all be dictated by humanitarianism. That the conditions of life should be rendered supportable, a medium of treatment must be sought between that of a lunatic and of a criminal.

There is no question of finding a parallel between the condition of a free workman with all his productive powers, and that of an unfortunate human being incarcerated in an institution for social prevention.

At a loss for a better means to treat this waste of humanity, it is consoling to be able to state that there is one principle that dominates in Merxplas, and that is altruism.

Only this last winter, five American citizens were sentenced for vagrancy and condemned to a term of two years in the colony, and this for the simple fact that the judge did not understand

English, and that the men could not speak the language of the country. The policy of non-responsibility for citizenship of such Americans as sail under a foreign flag is responsible for the fact that the consulates of the United States could not aid these unfortunates. This group was taken at Dixmude, *en route,* afoot, for Dunkirk, France, where they hoped to enlist on a homebound vessel. Though provided with money and their certificates of discharge, they were arrested by a pandore to whom they applied to show them a resting-place for the night. One of them was a lad of nineteen.

When this matter was by chance brought to the notice of government officials the men at their request were given a small sum of money, set free on the frontier, and cautioned against the recurrence of a like circumstance.

Five years ago two American Negroes were sentenced under similar circumstances, when drunk, to the Colony of Refuge at Wortel. The same happy chance gave them freedom.

THE INFLUENCE OF KARL MARX ON CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM

JOHN SPARGO

I

For many years the words "socialism" and "Marxism" have been practically synonyms. There could be no ampler proof of the greatness of Karl Marx than this simple fact. Over a large part of the Old World today socialism is the dominant political issue, and in the parliamentary bodies of several nations its leaders are conspicuous for their ability no less than for their earnestness, devotion, and courage. Throughout the world the movement has a voting strength of nearly ten millions, representing, probably, at least five times as many human beings.

It would be idle to deny that great and important differences exist among those who call themselves socialists. However much they may have in common, it is obvious that M. Jaurés, the eloquent and scholarly French socialist, and Mr. Hyndman, the equally eloquent and scholarly English socialist, hold very different views concerning the program essential to the attainment of the socialist goal, if not as to the goal itself.

Both these men are pure "intellectuals." Although they are great leaders in a proletarian movement, neither of them has had to experience the proletarian struggle. But if we take socialists who are equally typical proletarians we shall find exactly the same divergence of thought and method. Keir Hardie, the British socialist, and Eugene V. Debs, the American socialist, both belong to this class. Each came to the socialist movement through his trade-union experience. Yet, despite the apparent similarity of their evolution as socialists, the two leaders represent opposing poles of socialist policy and thought.

Such obvious facts as these have caused many critics, sympathetic and otherwise, to attempt a classification of socialists.

Even within the movement itself, crude efforts are made in this direction. The socialist press teems with references to arbitrarily aranged groupings, indicated by such terms as "impossibilists," "opportunists," "intellectuals," proletarians," and so on. Such groupings have some value in that they describe, however vaguely, some characteristics which roughly differentiate various phases of contemporary socialism. Their arbitrary character should not be forgotten, however, for a single moment. He who trusts them too completely will be utterly misled. The "opportunist" of today may tomorrow be found taking a position which places him among the "impossibilists," and the most vociferous attack upon the "intellectuals" is likely to come from an intellectual, much to the amusement of the proletarians in the movement.

It is quite remarkable that practically all socialists, whether they be opportunists or impossibilists, proletarians or intellectuals, or even anti-intellectuals, claim to be "Marxists." The English socialist who works with the trade unionist, through the Labor Party, claims to be a pure Marxist. The same claim is made by the impatient "syndicalist" of the Latin countries, with his faith in the mass strike and his ill-concealed disdain for parliamentary action. In practically all socialist factional discussions Marx is the prophet of all the factions.

This identity of Marxism and socialism has long been recognized as one of the most striking facts in the whole range of socialist phenomena. Recently, however, there has been much talk of the waning influence of Marx upon contemporary socialist thought and action. We have been assured, both from within and without the socialist ranks, that the teachings of Marx are going out of fashion, being rapidly and more or less openly abandoned. One lady has, indeed, written a book about *The New Socialism,*[1] assuring us that "Marx called up a swathed and terrifying figure, in which the world sees the dread spectre of revolution," whereas the "new" socialists are devoting themselves to the task of stripping away the disguise, and unveiling "the kindly features of a radical and comprehensive social reform."

[1] J. T. Stoddard, *The New Socialism.* London, 1909.

The New York Chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has announced as one of its study topics the question, "Are the Teachings of Karl Marx Being Abandoned by Present-Day Socialists?" and it is to that question I desire to address myself here.

As a biographer of Marx, it has been my special task, during more than a dozen years, to try to understand the man. It has become my habit to view the developments of the socialist movement throughout the world from what I believe to be his point of view; to interpret his writings by what I know of his life; to bring all that I know of his life and his intimate conversation and correspondence with friends to my aid in studying his formally stated theories as they appear on the printed page. Whatever disadvantages such methods may have are more than outweighed, in my judgment, by the numerous and obvious advantages.

II

As to the question itself, I feel strongly that neither an unqualified negative nor an unqualified affirmative reply is possible. My belief is that the socialist movement of the present day is both breaking away from and drawing closer to the teachings of the great German revolutionist. Recent criticism has compelled all thoughtful and sincere socialists to admit some defects in Marxian theory, and to recognize the necessity of a readjustment of their theoretical position, and of their policies so far as they have rested upon the mistaken theoretical premises. But, for all that, the unmistakable tendency of present-day socialism is toward a closer adherence to the essential and fundamental teachings of Marx, not away from them. Paradoxical as this statement may seem, a careful and candid study of the life of Marx in connection with recent developments in the international socialist movement will reveal its truth.

"As for me, I am no 'Marxist,' I am glad to say," was a saying frequently upon the lips of Marx. With the words went that half-sneering expression with which his best portraits have made us familiar. If we can fathom the meaning of the cryptic and paradoxical utterance, it may assist us very materially in our

attempt to find a satisfactory answer to our question. Who, then, were the "Marxists" thus scornfully repudiated by Marx, and what were the reasons for the repudiation?

During his lifetime, as now, there were many disciples of Marx who regarded his theoretical work as being his greatest achievement, and his most important contribution to the cause of the proletariat. He was to them primarily a political economist. They spoke of his great work, *Das Kapital,* as the "Bible of the proletariat," and as a Bible they regarded it. With a passion which can only be adequately described as religious, tens of thousands of working-men laboriously read and studied that difficult work. It was to them an "impregnable rock of Holy Scripture." Those who could not comprehend the work as a whole satisfied themselves with a few memorized passages. Like all Bibles, it became a book of texts, much quoted but little read.

Naturally, those who regarded the book as a Bible made it the basis of a creed. Naturally, also, their creed became the basis of a sect. Doctrinal tests decided the fitness or unfitness of men and women to enter the socialist fellowship and to be reckoned with the elect. Just as religious sectarianism based upon creedal and doctrinal tests has barred many a rare and beautiful religious spirit from the church, while it placed the word "orthodox" as a stamp of approval upon many an unworthy and irreligious spirit, so this sectarian "Marxism" imposed its stamp of "orthodox" and "unorthodox" to determine the fitness or unfitness of men and women to be called socialists. Many who believed in the whole program of socialism, who saw the necessity of a working-class political party to bring about the realization of that program, and were willing to work with and through such a party for the immediate interests of the working-class, and, ultimately, the collective ownership of the social productive forces, were denied the right to call themselves socialists, and a place in the socialist ranks, simply because they could not subscribe to all the economic and philosophical teachings of Marx.

In every country socialism has had to outgrow this dogma-

tism and sectarianism before attaining political importance. In almost every country the movement had its inception in a theoretical propaganda. A few earnest souls devoted themselves to the task of studying the works of a Fourier or a Marx and getting others to study them. To fully understand the master's teachings naturally became the chief ambition of such disciples. To the average person, the zeal and devotion of such men and women is incomprehensible. I have known a working-man, of scant education, to walk a distance of ten miles every Sunday morning for years, no matter what the weather, to study with a fellow socialist the first volume of *Das Kapital.* After seven or eight hours of labored study, the patient student would undertake the homeward journey of ten miles supremely happy if he had mastered a single new passage.

Of course, his joy was due to something other than mere intellectual satisfaction and triumph. It rested upon a much nobler passion that that. Mastery of the difficult and abstract text was not an end in itself, but a means to an end of great grandeur. Only through a knowledge of Marx could the proletariat ever be saved. The psychology of this attitude is not difficult to understand. It is precisely that of theological sectarianism: Marx is the only true prophet, his book the one and only true gospel, and every question is to be decided by an appeal to its text.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Karl Marx was too great and wise a man not to recognize the folly of the attitude here indicated, and the positive perils to the movement which it involved. He certainly did not deny the importance of correct thinking, or underrate it. On the contrary, he was apt to expect and demand too much in the way of theoretical knowledge from those engaged in the social movement. But he knew that the great mass of the workers could never be expected to fully understand such philosophical doctrines as the materialistic conception of history, or theories of political economy such as surplus value. He was not foolish enough to believe that a great movement could be founded upon a correct understanding of such subtle and difficult theories. At most he believed that the

movement could be guided by such knowledge. In other words, while he expected and desired that the leaders of the movement should possess a thorough theoretical training, he did not expect anything of the kind from the rank and file.

When his overzealous and impatient disciples sought to push the importance of theoretical training beyond this limit, and to insist upon making the acceptance and understanding of his theories a test of membership, Marx was impatient. It was in such moods that he expressed his gratitude that he was not a "Marxist."

There was another reason for the cryptic and paradoxical epigram. Like all great thinkers upon whose work a definite school of thought has been founded, Marx has suffered greatly at the hands of his own followers, through their wild exaggeration of his theories. The prayer of his heart might well have been: "Save me from my friends—I can take care of my enemies myself!"

The case of Ricardo, the great English economist, may be pertinently cited as a well-known example of the discredit which intellectual leaders incur as a result of the unwise zeal of their followers. Ricardo took for his theme the law of wages and concluded that wages, as a rule, *tended* to approximate the cost of maintaining a given standard of living at a given time and place. Ricardo surrounded this statement with numerous qualifications, setting forth a generalization of great importance. But Ricardo's followers, more "Ricardian" than Ricardo himself, ignored all the qualifications and stated the theory in a grotesquely exaggerated manner, which found its complete expression in Lassalle's inflexible "iron law of wages." A great and profoundly true generalization of the master became, in the hands of his disciples, a grotesque and dangerous error.

In like manner, Marx suffered from his more Marxian than Marx followers. For example: in one of the earliest of his socialist writings, the *Communist Manifesto,* he developed his famous class-struggle theory and emphasized the historic rôle of the proletariat. If the workers are ever to be emancipated, he declared, it must be through their own efforts. Here was a

great generalization of tremendous importance, the basis for a working-class movement. But some of his followers, disregard- his abundant warnings, made this generalization the basis of another, which, if generally accepted, would have robbed the working-class movement of the service of many of the finest intellects and devoted consciences ever enlisted in its support, including that of Marx himself. Their reasoning was very simple and naïve: Because the emancipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself, it follows that no one who is not actually a proletarian can loyally desire to serve the movement for proletarian emancipation. Determined efforts were made by some "Marxists" to exclude Marx himself from the movement upon these grounds!

One other example of the exaggeration of his theories of which Marx was the victim must suffice, though the number of such illustrations might be indefinitely extended. The materialistic conception of history, a doctrine of the highest philosophical and sociological importance, is perhaps the greatest of the intellectual achievements of Marx. The gist of this theory is that the principal factor in social evolution is the economic one, the method of producing and distributing wealth. This has become nowadays a commonplace, but it was a revolutionary idea when Marx first proclaimed it.

Now, Marx never dreamed of asserting that the economic force acts as the sole determinant of social evolution. In order to focus the attention of the thinkers of his time upon his theory, and in meeting the attacks of opponents, he, quite naturally, at times overemphasized this one factor. Yet he did not fail to warn his disciples against falling into the error of regarding the economic factor as the only active influence in social evolution. His followers, many of them, disregarded these warnings and carried the tendency to exaggerate which Marx himself manifested to the most absurd length. In their hands the theory became one of simple economic fatalism and predestination. According to their caricature of the theory, no other factors have influenced the rate or direction of the evolution of society: race, religion, patriotism, ideals of all kinds have been meaningless.

This economic fatalism has been carried to the most absurd lengths, especially in America. In the name of Marx the preposterous claim has been set up that, because men in general are prone to act, consciously or unconsciously, in accordance with their material interests, there must be an ascertainable economic motive for every act of an individual; that if one whose material interests are such as to identify him with the capitalist class, the exploiters, enters the movement of the working-class, the exploited, the sincerity of his action must be denied, and a secret, hidden, ulterior motive suspected! In actual experience this grotesquely stupid conception of Marx's great generalization has wrought great mischief in the socialist movement.

These two sets of his disciples—those who regarded him as a pope, at least, and sought to make an orthodox creed of his theories, and those whose crude and wild statements of the most profound truths transformed them into nightmares of error—were the "Marxists" against whom Marx so often directed his withering satire. Marx chafed and groaned in spirit when such followers as those comprised in the two groups we have considered reduced his important philosophical and economic principles to a jumble of meaningless absurdity. And, with that fine loyalty which marked his whole life, Friedrich Engels carried on the warfare against such "Marxists" long after the death of his friend and associate.

Fortunately, the last ten years have been marked by an ever-increasing reaction against both types of "Marxism." It is notably rare nowadays for the stupid anti-intellectualist cry to receive serious attention. The movement itself, in practically every country in the world, is becoming more liberal and tolerant. It refuses to heed the stupid demagogic suspicion of those who do not actually come from the proletarian class, which was at one time so potent a source of factionalism; it no longer indulges in heresy-trials, but permits the fullest possible freedom of opinion. A Bernstein who rejects some of the most important of Marx's generalizations is suffered to remain in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and his right to disagree with Marx is upheld.

By many very thoughtful observers this liberalizing tendency has been hailed as a sure and certain sign of the waning influence of Marx. It has been interpreted as showing that the theories of Marx are being abandoned by those who call themselves Marxian socialists. But in point of fact—so far as the liberalizing tendency amounts to the abandonment of crudely exaggerated forms of Marxian theories, and of all attempts to create a sect or cult, with an orthodox philosophical and economic creed—it must be otherwise interpreted. It is not a reaction against Marx, but against that "Marxism" which Marx himself so despised, and which consisted of a perverse and cruel misrepresentation of his theories. In revolting against this "Marxism" the socialist movement is in fact following the leadership of Marx himself, and the tendency represents a wholesome return to the teachings of Marx.

III

It is quite true that the socialist movement has, in most countries, ceased to concern itself mainly with the propagation of theories; that all the socialist parties of the world pay an increasing amount of attention to practical work in the direction of social and political reform. There has been a rather striking development of opportunism, not alone in Germany, but in every land where socialism has attained political importance. When that splendid socialist leader, Wilhelm Liebknecht, was first elected to the German Reichstag he was strongly anti-parliamentarian. He feared that the revolutionary spirit of socialism would be engulfed in parliamentary issues. His avowed policy then was to enter the Reichstag, make a speech denouncing the capitalist system, and then march out, quite like the hero of the nursery rhyme! That was the naïve idea of revolutionary progress which prevailed at that time, even among astute leaders of the revolutionary party.

It is a far cry from that *opéra bouffe* attitude of Liebknecht's to that which characterized the last years of his life, and which characterizes the German social democracy today. I hardly need say here that the Social Democratic Party of Germany is devoted to a broad comprehensive policy of social and industrial reform;

that it does not send its representatives to the imperial parliament merely to make denunciatory speeches and then walk out, refusing to participate in the work of legislation. On the contrary, it is by the zeal and ability with which the representatives of the party work for social reform that the confidence of such a vast number of voters has been won. Singer, Bebel, and the other leaders of the party know very well that this is the case: that only a very small minority of their supporters understand or care for socialist theories.

It must be freely admitted that the temper and policy of the socialist movement have undergone a great change. This change has been both a cause and a result of growth. Where the socialist movement is numerically weak, it is invariably characterized by fanatical bitterness and sectarian intolerance and dogmatism. Its first political victories, often almost insignificant in themselves, are won in spite of these characteristics, most often, perhaps, through peculiarly favorable circumstances leading to the election of the socialist candidate in spite of, rather than because of, his socialism.

It has been the universal experience that, as soon as the socialists of any country succeed in electing a single representative to an important legislative office, a change begins to manifest itself. The propaganda becomes less sectarian and theoretical, and more practical. The temper of the party loses much of its arrogant intolerance. Its representatives abandon wild, irresponsible talk of a sudden revolution, and cheap sneers at social reforms, and devote themselves with energy to the task of securing legislation for the immediate betterment of the lot of their class.

The reason for this change is apparent. Brought face to face with great opportunities to better the lot of the toiling masses, they dare not neglect them. No matter how small the specific reform may be, considered by and of itself, the instinctive class consciousness of the socialists prevents them from opposing or ignoring it and contenting themselves with denunciations of capitalism or prophecies of a co-operative commonwealth to come. It is easy enough for the propagandist, free from responsibility,

to arraign the capitalist system, demonstrate the need of replacing it by a saner and juster system, and show the relatively insignificant importance of some minor reform, such as the enactment of an employer's liability law, for example.

In office, confronted by the responsibility of the immediate challenge, the socialist dares not treat such questions lightly. Always an evolutionist in theory, as a mere propagandist, engaged in arousing his apathetic fellow-citizens, he not infrequently forgot his evolutionary theory and talked as if a sudden revolution, changing the whole social organism, were possible. Election to office brings immediate recognition of the fact that no such change is possible; that the theory of evolution is made up of vital facts. He comes to a realization of the meaning Marx intended to convey by a favorite phrase of his, "revolutionary evolution."

Thus, in the crucible of actual experience, the rivalry, hatred, and contempt of the socialist for the social reformer, and of the social reformer for the socialist, are melted. The earnest social reformer soon finds that when he wants child-labor legislation, factory laws, tenement-house reforms, industrial insurance, and other such reforms, the fundamental and instinctive class consciousness of the socialist can always be relied upon. In this way, the socialist party in almost every European country has become the party of social reform.

This, then, is the basis for the prevailing opinion that the modern socialist movement has lost its revolutionary character and become a simple reformatory movement. The validity of that judgment depends altogether upon a certain narrow interpretation of the word "revolution." There can be no serious difference of opinion upon the point once that definition of the word "revolution" is accepted.

To Marx, more than to any other man, belongs the credit of associating the socialist movement with the concept of a social "revolution." The phrase looms large in the celebrated *Communist Manifesto,* and in all the subsequent literature of Marxian socialism. But Marx used the term "social revolution," as he used so many other commonplace terms, in a very different

sense from that which common usage had imparted to it. To understand the significance of the term in the literature of Marxian socialism, therefore, it is necessary to get at the meaning which Marx ascribed to it, and which his most representative and authentic exponents have accepted.

Whereas, to most persons, the term "social revolution" means a method, to Marx it meant simply a result, quite regardless of the method by which the result was attained. To most persons revolution suggests street riotings, barricades, insurrections, intrigues, conspiracies, and *coups d'état.* It means the sudden overturning of things, ousting governments and dynasties. In this narrow sense the French people have been called the most revolutionary people in Europe. Before Marx, the crude socialist thought of the time regarded such "revolutionary" methods as the natural way to attain the realization of its goal. Against that sort of "revolutionary" effort Marx directed his splendid genius for political leadership.

To Marx that sort of revolutionary activity was purely utopian and altogether unscientific. He lost no opportunity to assail it and make it the butt of his superb satire. He pointed out that such "revolutions" are not at all *social* revolutions. After a successful *coup de force,* resulting in the overturning of a dynasty or the changing of the form of government, people continue to maintain the chief fundamental social relations of the old régime. The class struggle persists, and the wage-earner is still exploited by the capitalist as before. What he means by social revolution is a thorough transformation of these social relations, the abolition of class divisions which rest upon the exploitation of the proletariat. This result is the revolution. The transformation of the social forces of production to social property, however accomplished, is the revolution. It is not more or less revolutionary whether attained by peaceful political action or by torch and sword at the barricades, whether the process of its accomplishment takes fifty years or is the result of a sudden, cyclonic movement.

It will be seen, therefore, that, assuming this to be a fair interpretation of Marx's concept of the social revolution, the

change which has come over the socialist movement is not of necessity a departure from the revolutionary path as Marx understood the term, though it is a very great departure from the older revolutionary concept which he assailed, and which still clings to the term in our common usage. It must also be admitted that the followers of Marx did not always conform their speech and their policy to the philosophical distinction he imposed upon the term; that all too often they lapsed back into what their teacher derided as a purely utopian concept of revolution. It may also be admitted with perfect candor that Marx himself occasionally lapsed into that utopianism against which his life and thought were, as a whole, so finely devoted.

So much is granted. It will not avail, therefore, to quote isolated utterances or actions to prove that the thought of a sudden, decisive revolution sometimes possessed the mind of Marx. Against these lapses from the scientific, evolutionary attitude must be set the overwhelming testimony of his thought as a whole, and, more important even than that, of his practice.

IV

Nothing could be more fallacious than the attempt to interpret the opportunistic development of contemporary socialism as a progressive abandonment of the teachings of Marx. The assumption upon which it rests, that opportunism and Marxism are antithetical concepts, is entirely false. Marx was nothing if not an opportunist, using that term in its best, and strictest, sense. He was so far removed from those intransigents of the socialist movement, who scorn the idea that the socialists should participate in the movement for social reform through legislative channels, as the imagination can conceive. He had the profoundest contempt for all who sought to bind the movement to that abortive attitude. I make the claim that the tendency of contemporary socialism to concern itself with a program of immediate social reforms, palliative measures for the amelioration of the victims of the social struggle, within the existing order, represents a return to the most important teachings of Marx, not a departure from them.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, that work which may be said to be the corner-stone of modern scientific socialism, we find him laying emphasis upon the fact that the transformation which he calls the social revolution is not to be a sudden act. He speaks of the "first step in the revolution" being the struggle for political democracy, the attainment of the franchise by the proletariat. That accomplished, the proletariat is to wrest, "by degrees," the control of the social productive forces from the hated *bourgeoisie*. His insistence upon the necessity of a "first step," and of a conquest of the economic resources "by degrees," shows very clearly that, from the first, Marx repudiated the old notion of sudden, catastrophic revolution. His ideal was one of the "revolutionary evolution."

In the same profound and epoch-making pamphlet Marx lays stress upon the fact that the socialists, because they accept the class struggle as their fundamental and guiding philosophy, must not confine themselves to working for the attainment of the ultimate interest of the proletariat, the abolition of wage-labor and its inevitable exploitation and oppression, but must participate in the "immediate struggle"; that they must make their own the "momentary interests" of the workers as well as their ultimate aim. In pursuance of that thought he outlined a program of social reform upon which socialists and progressive social reformers are making common cause today in every country where the socialist parties are represented in the legislatures.

Four years after the *Communist Manifesto* was published, in the aftermath of the revolutionary struggle of 1848, some of the most romantic of his corevolutionists were urging the workers to insurrection. They were obsessed by the notion that the workers could at once seize the reins of power and establish socialist republics in the most advanced countries of Europe. Marx assailed these romanticists with merciless satire and invective. He denounced them because they would "substitute revolutionary phrase for revolutionary evolution," and while the impatient romanticists assured their followers that they could win immediately, Marx told them that it would take perhaps

fifty years, not to accomplish the social revolution indeed, but to make themselves "worthy of political power"!

When Ferdinand Lassalle attempted, in 1862, to enlist the support of Marx for an insurrection in Germany, urging him to assist in raising funds for the purchase of muskets and ammunition, Marx indignantly refused, and the incident led to the termination of the friendship of the two men when they met in London a few months later. Marx understood as Lassalle could never do the great fact of social evolution.

How much of an opportunist Marx was, is best shown by the history of the International Working-Men's Association. Of far greater importance than his contributions to political economy, and inferior only to his sociological discoveries, the practical work of Marx in the development of that great international organization of the proletariat has not yet received just recognition. It is impossible to read the history of the International and avoid the conviction that Marx was endowed with great political sagacity, amounting almost to genius.

The importance of the International to us, in the present discussion, lies in the light its history sheds upon the mind and temper of its great leader. Marx initiated the movement, wrote its address, or platform, formulated its rules, and dictated its policies. He wrote every one of its official pronunciamentos. Never was there a political "boss" who so completely ruled his organization. For the opportunism which characterized the International Marx must therefore be held directly responsible.

It was Marx who arranged that the trades unions of Great Britain should co-operate with such bitter enemies of ordinary trades-union policies as Bright and Cobden in rousing the public opinion of Great Britain to the support of President Lincoln and the Union cause, and to vigorous opposition to the sympathy of the government and the ruling class in general for the Southern Confederacy, which the government at one time practically decided to recognize as an independent power. It was Marx, too, who, in the same way, brought about the co-operation of all the radical forces in the struggle for franchise reform a few years later.

Here, then, was opportunism with a vengeance! Marx was not unaware that there were elements in the International to whom such a policy was repellent in the extreme. There were many followers of Proudhon, the French anarchist leader, who were very bitter in their opposition to Marx on account of his opportunism. Of these critics Marx wrote, in a letter to his friend Kugelmann: "They brag about science and know nothing. They look with contempt, as revolutionists, on any concerted action of the working-classes, and they treat with contempt any idea of making use of the legislature for anything, as, e.g., for shortening the hours of labor."

In the masterly inaugural address of the International, which Marx wrote, the Ten Hours' Act was hailed as being "not merely a great practical result," but as "the victory of a principle." Even the co-operative societies, at which Marx had been disposed to sneer in 1848, were praised and heralded as a sign that wage-labor was a transitory economic form, destined to be replaced by associated free labor. And the first congress of the International, at Geneva, adopted resolutions, most of them written by Marx, in favor of such reforms as the abolition of child labor; regulation of women's labor by the state; limitation of the hours of labor for adults to ten per day; direct taxation; and so on.

It is clear, then, that, altogether irrespective of the merits of the controversy which divides the opportunists of the socialist movement from their intransigent comrades, it cannot be said that the movement becomes less Marxian by becoming more opportunistic. Marx was himself an opportunist of a very pronounced type. In his mind, the actual union of the workers was the supremely important thing. He wanted movement above all else. He revealed the principle by which his whole life was guided in the letter he wrote to the German socialists in 1875, when the union of the Lassallian and Marxian forces was being negotiated: "Every step of real movement is worth a dozen programs."

Without expressing here any opinion upon the wisdom or otherwise of the socialists entering into such compacts as the one

upon which the British Labor Party is based, it is impossible for me to resist the conclusion that Mr. Hardie with his belief in and alliance with the Labor Party is much more in accord with the teaching and example of Marx than are his intransigent critics, even though the latter so loudly invoke the name and authority of Marx.

V

It would be disingenuous to deny that some of Marx's theories have been openly abandoned by not a few socialists, and that they have been greatly modified by others in response to the searching criticism to which they have been subjected. Marx himself regarded monopoly-price as something exceptional, an abrogation of the law of value. Since he wrote *Das Kapital,* the exceptions to his law of value have become more numerous, as a result of the development of great monopolies and near monopolies. The value of a great many commodities is determined by their marginal utility, quite irrespective of the social labor actually embodied in them or necessary to their reproduction.

Then, too, some of the sweeping generalizations which Marx made, and which his followers long believed to be absolutely true, have not stood well the test of history and close analysis. The recognition of this fact has quite profoundly influenced socialist policy. It is worthy of note, however, that the result has been to develop the movement quite in harmony with that broad spirit of opportunism which Marx himself so well and so bravely exemplified.

Take, for example, his theory of agricultural concentration. Marx firmly believed and confidently predicted that, within a comparatively short time, the small farm would cease to exist. He saw the small farms, and the farms of moderate size, disappear, swallowed up by the bigger ones, and the whole industry of agriculture dominated by immense capital. His followers excelled their master's confidence in the truth of his forecast.

It is now recognized by all thoughtful socialists that this forecast has been completely belied by the actual facts of agricultural evolution. The small farm has more than held its own, the expected concentration of the industry has not taken place;

there has in fact been a well-marked tendency in the opposite direction of decentralization. Irrigation, "dry farming," and the mass of improved methods resulting from the application of science to agriculture have revolutionized the industry, but in quite another way than Marx predicted.

Of course, so long as the farming-class was looked upon as a rapidly disappearing one, a class whose immediate interests must of necessity, and in an increasing degree, be opposed to the interests of the proletariat, the socialist propaganda made small headway in agricultural communities. So long as that mistaken generalization obsessed the minds of the followers of Marx they were little disposed to appeal to the farmers, or to concede that the status of the farmer and a belief in socialism were quite compatible. To treat the farmer as a negligible quantity, as a survival member of a rapidly disappearing class, of no account politically, was the natural outcome of that generalization.

When astute political leaders of the socialist movement like Dr. Adler, of Austria, and acute theoreticians like Herr Bernstein, of Germany, demonstrated the delusive character of Marx's forecast, and proved that the socialists in those countries must either recast their agrarian policy, so as to make a successful appeal to the farming class, or abandon all hopes of attaining political success, modern socialism entered upon a new phase. Of course, there was some strife, a bitter conflict between the old orthodoxy and the new truth, and the complete breaking-up of the international socialist movement was confidently predicted by many of its enemies. But nothing of the sort happened. The leaders of the movement set themselves to the task of studying the whole problem of their position toward the farmer.

They found that the economic interest of the small farmer was not so antagonistic to the interest of the industrial proletariat as they had long believed; they found that the farmer needed socialism almost, if not quite, as badly as the factory worker. So successful has the socialist propaganda among farmers been, without compromising its revolutionary spirit, that many of the greatest strongholds of the movement, both in Europe and America, are in agricultural districts. The kingdom of Saxony

is mainly dependent upon agriculture, but it is known as "Red Saxony" on account of the strength of the socialist movement there. In the United States we find Oklahoma an agrarian state, taking a leading place in the socialist propaganda.

In like manner, the persistence of the petty retail stores, and of petty industries, contrary to another of the sweeping generalizations of Marx, has profoundly influenced the policy of the socialist movement. While its main appeal is and must of necessity be to the actual proletariat, the socialist propaganda does not neglect the small shopkeeper or the professional man. In most countries, but especially in the United States, the actual wage-workers constitute a minority of the population. The socialists recognize this fact. So there has developed a new and broader concept of the movement. Only a very tiny and insignificant minority now ever thinks of demanding that the socialist movement shall be limited to the wage-earning class.

That greatest of socialist political leaders, Liebknecht, in his later years insisted that when the socialists used the term "working-class" they included in its meaning "all who live exclusively *or principally* by means of their own labor, and who do not grow rich through the work of others." Thus, he would include the small farmers and small shopkeepers, as well as a majority of the professional classes. He declared that the German Social Democracy was the party of all the people with the exception of about two hundred thousand. "If it is limited to the wage-earners," he said, "socialism cannot conquer. If it includes all the workers and the moral and intellectual *élite* of the nation, its victory is certain."

VI

To sum up: There may be said to be two kinds of "Marxism," the one consisting of a body of theoretical and philosophical generalizations, the other of certain principles of working-class action, precepts, and examples of tactics for the movement. This "practical Marxism" has been for a long time obscured by the Marxism of theory, and neglected in consequence. Now that critical examination has forced the abandonment of some of his

theories, and the modification of some others, Marx the leader, the tactician, the statesman, is taking the place of Marx the theorist to some extent.

Hence the paradox that the influence of Marx upon the socialist movement of today is increasing just as rapidly and as surely as it is breaking away from dogmatic Marxism.

SYSTEM AND CLIQUE

WILBUR LARREMORE
New York City

President Lowell has observed that "human progress is like beating to windward, a tack to starboard and then a tack to port, for mankind, unable to discern absolute truth in shaping its course, moves forward by over-accentuating one principle at a time." Mankind has been worse than unable to discern; it has been habitually under the delusion of having found absolute truth and has exalted the principle temporarily in need of accentuation into a universal touchstone. Some survival of a sect so originating is assured by the adherence of those who temperamentally tend to emphasize its cardinal doctrine after the majority has moved off on the other tack.

The habit of faith in one or another system that explained and classified everything was so ingrained that when intellectual revolt set in Induction could not pause with what was verifiable, though limited, but itself became a system-builder. The *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* protested against *ex pede Herculem,* as setting a problem only for dullards, suggesting that the motto be: "From the little toe-nail apprehend Hercules and all his family." At times, when one is in the mood of King Solomon in Ecclesiastes, it seems that the Autocrat had phrased not playfully, but literally, the spirit of all comprehensive philosophers.

The epigram characterizing Comte's *Positive Philosophy* as Catholicism minus Christianity has survived because of its modicum of justice. Mr. John Morley not unfairly concludes that, "after performing a great and real service to truth, Comte almost sacrificed his claims to gratitude by the invention of a system that, as such, and independently of detached suggestions, is markedly retrograde."

Positivism was conceived shortly after the Great Awakening of 1789 and the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer, the

product of a half-century later, is naturally less papally authoritative, less fancifully constructive. In its degree, however, it carries much the same assumption of universal *eureka* and it is accordingly lapsing into the same historical limbo.

The recent celebration of the Darwinian Centennial has called forth not a little disparaging contrast between Spencer's "gossamer spinnings" in psychology, ethics, and politics, and the lasting benefit rendered by the author of *The Origin of Species.* Darwin is recognized as the commanding figure of his group of English scientists because, along with a certain amount of demonstrated truth, advanced by him in perfect humility of spirit, he pointed the way for building scientific law on the rock, and not the sand.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of system-making of recent years—not indeed by scientific but rather by bedlamistic methods—is Christian Science. Here, the germinal toe-nail of Hercules was the therapeutic potency of suggestion addressed to subconsciousness. This phenomenon, the foundation of hypnotism, has been known and practiced, sporadically in Europe and systematically in Asia, for centuries. Doubtless the solidification and growth of the Christian Science movement were promoted by the uncompromising incredulity of the normal-minded world that would not hunt for the needle of truth in a haystack of unthinkable dogmatism, and pronounced even the alleged bodily healing a delusion no better than witchcraft. Latterly this attitude has been changing. A psychologist of the standing of Professor Münsterberg does not hesitate to treat nervous maladies and evil propensities by processes of mere thought. Glancing through a recent medical work on the *Treatment of Internal Diseases,* by a physician of the regular school, eminent as a practitioner and instructor, the present writer was impressed by the frequent insistence upon the incidental efficacy of mental suggestion in the use of drugs and mechanical devices. The "Emmanuel Movement," in the Episcopalian church, is significant of the same general trend. Meantime, in the very teeth of the possession of the thinking world by the spirit of inductive science, Christian Scientists have compassed a stupendous propa-

ganda of a superstition, the assumption of whose organic connection with its grain of verity reminds one of the infatuation immortalized by Charles Lamb, that, in order to enjoy roast pig, one must burn down a house.

Lamartine's greeting to his fellow thirty-nine "Immortals," "You place yourself, like truth, above systems," is coming more and more to indicate the average habit of mind. In the earlier days of our Republic toleration ranged as a cardinal virtue; and this was inevitable in a system-ridden age, when every man, although arrogating the inerrancy and completeness of his own system, recognized redeeming qualities in his brother's obsession and patronizingly would help him to make the most of them. Toleration is, indeed, not a virtue at all, merely a sweetened pharisaism; an attribute of transition and truce. Sir Henry Maine has said that "the movement of the progressive societies has been a movement from status to contract." A moral supplement of the same tendency is the movement from toleration to sympathetic assimilation.

An important illustration is the modification of *laissez-faire* democracy by the spirit of socialism. The ideal of socialism has been described as the "final suspension of that personal struggle for existence which has been waged, not only from the beginning of society, but, in one form or another, from the beginning of life." It would be impossible in one generation, or ten generations, to extinguish the instinct of self-assertion and conflict for supremacy which has been bred in the bone of hundreds of generations. Such socialistic experiments as have been attempted —the South Australian village-settlements, the Brook Farm community in Massachusetts—have tended to justify the a-priori criticism. They did not succeed because human nature was the same inside communal organizations as elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the influence of socialism as a corrective is one of the most serious factors in modern life. Such of its innovations as have gained foothold ameliorate the merciless extremes of competition without radically interfering with it. General laws for protection of public health, laws providing for the safety and reasonable comfort of laborers, laws regulating the

period and manner of work of women and children—these, and many other similar enactments, do not essentially affect individual enterprise and ambition. Probably there will always be a sufficient number of those temperamentally tending to accentuate the doctrines of socialism to preserve its sectarian identity. The practical assimilation of its tendencies is, however, typical of the general interchange of vital ideas, of the subsidence of systems, of the mongrelization of such systems as continue in any degree workable.

A reflection of M. Taine, applied to the field of politics, with slight modification would cover many other departments as well. This remark, originally uttered with an apology for its apparent triteness, has been repeated, with the apology, by many political students, because independently they have come to realize its actual profundity.

> Jusqu'à présent, je n'en aiquère trouvé qu'un (principe politique), si simple qu'il semblera puéril et que j'ose à peine l'énoncer. . . . . Il consiste tout entier dans cette remarque qu'une société humaine, surtout une société moderne, est une chose vaste et compliquée.

Systems naturally bred sects and cults for their propagation. Loyalty to comprehensive philosophies, and to institutions assumed to be sanctioned by them, lent a sacred, or semi-sacred, character to all manner of fraternities and cliques founded under ecclesiastical, or royal, or aristocratic patronage. Popular sentiment in continental Europe still betrays the influence of sacrosanct officialism. The present emperor of Germany, upon his accession to the throne, made some observations touching the divine right of kings, which probably he would not now repeat and which were received on this side of the Atlantic as if they had been strains of *opéra bouffe.* The average American may be surprised to hear a political significance attached to Alphonse Daudet's novel, *Les rois en exile,* it having even been compared with *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* because its satire aided in laughing the lingering belief in "divine right" away.

None the less, Americans have their own very potential *machina* of occult authority. Bagehot has descanted upon the conservative utility of the king, the court, and the aristocracy,

because of their appeal to popular imagination and their fostering of loyalty to the institution which they symbolize. He summarizes:

> Royalty is a government in which the attention of the nation is concentrated on one person doing interesting actions; a republic is a government in which that attention is divided between many who are all doing uninteresting actions. Accordingly, so long as the human heart is strong and the human reason weak, royalty will be strong because it appeals to diffuse feeling and republics weak because they appeal to the understanding.

This author failed to realize the cohesive power of mere thoughts idealized into shibboleths. As matter of fact, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution have served as a sufficient substitute for what Bagehot terms the "dignified parts of government." In another place the present writer has remarked that " 'the glittering generalities' of 1776, treasured in emotion and fancy for a century, had evolved an abstract spirit of allegiance which carried our Republic safely through the crisis of the Electoral Commission of 1876."[1]

The reverential spirit toward pure ideas, among Americans, has served fully as much as deference to historical institutions and exalted personages, among Europeans, to attach adventitious importance to mere organization. If a society or clique really has a reason for being, sentiment magnifies its actual importance, especially if it maintains rites and ceremonials of mysterious solemnity. In America, as in Europe, veneration for anything that is old lends a social attractiveness to a guild that has managed to endure and preserve its form and traditions for a century.

It follows that, while gropings after comprehensive philosophies are coming to rank with the search for the philosopher's stone, the tendency to excessive human organization does not abate. It is, indeed, on the increase in this democratic republic where, as in Europe, the inherited instinct for system-building seems to have passed into and intensified the spirit of mere clique.[2]

[1] "The Consent of the Governed," *American Law Review*, 161 (March-April, 1906), 40.

[2] It is not patriotic, but merely chauvinistic and absurdly inconsistent as well, in one belonging to an American guild that inherently stands for little or

At a public dinner in one of our large cities the governor of the state came in late, having spent the afternoon and early evening reviewing militia regiments. In beginning his address he said that he was glad he had finished his arduous duties as commander-in-chief of the state army and that now he proposed to have a good time. The governor was in the conventional black and white of evening clothes, but he was still attended by his military secretary, imposing and gorgeous as General Tufto, the breast of his uniform covered with medals and decorations. While there is less display of wampum outside the vocation, or avocation, of arms, it is not very uncommon to see grouped on the same civilian lapel the triple alliance of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and the Society of Christian Endeavor. A person who does not wear at least one badge is a rarity.

It is not intended generally to cavil at these and other associations. Some of them exist for very definite objects and many of them incidentally fulfil laudable charitable ends. It would, for example, itself be a gross manifestation of the spirit of clique for a scholarly person, from whose watch-chain depends the key of Phi Beta Kappa, to sneer at an artisan for wearing the pin of his labor union. In both cases the insignia denote personally vital things.

Of course mankind has the right to form societies for any purposes not unlawful, and, in one sense, it may seem an impertinence to comment upon the manner in which the privilege is exercised. The tendency is, however, legitimately open to criticism because of the aggravation of it. Taking ourselves, by and large, we are a be-badged, be-ribboned generation, always seeking for a sign of identification of the individual with a

nothing, to condemn his neighbor for treating courteously the tender of membership in a European order that stands for as much, or more. Because of the greater age and traditional authority of the European organization its star or cross is probably bestowed with discrimination and betokens that the recipient has accomplished something worthy of public recognition. Even if favoritism be indulged at home, foreigners will not often be decorated save for important service or achievement. An American so honored, therefore, receives something besides "a ribbon to stick in his coat."

corporate body. In all ranks of humanity there is a struggle among the units of a class for entrance into any circle that has set up a standard of competitive eligibility; a craving for the prestige of membership in any guild, no matter what its test of exclusiveness.

With some persons the aspiration does not extend beyond the mere fact of "arrival" and childish delight in the toy of the society's badge. Not less significant because of their folly, statutes have been passed in some states making it a misdemeanor for individuals not members of certain secret orders to wear their badges. One of these laws extended the privilege of badge-wearing to the wives and daughters of members, so that a young woman who wore a member's badge just before, instead of just after, she married him, would be guilty of a crime. It was sought to justify this provision on the ground that it would prevent fraud through applications for charity by pretenders. The court of the state, however, could not find in that argument sufficient substance to hold the act constitutional, evidently taking the view that its real purpose was to dignify the societies and their gewgaws.

With the majority of aspirants to secret and other orders the motive is not merely superficial, but there is joined to social, or other, ambition a sense of the importance of organization. The imputation of adventitious authority to organization grows and grows, and, like a worm i' the bud, it preys upon natural relations. Equality and fraternity are discredited; entirely ordinary persons are furnished a pretext for snobbishness. Very many American voluntary associations certainly have no reason for being which is visible to the naked eye of the outside world and their principal characteristic is abuses of cliquish intrigue.

It is claimed that the series of American "patriotic" societies foster the feeling, *noblesse oblige*. To a slight extent this may be true, but the real stem of crystallization is exaggerated ego. None of us could avoid having a grandfather and it confers no essential distinction that one's progenitor rendered public service, albeit humble. The various cults of "sons" and "daughters" are at root social clubs with membership so large and heterogeneous

that they display the vices of arbitrary clique without the virtues of real aristocracy.

In May, 1865, the question being raised at its annual meeting whether the American Anti-Slavery Society should dissolve, William Lloyd Garrison offered a resolution,

> WHEREAS, It is not for Abolitionists to affect exclusiveness or to seek isolation from the great mass of the people, when the reasons which compelled them to take such position no longer exist; therefore,
>
> *Resolved,* That . . . . . we close the operations and the existence of this society with the present anniversary.

He persisted in pressing his motion against the opposition of Wendell Phillips and others and, although it was lost and the society continued a nominal existence for five years longer, declined re-election as president and withdrew from membership. In the story of Garrison's life by his children, it is said: "Doubtless he would have been willing to continue in that position until the last state had ratified the Constitutional Amendment, if he had believed that the society would then dissolve." But, in addition to the fact that control had passed to those with whom he was no longer in sympathy, he perceived "that the force of habit was strong with many of the old friends of the cause, to whom the annual meetings and festivals and conventions had been meat and drink for many years, and who, reluctant to break up old and delightful associations, inclined a willing ear to the arguments that the society was never more needed than now."

The Anti-Slavery Society might very readily have been taken as the basis of a hereditary guild; much more so, indeed, than the latest of similar organizations recently formed and consisting of descendants of war governors, and other persons, who served the federal government during the Civil War in other than military capacities. It would seem that the *simulacra* of traditional patriotism, as an excuse for ancestor-worship and social cultism, must now have been exhausted.

A society for the accomplishment of some definite end is ever to be respected by those who respect other people's sincerity although they may disagree with other people's opinions. If a club be formed for social purposes, let it honestly proclaim its

test of membership and not masquerade as a promoter of patriotism or a conserver of historical traditions. The example of Garrison may well be accepted by consistent democrats for the disbanding of any association that has fulfilled its destiny.

Clique based upon organization of things of the mind is apt to be very inveterate and quite subversive of true ideals. With the leaders, self-reliance and faith in thought tend to breed a provincialism which discourages the verification of premises by searching Thought's widening horizon. Arrogant insularity was, of course, more common in the ages of "system" but it crops out now under mere pride of sect. The provincialism of any guild of learning in its degree is comparable to that of a brilliant, self-satisfied metropolis—to the proverbial provincialism of Paris.

With the rank and file, who do not think but are merely loyal, there grows up as youth recedes an idolatry of one's own intellectual *penates* that has much the same blind tenacity formerly exerted by denominational religious affiliations.

The prejudices of a great man are entitled to no more regard than those of an ordinary man, although adoration of his genius often abets him in insisting that his crotchets shall be taken as sacred things. Adventitious features that sprout in the rich soil of a great institution often call for the plow and the hoe, not the watering of sentimental tears. Pure sentiment for the adventitious—the cherishing of mere association—is human and lovable. Average mankind, however, unfortunately does not separate the sentimental from the essential, but cherishes fortuitous elements as vital.

Cults so originating furnish opportunity for pitiable abuses. Who has not known—to put a gross case—American graduates who become college parasites? They never reflect distinction back on alma mater through original aspiration or accomplishment, but whenever public occasion offers they may be counted upon to shine in alma mater's glory, if necessary through bribery of newspaper reporters. They suck social prominence and even business opportunity from their alumni association.

It amounts to a reproach for a person in middle life to be

primarily known as a "Harvard man," or a "Yale man," or a "Columbia man." Similarly as of one of mature years, who is principally prominent through membership in a college fraternity, there is suggested an arrest of development at the sophomoric stage. He serves his party best who serves his country best; and Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft, James Russell Lowell and Edmund Clarence Stedman have demonstrated that he most illustriously honors alma mater who, in the world of public service or of letters, most practically promotes the political benefit of humanity, or most successfully forwards the ideals of an unsectarian culture.

The authorities of our universities have recognized the stunting tendency of clique by guarding against excessive inbreeding in the selection of professors, by establishing the feature of sabbatical years, and by co-operating in the international exchange of professorships. It is a healthful sign that fresh-air treatment is being applied to the mildew of corporate self-satisfaction. There is, however, a serious additional duty to perform in overcoming the clannish prejudices of alumni and the insular complacency of undergraduates. In an article on "Competition in College," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1909, President Lowell cogently pleaded for the stimulation of intellectual competition among students in the academic departments of universites. An important step in that direction would be to frown out the assumption that the prestige of an institution—no matter how great—is sufficient imputably as a mental equipment or a social talisman. Prestige, itself, is a force of constantly varying voltage; it must ever increase as the alternative to gradual extinction.

The self-sufficiency of Paris is epitomized in towns, especially suburban towns, and uniformly it tends to develop the dwarfing spirit of clique. The typical suburb exhibits a substratum of old families with some wealth, an increasing number of newcomers with more wealth, a limited professional class, a sprinkling of gifted persons and men of celebrity, and, welded out of these elements, an independent community of ever-growing capacity to monopolize the energy of its members. The social

exclusiveness of the larger world is miniatured in the patronesses of charities and public entertainments. Literary, scientific, and musical clubs are formed; and the temptation of provincial personal distinction weans from devotion to "the things that are more excellent."

A man, who was successful but inconspicuous in business in a great city and resided in one of its suburbs, naïvely gave as his reason for electing the suburb, and not the city, as his habitat, in signing a summer-hotel register, that he preferred to name a place where he was somebody, rather than one where he was nobody. This attitude is but another phase of individual aspiration based upon aggravated sense of the importance of mere organization, which has already been considered. Even among persons of superior mental type, social identification with the microcosm must to a material degree dispose toward contentment with its close-drawn spiritual horizon.

Provincialism may, indeed, be more radically pervasive in the large town, or the extensive suburb, than in the small remote settlement. Village life in all its phases is so petty and sordid that minds of the better order are impelled to seek refuge in the great world of books and to keep sympathetically in touch with the theater of affairs through newspapers and periodicals. The writer is acquainted with a country lawyer, residing more than two hundred miles from the city of New York, who is competent to act as cicerone and peripatetic catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is believed that this example is not exceptional but typical of the reaching-out from crass aridity toward cosmopolitanism.

On the other hand, the average suburb, in addition to a bustling round of social functions, offers many circlets of intellectual and aesthetic aim, and, as a resultant of all its activities, a public opinion and a set of standards of its own. The contagion of narrow sentiment, the sirens of personal blandishment may, of course, be withstood. There are persons who live a suburban life in the proper sense of the term, that is, while their physical existence and their bodily eye are of the suburb, their tastes and aspirations, as well as their business enterprise, are of

the city. Suburbanites of long standing, however, who have not imbibed the criteria of amateurism are shining examples of self-watchfulness and of firmness.

The scope of this paper could scarcely be extended to include racial castes, but for extreme illustration a brief reference may be made to the remarkable article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1908, by Dr. Edwin J. Kuh, on "The Social Disability of the Jew." He declares that "a heavy burden of responsibility for the intolerance against the Jews rests on the Jew himself," because of the rigid preservation of racial identity, tradition, and self-consciousness. Dr. Kuh suggests "judicious intermarriage" as the principal means of abrogating social barriers. The separatism of the Jews, which we join Dr. Kuh in hoping will be voluntarily abandoned, signally exemplifies the anachronism of clique in the modern world. The spirit of clique is opposed to that spontaneous individualism which is the very essence of democracy and to cosmopolitanism, which is merely unsectarian democracy.

NEGLECTED WIDOWHOOD IN THE JUVENILE COURT[1]

SOPHONISBA PRESTON BRECKINRIDGE
The University of Chicago and the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

The right of the wife to be supported by her husband and the claim of the widow to a continued enjoyment of her husband's property have long been recognized. In the obligation, acknowledged if not well enforced, of the husband to supply his wife with necessaries[2] and in the dower[3] right of the widow, together with the "reasonable part"[4] assigned her by early custom out of his personal effects are found the expression in law of a claim on her part enduring not merely during the joint lives of husband and wife but surviving until her death. In recent American legislation this provision for separate participation on her part in the earnings and property of the husband has been supplemented by legislation directed toward the maintenance of the family as a group in whose uninterrupted unity and integrity the community felt large concern. In many states this concern has been expressed by statutes providing for the continued use of the homestead[5] in case of death or pecuniary misfortune and allowing to the widow on the death of the husband enough from the husband's goods to hold the group together until they can be readjusted to the new and maimed condition.[6]

In the recent statutes imposing a new and larger liability on both husband and wife for family expenses[7] and in the so-called

[1] This article is the substance of a paper read at a section meeting on the "Care of Widows with Children," at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at St. Louis, May 21, 1910, and is based upon a portion of the material used in a forthcoming volume of the Russell Sage Foundation Publications, *The Delinquent Child and the Home,* by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott.

[2] See Blackstone, I, chap. xv, § iii, 442.

[3] *Ibid.,* II, chap. viii, § iv, 129.

[4] *Ibid.,* II, chap. xxxii, 516.

[5] See for example *Illinois Revised Statutes,* chap. lii.

[6] *Ibid.,* chap. iii, § 74.

[7] *Ibid.,* chaps. lxix, § 15.

non-support laws [8] is found evidence of the same determination to subject the husband's property and energy to the maintenance of the family group as a unit.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the theory of public interest justifying the enforcement of these obligations on the part of the husband. Admitting that the theory of family relationship here embodied in legislation is a sound one, it is of interest to note that when the husband is the owner of property there is now a fairly substantial guaranty furnished to the woman who becomes a wife and mother that she is putting her hand to a task in which the community feels deep concern, for which reasonable support and maintenance will be supplied.

When there is no property, however, and the support of the family group is dependent upon the labor of a husband and father who is either unable or unwilling, the provision during his life now offered under the non-support law is most inadequate, and in case of his death there is no substitute provided by which she may be enabled to continue the work to which she has set her hand. Sometimes under these conditions there may be children old enough to carry the family, and sometimes after the husband dies there is a fairly prompt remarriage. But what often happens is that the unsupported mother undertakes to carry the double burden of earning the support and of performing the domestic duties which, under our present habits of thinking, are inextricably intertwined with her maternal duties. When any one of these phases of her work must be neglected it is the side of nurture and personal care which is slighted, since the dollars and cents with which to pay for the daily meal and the weekly rent must be found, while the discipline and coddling can, of course, be deferred.

When failure meets these efforts to obtain the dollars and cents, she may appear in the office of the charitable society where she will present a problem in treatment. Of the theory regarding that treatment little need be said; since experts in the care of needy families in their homes are in substantial agreement with the theory of treatment and the measures of competence recom-

[8] *Ibid.*, §§ 24–26.

mended by the minority of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law—"that for widows or other mothers in distress, having the care of young children, residing in homes not below the national minimum of sanitation, and being themselves not adjudged unworthy to have children entrusted to them, there should be adequate home aliment on condition of their devoting their whole time and energy to the care of the children."[9]

Translating the terms "national minimum of sanitation" into everyday language, it may be said that if the mother is a woman of good habits who keeps the home and the children clean, the agents of the relief society to whom she has appealed find themselves in a position to take hold of the family difficulties with a reasonable hope of bringing them to a successful issue. When, on the other hand, the lack of discipline and child care results in some acts on the part of the child, of which the police or possibly an injured neighbor takes note, the mother is summoned with the young offender to the Juvenile Court. It is interesting to ask what problem in particular she then presents, and how far the implications of her presence at the bar of the court are different from those suggested by her presence in the office of the relief society.

It may be answered at once that she does not present a statistical or quantitative problem as to the bearing of her gainful employment or her widowhood upon juvenile delinquency. In the first place, the causes of juvenile delinquency cannot be stated in terms of quantity; and, if she is a widow, widowhood can less fitly be subjected to quantitative measures than many other delinquency-producing conditions, primarily because there are no data showing the number of widows with children who might come into court; secondly, widowhood can rarely be separated from other possible causes of delinquency—such as poverty, the crowded home, the congested neighborhood, lack of recreation facilities, and irregular school attendance; and finally, a more striking reason to be found in the fact that widowhood may be a less unsatisfactory condition than that of having two parents. For while it is axiomatic that two good parents are better than

[9] Webb, *The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission,* Part II, 345.

one and one better than none, and so, when there is only one, the fair thing is to see that she remains one in fact instead of trying to be both and becoming in reality neither—it is likewise true that if the parents are degraded and degrading, the fewer the better. And so with work, which may be evidence of competence and "worthiness," or part of a degraded habit of living, serving sometimes as a blind for immoral practices and sometimes as an indication that the worker has ceased to observe the ordinary restraints and decencies of life.[10] Obviously, in case a mother works and is guilty of degrading practices, or the victim of intemperate habits, it is impossible to determine the bearing of her employment on her child's delinquency.

The fact is, that here again, at the bar of the court, as in the office of the charitable society, she presents a problem in treatment; and, in the hope of giving some assistance in the statement of this problem, in order that its solution may be more clearly worked out, a study has been made of cases of children of "widows and other mothers in distress" who, during a single year, became delinquent wards of the Juvenile Court of Chicago.

The material used is a portion of that collected by the Department of Social Investigation of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy in an attempt to gain an understanding of the home conditions surrounding the delinquent children of Chicago. The whole material consisted of the court records of 11,329 boys and 2,770 girls, all of the children brought into court during the first ten years of its existence, and a detailed study of the home conditions of 580 boys who came into court for the first time during a single year, and of 154 girls who were at one time or another committed to the State Training School for Girls at Geneva, Illinois.

Among the children who become delinquent wards of the court it appears that a very considerable number come from

[10] In an interesting statement, *Conditions That Make Wayward Girls*, recently published by Miss Mary Dewson, superintendent of probationers in Massachusetts, with reference to the home conditions of 121 delinquent girls, it appears that out of 28 mothers who worked only 13 could be called decent women, while 12 worked and were immoral, and 10 worked and were intemperate.

broken homes.[11] Neglecting, however, those who are wholly orphaned and those who are motherless, it is significant that the court records showed that 14 per cent of the boys (1,557) and 18 per cent of the girls (494) were fatherless, while of those about whom more exact knowledge was obtained, 23 per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls were in this group.

It is clear that in the family when the father's death is accompanied by poverty, disaster to the children may easily result. It is also important to notice that in the families of this class the loss of the father is likely to have more serious consequences than the loss of the mother. This is, of course, quite unlike the situation in the ordinary well-to-do family where the father's death does not mean any material change in the family resources, and where the children probably suffer most from the loss of the mother who is the more intimate parent. When the mother in the poor home dies, the father may secure a housekeeper, one of the older children may succeed in taking the mother's place, a woman relative may be at hand to tide over the interval until the remarriage which is probable. But when in the poor family the father dies, the chief source of income of the family is suddenly cut off and there is not only the difficulty involved in a radical readjustment of the standard of living, but there is in effect the loss of both parents; for the mother is no longer able to perform

[11] The data in the court records show that among 11,328 boys and 2,770 girls who came into court during ten years, at least 349 boys (3 per cent) and 173 girls (6 per cent) were wholly orphaned; 1,557 boys (14 per cent) and 494 girls (18 per cent) were fatherless; 1,013 boys (9 per cent) and 353 girls (12 per cent) were motherless. And further data gathered on the family schedules indicate that these figures understate, rather than overstate, the extent to which the court's wards have been orphaned. Among the children for whom this more detailed information was secured, 23 per cent of the boys, instead of 14 per cent, were fatherless, and 14 per cent, instead of 9 per cent, were motherless; and among the girls 25 per cent, instead of 18 per cent, were fatherless, while 26 per cent, instead of 12 per cent, were motherless. It should also be pointed out as a significant fact that there were 80 homeless boys in this 1903–4 group who had no families to be visited and who are therefore not included among the fatherless and motherless children for whom family schedules were secured. There are no corresponding figures for the girls, but the court records show 96 to have been not merely orphaned, but homeless, and a study of the addresses given would indicate in many other instances that the home was a temporary or accidental shelter.

her natural duties of caring for the home and the children, but is obliged to go out of the home and find some way of providing new means of support for the family. That is, when the father dies, there is no other way of providing a new wage-earner and the incompetent mother is obliged to give up her old duties and make a brave effort to do work for which she is not trained.

On the other hand, it is clear that the fatherless child presents a simpler problem to the court than the child whose father, though still alive, has abandoned all parental and family obligations. The deserting father presents for the time a difficulty for which there is no solution yet formulated, unless it lie in the farm colony or some similar plan which has not yet passed the experimental stage. Again, while no statistical estimates can be given, the court's wards illustrate the consequence of this neglect. In many of these cases the father's presence has long been a constant source of demoralization in the home and it may not seem to be a calamity when he finally deserts and openly abandons all responsibility. This might even seem to be for the good of the home but only too often the family is demoralized beyond all hope of recovery. Sometimes, too, the delinquent father has either carried the mother down or they go down together and both become unfit to be the custodians of their children (12,756, 10,966, 12,925, 10,394[12]).

It is not easy to make an exact statement regarding the extent to which the mothers of delinquent children are gainfully employed; for the assumption always is that a married woman is a housewife and, unless careful inquiry is made, she will be counted as having no other occupation. The data obtained from court records show that only 711 out of a total of 9,440 mothers of boys were employed in any other capacity than as housewives; but in the more detailed inquiry regarding the families of the boys of a single year, 103 working mothers were found in the 522 families for which schedules were obtained. Even in

[12] These numbers refer to cases summarized in the form of family paragraphs, a few of which are appended for purposes of illustration in a note to this article.

this later inquiry there is reason to believe that in many cases the occupation of the mother was not ascertained by the investigator, and if allowances be made for the possibility of incomplete schedules, and if the number of cases in which the mother was dead be subtracted, it seems a safe and reasonable conclusion that at least one-fourth of the mothers of delinquent boys have been obliged to do some kind of work which would supplement the family income. There were found, however, 103 working mothers of whom 14 were not employed at the time the inquiry was made. Of the 89 who were at work, 46 were widows, 5 had been deserted, 4 were separated from their husbands, 17 were the wives of men who had low wages, and the husbands of 13 others were unemployed. The table which follows is of interest as showing how unskilled most of their occupations are:

Occupations of 103 Mothers of Delinquent Boys	
Washwomen	43
Scrubwomen	19
Laundry work	7
Keeping lodgers	7
Seamstresses	7
Restaurant work	2
Cook	1
Midwife	1
Nurse	1
Actress	1
"Stockyards"	1
Janitresses	3
Factory work	3
Selling papers	1
Clerks	2
Postmistress	1
Tailor shop	1
	103

Occupations of 65 Mothers* of Delinquent Girls	
Washwomen	31
Scrubwomen	15
Hotel work	4
Selling cigars	2
Farm work	2
Dressmaking	2
Manicuring	1
Nursing	2
Keeping boarders	2
Canvassing	2
Keeping a grocery	1
Prostitute	1
Working in a glass factory	1
	65

*These are the mothers of Geneva girls outside of Chicago. The total was 153; one was in the poorhouse, 19 had abandoned their homes and nothing was known of them, 36 were dead and their occupations, if they had had any, were unknown. Similar information regarding the mothers of Chicago girls could not be obtained.

Information with regard to their earnings was secured for only 65 of the 103 working mothers. Of these, 20 earned less than five dollars a week, 29 between five dollars and eight dollars, and 12 between eight dollars and ten dollars a week. That is, 61 of the 65 earned less than ten dollars and 49 less than eight dollars. It is of interest, too, that the half of these

women had five or more than five children and they were, therefore, burdened with a heavy responsibility.

A significant fact suggested by this table is that nearly all of these occupations mean absence from home. Seamstresses, the women who do janitor work, and, of course, washwomen may, to some extent, be employed at home, and keeping lodgers is exclusively "home work." But the women who take lodgers are for the most part women who keep low rooming-houses and the case (10,172) of the mother who "always had a loafing crowd of boarders about the house, who had a very bad influence on the boy" shows that the child is not safeguarded even by the presence of the mother. More exceptional is the case of another mother who ran the dining-room in a large boarding-house and who "brought the boy into court and had him sent to the John Worthy School because she was too busy to take care of him."

Almost inevitably the fact that the mother "goes out" to work means that the home is cheerless and untidy and that the children are given every opportunity to stay away from school and live that life of the street which is at once so alluring and demoralizing. A long record of such cases as the following might be given to show how direct is the line of descent from the working mother to the delinquent child: (10,364) "The boy had never had proper home care; he was kept out of school to deliver the washing for his mother"; (10,481) "The mother took in washing and had a hard struggle for years; . . . . was not able to look after the children properly"; (11,618) "He went with a gang of bad boys because his mother was away and he had no one to keep him off the streets"; (10,310) The mother "has always been away from home all day, and the children have been left to look after themselves"; (20,075) The mother "went out to work and left the children with a neighbor who did not treat them properly"; (12,638) "While the mother was a widow working away from home, the boy got in with a bad gang"; (10,490) "The mother supports the family with washing"—the boy is said "to have very little care at home"; (10,787) After the father's death "the mother had to go out to work, and there

was no one left to look after the family"; (10,386) "The mother supports the children by washing and cleaning. The children were left alone all day." Exposed, too, to special and great temptations, are the children of scrubwomen who clean offices at night. For as the streets grow more fascinating when the lights along "the avenue" make the cheap theater and low resort more attractive, and the darkness casts its spell of excitement everywhere, so, in a greater degree, do the dangers of the street multiply for the boy or girl who wanders there.

The task of the relief agency, whether public or private, in dealing with the family group is the extremely difficult one of furnishing the pecuniary or material resources in such a way as to build up the spiritual well-being, and above all, the spirit of independence and of endeavor of the children. In the case of the delinquent child, the task is that of supplementing the elements of strength and righteousness and competence already existing in the family group, so as to guide the young spirit, exercise the social instinct, curb the impulses which have made for disorder, and supply not only the paternal support but the paternal corrective guidance and control. But if one looks for the elements of strength in the family, quite obviously the first question which presents itself is that of the competence of the mother, and again rises the question of the standard of competence.[13]

As a basis for a positive judgment of fitness or competence, it is interesting to separate the cases by applying the standard already referred to, that is, the ability to keep a clean and decent home. The essence of the problem in such cases as these under consideration is to be found neither so much in the poverty of the family, nor in the misfortune of widowhood and desertion, as in the fact that on the whole and as a group these mothers are untrained and unskilled, not only as wage-earners, but as heads of homes and as mothers. If, however, they maintain a clean home, there is evidence of what may be called a

[13] It is, of course, clear that drunkenness or immorality or criminal habits constitute what might be called unfitness or incompetence, or to use the phraseology of the *Minority Report* again, "unworthiness."

professional attitude toward one group of their duties; and it is not unreasonable to hope that where a professional attitude is manifested toward any phase of work, that same attitude may, with further knowledge, be assumed toward others. It might be hoped, then, that those who keep their homes and children clean would, with the aid of the court, learn better how to handle the children and possibly acquire other household arts than those of cleanliness.

If this standard is applied, it is found that among these Juvenile Court mothers three groups are constituted: First, that in which the mother seems fully competent to keep her little brood together if furnished with the pecuniary means; and here we find repeated evidence of her inability to comply with this standard and secure the pecuniary means. The evidence is to be found in such typical cases as the following: (10,481) A Polish mother—whose husband had died insane, whose thirteen-year-old boy, one of six, had been brought into court for cutting telephone wires—took in washing and had a hard struggle to care for the family. She "kept the house clean but was unable to look after the children properly"; (11,199) An Irish widow with twelve children, whose twelve-year-old boy was one of a gang to break a plate-glass window, kept the home of five rooms clean and decent, although she took in washing. They lived in a bad neighborhood; (11,482) In an American family when the father died, the mother kept a small grocery store and kept a "decent home," but one of her boys was in court twice, once for truancy, however; the school was partly to blame perhaps; In a German home in which the fourteen-year-old boy was one of a gang to break seals on a freight car and steal goods from it, the home was always neat and pleasant although the mother went out to wash and the family were very poor; In one home (10,787), which while very poor was clean, the mother acknowledged defeat and brought the boy to court herself. He was only twelve, and he had only the street for a playground and she had to go out to work, and there was no one left to look after the children.

Among the girls, the testimony to the struggle on the part of

mothers of this class is as convincing as among the boys. A Russian Jewish mother (22,493) worked very hard to support the children. "An older sister and brother were good and industrious, the youngest girl went to work very young"; Another "mother worked hard and kept a clean home (21,020) but the neighborhood was full of saloons and cheap theaters and the youngest girl was hard to manage," so that the mother took her to court and found that it was too late to save her from institutional life.

What desertion means is indicated by the following quotations from the stories of some of these deserted families of delinquent children: (12,412, boy) The father deserted many years ago, and since then the mother has worked in a tailor shop in the day and done scrubbing at night"; (11,265, boy) The father was a teamster earning eight dollars a week but drank and deserted the family. The mother is said to be a hard-working woman who canvasses for a tea and coffee house. She gave up the home and put the boys in St. Joseph's and the girls in St. Vincent's; (11,541, boy) An American family deserted by the father who was a switchman but drank heavily. The mother worked as a scrubwoman; (22,345, girl) One of thirteen children. The father was a drunkard who had been a lawyer in Poland and deserted the family, and the mother has tried to take care of the children by cleaning and washing but was unable to do so except by the help of a charitable relief society; (22,520, girl) A family of four children supported by the mother who is a practical nurse. The father is a blacksmith but does not live with the family or contribute to their support; (17,736, girl) An American family. The father was of a good family but was a professional gambler and irresponsible. He deserted his wife and four children and the mother tried to support the family by dressmaking.

In other words, we have in these cases, the problem of the working mother. And she is found in many instances in which the father neither dies nor deserts, but is there as an added pecuniary burden. Sometimes this is not, of course, by any fault of his (10,255), since he may be just industrially unfit or else crip-

pled or insane (12,133, 10,490, 12,668, 12,056). But sometimes his bad habits throw the whole burden of support on the mother (12,203, 12,873, 11,123, 11,241, 12,183, 12,558, 12,252, 10,048) and only in rare instances does she resort to divorce (10,252, 10,827, 12,498, 12,751, 12,312, 12,226).

In such cases as these, the mother and other members of the family are glad to co-operate with the agent of the court if she understands; if she does not, she at least appreciates the fact that good feeling is being shown. "The mother thinks the officer has been the making of the child" (10,476); The boy says, "She is a good probation officer" (10,920); The mother speaks of her as "a fine woman" (10,233); The sister thinks, "The officer has helped the boy a great deal" (10,369). And sometimes much constructive help is given by the agent of the court; there is the frequent visit, the friendly counsel, help in securing work (11,930), general interest in the family problems (10,369), aid in securing material relief (12,178), and, in general, much that is appreciated by the family.

In many cases the authoritp of the court as manifested by the officer is evidently all the boy needs. The officer may "frighten the boy into doing right"—with the threat of the return to court or to the dreaded institution (10,476, 10,787). On the other hand, the officer is not always wise and intelligent. In one case (12,738) in which the boy is still delinquent and has finally been sent to the state penitentiary, the officer "patched up difficulties between the boy and his parents, begged him off from the police court," generally tried to keep the situation superficially smooth. But there was evident need of radical treatment, for there was a bad gang, the mother had remarried, and the boy was evidently pretty poor stuff. The officers are, of course, greatly overburdened and often very helpless, for the court may not be able to carry out a good plan for lack of resources, sometimes institutional, but very often in aid of home life. Undoubtedly, in many instances, the ability to keep the mother at home both as the natural caretaker of the family and as the agent of the court would mean success in the treatment both of the boys

and of girls where her absence, her consequent neglect, and her fatigue, result in obvious failure.

It must be remembered, however, that this success or failure is not to be measured by keeping or not keeping the boy out of court.[14] If the neighborhood is very bad, the child may have to go to an institution for a considerable period, whether his offense was serious or slight; the boy who is too low a grade mentally and physically to build on may yet avoid doing any very serious thing, and may not be the kind of boy to profit either by institutional life or by being brought before the judge. Often when he reaches the age of fourteen and goes to work, he settles down to the responsibilities of life. Whether the boy is or is not "a repeater" is then no real measure of his badness or of the probation officer's success in dealing with the family situation. In one case already referred to (10,787) in which the mother brought her twelve-year-old boy in as incorrigible "because she had to work, and could not keep him off the street"—there were ten children—he was sent to Feehanville, a Catholic institution for dependent boys, and then to the John Worthy School, a public

[14] Only a brief word can be said here in reference to the policy of the court with regard to the disposition of delinquent cases; it seems, however, important to note here certain obvious facts relating to its general policy. It appears, for example, that often when several children are brought in together for participating in a single experience, some of the members of the group will be put on probation, while others are at once committed to institutions, although all alike seem to have been guilty of the same offense. Thus, when three boys were brought in for "breaking into a basement, though they did not steal" the eleven-year-old Polish boy was charged with attempted burglary and sent to the John Worthy School, while the twelve-year-old American and thirteen-year-old Polish companions were charged with malicious mischief, and put on probation. Again in many cases when several children are brought in separately, charged in identical terms as delinquent, they receive wholly different treatment. And, indeed, the whole theory on which the court is established makes it clear that what the child has done is, from the point of view of the court in determining what is to be done with the child, of slight importance. The weighty questions are, how did he or she happen to commit this offense and are the circumstances leading to this wrongdoing such as to indicate the probability of a repetition? And if so, can the conditions unfavorable to the child be so altered as to give him a fair chance without removing him from home? Or must he be placed in a wholly different environment? If the latter course be necessary, few alternatives to the institution present themselves.

institution for delinquent boys, but after three months he came back to the same conditions—the same crowded, motherless home, the same streets, the same gang; it is not surprising then that he was again brought in as incorrigible and this time he remains at John Worthy until he can go to work. In four cases (12,354, 10,151, 12,738, 10,682) the boys came in twice for gang offenses. Two of the four go finally to the state reformatory and seem to promise permanent criminal careers, one to the reform school, while only for one does the probation officer obtain honorable release. One boy (10,369) came in three times for pretty serious offenses, but he has settled down to work and earns $7.50, all of which he "gives in" to his mother, who is said to be proud of him. In one case (10,920) an Irish boy keeps house while the mother and sister work out. The mother is in a department store, the sister is a telephone operator. He tried to grab a pocketbook when he was twelve and went to the John Worthy School for two months; at the age of fifteen he was in a neighborhood row amounting almost to a race war; but was put on probation. Nor do the cases show that the probation officer always utilized all the resources available; so that sometimes if there was failure it was doubtless attributable rather to a lack on the part of the court than on that of the family (10,303).

Such cases as those which have been presented call attention to two needs on the part of the agents of the court. One is the need of the highest skill and finest judgment in determining whether or not the family of the child with whom the court has to deal can be helped by counsel, by such services as securing work, advising with reference to the employments of the various members, aid in selecting more favorable neighborhoods, keeping track of school attendance, etc.; or whether there should be, in addition to these, material relief. Upon this point alone most expert judgment should be available. And then, when in the light of all the circumstances, of pecuniary lack, of competence, of neighborhood habit, it becomes evident that material relief is required, the ability to command that relief should be assured —whether it be termed a pension for the mother, or "adequate

aliment on condition of caring for her children," or pay for her services as agent of the court, or a grant in aid of family life—it should be available, sufficient in amount, regular in payment, dignifying in its assurance of the community's concern for the well-being of her group.

Such provision would, of course, prove an inadequate measure to enable the court to deal with economic conditions in all the families with which it has to do, since a closer view discloses the fact that many of the wards of the court come from homes of poverty and in many instances the connection between the poverty of the family and the delinquency of the child is not difficult to trace. In this connection it is of interest to note the extent to which poverty does prevail in the homes from which the court's wards come.

A study of the children brought into court during the year 1903–4 seemed to indicate that the court dealt with families from four large economic groups. These have been called (I) very poor families, (II) poor families, (III) families in fairly comfortable circumstances, and finally (IV) families whose homes were apparently quite comfortable. No families were found that could be called "wealthy"; so a fifth division, which would have included families of that class, was omitted. No attempt has been made to subdivide these groups, for none of the returns as to employment or earnings were verified and it was felt that the data in hand were not of sufficient accuracy and detail to warrant an attempt at more elaborate or exact classification.[15] A discussion of the characteristics of the families which have been placed in these different groups will make the method of classification more intelligible. No standard of incomes and earnings was set as a dividing-line between the two groups; but they were determined rather by such items as the kind and amount of work done by the father, the standard of living as indicated by the kind of house, and particularly by the

[15] Any attempt of a classification of families on the basis of economic conditions must inevitably recall the classification used in Booth's *Life and Labor of the People;* and it is needless to point out that our data, obtained on the basis of a single visit by the investigator, even when supplemented, as was often the case, by the probation officer, were not sufficiently complete to permit

number of rooms in which the family lived, and the question as to whether the mother was obliged to work to provide or supplement the family income.

In general, the family in Group I, the class of "very poor families," was not supported by the father, and was not, therefore, a normally self-sustaining family. In dealing with this group the court may be said to have dealt with the unfortunate or degraded. In many cases the father was dead or ill so that the mother was obliged to earn money in some way. Since she was quite sure to be incompetent and already overburdened with cares of many kinds, her only resource was to resort to any kind of makeshift work, usually going out to wash or clean by the day or to scrub office buildings at night. In a considerable number of cases, destitution had come because the father had deserted the family, or because he was a drunken loafer. Under any of these circumstances it is clear that a family will frequently be unable to maintain itself even with the help of the mother's earnings, and assistance is given by county or charitable agencies.

The families in Group II have been called poor, but they were normally self-sustaining families; that is, families in which the father was able to bear the burden of support but where there was a hard struggle to make both ends meet while the children were small. The father was usually an unskilled

the use of the Booth classification which, it will be remembered, was a very elaborate one comprising two subdivisions for each class as follows:

Class A. Lowest class; semi-criminal	These two classes constituting the very poor.
Class B. Casual earnings	
Class C. Irregular earnings	These two classes constituting the poor.
Class D. Regular earnings	
Class E. Ordinary standard earnings	These two forming the comfortable class.
Class F. Highly paid work	
Class G. Lower middle	These two forming the well-to-do class.
Class H. Upper middle	

In contrast with this division into eight groups, we were obliged to confine ourselves to a simpler and less exact classification because of the less accurate information in our possession. It may, however, be said that in general our Group I would include roughly the Booth classes A and B, Group II would include classes C and D, Group III classes E and F, and Group IV classes G and H.

laborer who suffered not only because his earning capacity was small but because his work was irregular. The home was generally poor and crowded, though often clean, decent, and even cheerful. The neighborhood was frequently poor and congested, possibly offering temptation in the way of low theaters and saloons, and almost certainly without suitable places of recreation.

The families in Group III have been described as fairly comfortable. The most typical family is that of the skilled artisan who was earning good wages and was regularly employed. The homes in this group were in better neighborhoods and were often pleasant and attractive as well as clean and decent. It was found that very few delinquent girls—not more than one-tenth of the total number—but about one-fourth of the boys came from families of this grade.

Of Group IV little need be said. These families in comfortable circumstances did not form 1 per cent of those whose children were dealt with by the court. It is, indeed, scarcely necessary to point out that the children of families in this group are children with opportunities for education and varied recreation—children to whom much care and attention is given. Few of them become wards of the court.

The results of this classification showed an almost equal number of boys in Groups I and II. Out of a total of 650 boys, 239, or 37 per cent, were from very poor families, 260, or 40 per cent, come from families which have been called poor, 142, or 22 per cent, come from fairly comfortable homes, and only 9, or 1 per cent of the whole number, from the Group IV homes which were described as "comfortable."

In general the delinquent girls come from families of a lower grade, but attention should be called to the fact that girls whose family circumstances are referred to here were an arbitrarily selected group.[16] The girls who are sent to institutions are undoubtedly from families of a lower grade than are the girls who are paroled; for commitment to an institution is an expression

[16] The delinquent girls whose families were visited were all girls who had been committed to the State Training School at Geneva and were, therefore, more seriously delinquent than the girls who were paroled.

of belief by the court that the family can be trusted no longer to safeguard the girl. When it is remembered, however, that the great majority of girls who come into court are sent to institutions, it is clear that the conditions of the families of institutional girls are more nearly typical than might at first sight seem to be the case. It is of interest to know that 92 per cent of the girls as compared with 77 per cent of the boys come from the two lowest groups, and that 68 per cent of the girls as compared with 37 per cent of the boys are from the very lowest group, the group in which degradation so often accompanies poverty. That is, as families rise into a higher economic group, it is clear that their girls are protected before their boys.

In connection with the fact that so large a proportion of girls come from families in the two lowest groups, it should also be pointed out that in general the offenses which bring girls into court are not as trivial as those of the boys. In 80 per cent of the cases the delinquent girl is one whose morals are endangered, and the expectation is that this condition of peril to the girl's virtue would not normally exist except where the family is either degraded or under such economic pressure that the conditions in the home or the neighborhood are dangerous to a young girl's morals.

By way of summary, then, it may be said that in dealing with Groups I and II, the court deals with the problem of poverty and that roughly nine-tenths of the delinquent girls and three-fourths of the delinquent boys come from homes of the poor. Of the girls 70 per cent and nearly 40 per cent of the boys come from the lowest class, the "very poor," the class in which there exists often not only destitution, but destitution accompanied by degradation, or destitution caused by degradation.

From these facts it becomes evident that, for the present, the court can hardly hope to treat adequately from the point of view of material relief the families of whose necessities it learns through the child's wrongdoing. It is also evident that knowledge of privation secured in this way is obtained too late in the history of the family to prevent many of the ill conse-

quences of undue economic pressure from being finally worked out. Evidently it is in connection with the functions of the court as caretaker of dependents that a comprehensive program of preventive relief administration should be elaborated. But there is no reason why, as one group of the court's wards after another can be segregated, analyzed, and understood, there should not be prompt and adequate planning for their treatment. Such a group is constituted by the delinquent children of unsupported mothers of the kind and measure of competence already discussed. In connection with these mothers it is none too early to take steps in the direction of securing through the supply of material relief their services as agents of the court in the care and supervision of their own children.

In passing to the second group of mothers who cannot stand the test of a clean and decent home—those who fall below the "national minimum" of child care—we find the problem a very different and much more difficult one. The mothers who cannot be grouped with the competent fall into two classes: those not hopelessly incompetent, from whom perhaps the children would better be taken for a while as the best inducement to rise to a higher plane of living and management; and those who, by the time they come to the court's notice, are quite hopeless from the point of view of child care. In the treatment of the latter, the action of the court should, of course, be swift and sure.

Of the former a number of illustrations can be given: in one case (10,461) the home was "pretty" clean, but the family shiftless and happy-go-lucky, and the mother untruthful. In another (12,750) the home was dirty; but it was also in a poor neighborhood, and the mother supported her two children by going out washing. The boy, who was brought in at the age of eleven as "disorderly"—he had set fire to a freight car, probably not alone—is ill-nourished, pale, and sick, has been partially paralyzed, and has no ambition. A Polish woman, who worked seven years in a pickle factory and took care of herself and her three fatherless children, has married again, a drunkard, and has fallen a victim to the habit herself. She lives in an "old shack,"

the house and yard are dirty; but the struggle has been hard, the habit is only recently formed, and that she cares for her boy is shown by the fact that when he was in John Worthy School she managed to raise fifty dollars to get him out. She has two boys who are wards of the court.

The cases could be multiplied. An Irish widow has a pretty low home. She has six children living and five dead. The home is dirty and shiftless. Two older boys have gone to the Bridewell; but two sisters help now to keep the home decent and the mother thinks the officer to whom the boy was paroled "helped him to improve." A Russian Jewish mother (16,551), whose daughter "worked for a year in factories and gave her mother all her earnings, and finally became reckless and immoral," keeps a low, dirty, disorderly home. But she worked out by the day trying to support the seven children, two of whom are physically handicapped and one mentally deficient.

It should be pointed out that in no one of these cases was the situation hopeless from the beginning. In all the struggle against odds, the gradual submission makes one feel that a wiser and kinder policy, if only undertaken at an earlier period, might have saved hideous waste as well as pitiful suffering.

There is finally the third group, which is fortunately a small one, composed of those cases in which the mother is too far gone to justify any effort to maintain the home intact. In such cases there is every reason for separation, if not permanent, at least until the children are established in their habits of thought and conduct. Then the institution for delinquent children may be the only recourse for the child whose conduct has been the occasion of the court's interference; for the others, the care of the family as dependents should at once be undertaken.

In one case, where a good estate had been left by the father, the mother squandered it all, and had long been drunken and of bad habits (10,187), so that the children were neglected. The boy never came into court a second time, but he loafs about poolrooms, never works, and at seventeen is in the third grade. A Polish (11,698) mother of eight children is a miserable,

incompetent, degraded woman, living with five children in an old shed, a squalid and wretched place. This boy of nine was first brought in for begging and picking up refuse from garbage cans. He spent some months in the Crippled Children's Home because his leg had been cut off by a passing train, and two years in John Worthy School. Later, when for a third time he comes to court and is given to Father Quille, with whom he finds home care, he begins to mend. And the girl whose mother (12,433) is shiftless and drinking, willing to use her daughter for immoral purposes, has forfeited all claim to her companionship and custody.

Some note should also be taken of those cases in which the mother is incapacitated by mental or physical infirmity for which she is in no wise to blame. For example, she may be insane, and there may be another member in the family who can assume her duties. In the case of one boy (10,750, Group I) whose parents were Polish Catholics, the facts were as follows: Both father and mother were nineteen when they came over, so that they never learned English. The father died leaving an insurance of $900, but the mother became insane soon after his death and spent it all in a year. Two boys supported the family of six children by working in the stockyards and one of the girls keeps the house clean and cares for the younger children.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that among the widowed and deserted, as among all other families, there will be cases of what may be called casual or adventitious delinquency, where the boy is not really bad, perhaps goes too far with the gang (12,303), or "flips" once too often or too obviously (12,377, 11,374), or with a gang fools with a "gum machine" (12,143). With these, the fact of widowhood has really no connection.

There are cases, too, when the children carry the family over from times of hard pressure into fairly comfortable conditions, lift the group from below to above the "poverty line" as Mr. Rowntree would put it. One little Russian Jewish boy (11,023) who came in at ten for using vile language, sold papers on the street after school and became the sole support of the family.

They lived in three rear rooms; there had to be much relief, so that the mother speaks of the probation officer as her "best friend" and a "good lady." And then, of course, there is often remarriage and the lifting of the whole group if the new husband is competent and kind (11,307).

These cases suffice to illustrate the ways in which the work of existing relief agencies having in mind the maintenance of the family group in such a way as to develop initiative and independence on the part of the children in it and the court whose function it is to supervise child care and exercise child restraint but so as to lead to an orderly, law-abiding, and competent maturity may overlap or may touch at many points. Evidently where there is competent motherhood and pressure of poverty, so that the child restraint must be accompanied by material relief, this should be given according to the most approved principles of family care. The agents of the court, then, should become familiar with the modern methods of caring for necessitous families, the use of the friendly visit, and particularly with the importance of including, in every case, in the plan and treatment of the child a plan and treatment of the whole group. An ideal arrangement would be, of course, until public provision is made, to establish a partnership between the court and charitable agencies in the handling of every case in which there is found a working mother competent to hold the brood together, if only the money side of the difficulty were met, so that such cases could be jointly handled. It may be that when the functions of the court as carer for the dependent children are fully established such complementary work on the part of its two departments of interest will be found among the court's normal activities. On the other hand, it is evident that besides such regard for the principles of family life as guides the relief society in determining the conditions and amount of a pension, the court must be ready to supply the true paternal service. The child who is brought into court is at an age when perhaps his father's care is most needed. The probation officer may be a woman, but she speaks from and for the court. She has still the authority the mother may have had

before the father's death, when she could at least "tell on" the child. For such children the care of the court may well be important enough to justify the mothers who in touching helplessness bring in their children as "incorrigible." Perhaps we can look to a time when we can either supply this lack to the fatherless by some more effective device, or use the court without being afraid that the "police will have it in for the child who has been in court," or the paternal relationship will be secured at too great a cost in its effect on the child's good name.

ILLUSTRATIVE FAMILY PARAGRAPHS GIVING THE HOME CIRCUMSTANCES AND COURT RECORD OF TWENTY-FIVE CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN WARDS OF THE JUVENILE COURT OF CHICAGO BETWEEN JULY 1, 1899, AND JULY 1, 1909

10,369, Group I.

An English Protestant family with four children. The parents were twenty-five and nineteen when they came to this country, and twenty-six and twenty years when they were married. The father, who was a tailor, died eight years ago, and the mother has gone out washing ever since. She is now working in a laundry, earning from seven to eight dollars a week, and is away from home all day. In 1900 they lived in seven rooms, and in 1907, in only five, but they pay two dollars a month rent more now than formerly. At the age of sixteen this boy was in the fourth grade of the public school. When he was thirteen he was brought into court charged with stealing razors valued at eighteen dollars, and was put on probation, paroled to a police officer. The next year he was brought in again charged with burglarizing a store, and was committed to the John Worthy School. When he was seventeen he was brought in again charged (with another boy) with stealing a fire-extinguisher; and was again put on probation, this time being paroled to a regular probation officer who calls at the home twice a month, talks with him about his work, advises him, and is always friendly. The boy lives too far away to report to the officer. The mother co-operated with the officer and the sister thinks the officer has helped the boy a great deal. In 1906 he worked six months in a packing-house as errand boy, earning $5.00 a week, and for four months in a wholesale grocery store at the same wages. He is now working in a wall-paper house, and earning $7.50 a week. He "gives in" his wages, and his mother is fond of him.

School statement.—I am *17* years old. I left school when I was *14*. I was then in the *5th* grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Curtis School, Van Vlissingen, Green Schools.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *reading, writing, because I am checking in a wall paper house.*

10,402, Group I.

A Swedish Protestant family; this boy the only child. The father has been dead twelve years and the mother—a good, industrious woman who was a nurse but gave it up because it kept her away from home and the boy—washes, so that the boy never had real home care. The family live in four rear rooms, steam heat, comfortable and neat. When this boy was fourteen he took a horse and a buggy and a pocketbook. He was put on probation, and paroled to a special officer who called to see him "once or twice," according to the mother. The officer then moved away and the boy was transferred to another one. At fourteen he was in the seventh grade in public school. He was an errand boy in a drug-store and later in a tailor shop. For a while he drove a grocery wagon. The boy did not give his mother much money, as he liked to spend his own money. He is now doing farm work in Iowa.

10,765, Group I.

The father died some years ago, cause unknown, but both parents are said to have been intelligent and temperate. The mother has worked hard for her children. The girl developed physically very young, was very pretty, and attracted a great deal of attention in the places where she worked. She was bright and quick, but she did not go to school and was sent to work when very young. She had no home care or discipline. One brother was also a ward of the court, but he has improved and is doing well. The girl at the age of sixteen was brought into court on the charge of immorality; she was then staying away from home and living in low rooming-houses and hotels. She had relations with a singer and saloon dancer who was known as Silver Moon. She was put on probation for nearly two years and was brought in again on the same charge, kept on probation four months longer, and was then sent to Geneva. When on parole from Geneva she was again immoral and was returned to stay until she was twenty-one. She never improved and is now in a house of prostitution.

11,294, Group I.

A Swedish Protestant family of seven children, whose parents immigrated at the ages of seventeen and fifteen, and were married at twenty and twenty-four. The father was a sewer-builder, but died six years ago of pneumonia, when the youngest child was only five days old. The mother was then obliged to go out to work to support the family. This boy was then thirteen years old, in the fifth grade of the public school, and his mother

needed his help, so she let him stop school and go to work. He then got into bad company and began to do wrong. At the age of fifteen this boy was brought into court for stealing two bottles of wine from a delivery wagon; he had been arrested for intoxication. He was put on probation and paroled to a police probation officer who says that the boy did not do well under probation. He would not report and would not submit to any kind of control. The officer called to see the boy once a month and tried every method to help him, but could not touch him in any way. The mother co-operated with the officer and did all she could to help. She says "the officer spoke so kindly to the boy." The officer thinks if the boy had had a better place than the street in which to play, he might have been a good boy. The mother feels that she is to blame for his delinquency, because she let him go to work so young, and because she did not realize the temptations to which he might be subjected. The mother keeps the home of five rooms very neat and clean and pleasant, although it is so poor and although she still does washing, earning about four dollars and a half a week. All the children are at home, and two of them work at bookbinding and earn about eight dollars a week each; but this boy never helps support the mother. The probation officer thinks this boy, who has never worked steadily and is now out of work, almost a degenerate, and "expects to see him in the penitentiary."

10,787, Group I.

An American Catholic family with ten children, not, however, all belonging to the mother; three were her sister's and three are her stepchildren. The ages of the parents at marriage were thirty-five and twenty-four. The father is dead, and the mother earns from seven to ten dollars a week, cleaning. The father had tuberculosis, and during his long illness as well as after his death the mother had to go out to work, and there was no one left to look after the family. The home of six rooms is very poor but clean. Two of the children are married, and there are seven at home. The boy was brought into court by his mother, because she had to work and could not keep him off the streets, as incorrigible, at the age of twelve years; he had been expelled from two schools, and had run away from St. Mary's. He was sent to Feehanville and then to the John Worthy School for three months. When he was thirteen he was again brought in as incorrigible, and was sent to the John Worthy School for a year and nine months; he was then transferred to Feehanville and in three months was recommitted to the John Worthy School. The boy was first paroled to a police officer and later to a regular officer. The boy reported to the officer and the officer called at the boy's home every two weeks. The officer had to frighten the boy into doing right—telling him she would send him away if he did not behave. The mother did all in her power to make

the boy do right. The boy rebels against being under probation and is anxious to be released, but the mother thinks it is very good for him to be under an officer's care. He is now at work, earning five dollars a week.

10,481, Group I.

This boy's parents are Polish Catholic. Parents were both twenty at time of marriage and immigrated at age of thirty. There were six children, of whom one is married. The father, who was a tailor by trade, died insane ten years ago. The mother, who can speak no English, took in washing and had a hard struggle for years to care for the family. She kept the house clean but was not able to look after the children properly. When this boy was thirteen and in the fourth grade of the parochial school, he was brought into court for cutting telephone wires under the sidewalks and carrying away the wires to sell. He was put on probation and was never brought into court again. He was paroled to a police officer who says the boy reported to him and never gave him any further trouble. He worked for nearly three years in a furniture factory and five months in a spring factory. He is now in a department store earning nine dollars a week.

School statement.—I am *18* years old. I left school when I was *13* years *7* months I was in the *4th* grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *St. Stanislaw School.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *Reading and Arithmatic. Because reading helps me find work by reading in papers and arithmatic helps me count my hours I put in and county my celary.*

12,295, Group I.

The father of this girl was a German, a stone-cutter by trade, who died nine years ago leaving the five children. The mother, also a German, has earned her rent by acting as janitress in the poor tenement building in which she lives. Formerly she went out washing and tried to support the family in this way. The father drank heavily and one of the girl's brothers drinks and is so dreadful when drunk that he is not allowed to stay at home. At the age of fifteen this girl could neither read nor write, although she was born in America. Her mother brought her to court when she was fifteen charging that she was incorrigible, that she spent her time loitering about the railroad tracks in bad company. She admitted her immorality and was sent to Geneva, but after she had been there two years her mother asked to have her released because her wages were needed at home. The girl, however, has not worked well; she has had places as a domestic servant and has tried factory work since her return, but shows an inclination to go back to her old habits. She gives her mother all her wages when she has any.

12,001, Groups I–II.

An Irish Catholic family of five children, two of whom have died. At immigration, the father was twenty-one, the mother fourteen. At marriage, the father was twenty-three, the mother eighteen. Father has been dead sixteen years. The mother supported children by taking boarders and kept a clean, nice home. The older boys now work and help her. This boy is going to be a priest; he attended a parochial school and is living in a priest's home now. At the age of fourteen he was brought into court charged with stealing grain from the railroad. He was put on probation and reported to a police officer regularly until he was sixteen years old. His mother says that the officer was very friendly with the boy and helped him a great deal. The boy always turns in his wages.

11,930, Group I.

This boy's father was a German and his mother Irish Catholic. There were eleven children, of whom this boy is the eldest. Eight died when small; and one girl is a tubercular cripple. The father died of tuberculosis; the mother remarried and the stepfather was killed by an accident. The mother goes out to wash while the grandmother stays at home and takes care of the house, which is kept neat and pleasant. The mother and grandmother are very nice women who have struggled hard to keep independent. They take one lodger. The probation officer says that the family were in great need of fuel and food and the boy was sent out to pick up anything he could about the tracks. The policeman had said, "all right—go ahead" a good many times, because he knew the family needed. At the age of fourteen this boy was brought into court on the charge of stealing. He (with 11,932) broke seals on freight cars and stole eleven bottles of wine, eighteen bars of soap, and $10.00 worth of apples. He was put on probation, paroled to a regular officer, who was "just a friend" in this case and encouraged the boy and helped the family. The mother was always glad to see the officer—to talk over her troubles to her and get her advice. She helped the mother to get washing and secured provisions for them from the county. She also got the boy a position. She visited the home every week and the boy reported to her twice a month. The mother speaks of the officer as "pulling them through many hard places." He studied draughting for three years in a correspondence school. He has been sub-foreman at the . . . . Manufacturing Company for three and one-half years, and now earns $20.00 a week, which he "turns in."

12,161, Group I.

Boy's father was Irish and his mother American, both Catholic. There were six children in the family but two are now dead. The father died several years ago and since then the mother, although she is not strong

enough to work steadily, has earned about $5.00 a week washing. They live in a five-room cottage, supplied with only the necessaries of life. They own it, however, except for a small mortgage.

The boy has attended both parochial and public schools, and at the age of eleven years was in the fourth grade, public school. He was first brought into court at the age of ten for flipping cars, staying away from school, chewing tobacco, and was put on probation. Two months later he was sent to the Chicago Parental School for truancy. Shortly after his release he played truant again, and was again brought into court; and was again put on probation. About one year later, after being brought into court because of the lack of care of his mother, he was sent at her request to Feehanville. She said she was unable to control him and could do nothing with him. About six months later he was again brought into court on charge of incorrigibility for going with bad boys and disobeying his mother. The boy is now obedient and industrious. He went to work because he did not like to go to school. He has worked for the last three months handling bricks and earns $6.00 a week, which he gives to his mother, receiving from her an allowance.

School statement.—I am *14* years old. I left school when I was *14*. I was in the *3* grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Nativity School, McClellan School.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are: *I have learned to make money by being an Enagine trin ad and teamster.*

11,303, Group I.

A German family with three children, of whom this boy is the youngest. Age of parents at time of immigration and of marriage, father twenty-four and mother nineteen. The father, who was a saloon-keeper, died insane. The mother scrubs and is a hard-working woman. The home of five rooms is clean, but is in a bad neighborhood, and the boy and his older sister quarreled a great deal. At the age of thirteen and a half this boy, who attended the public school, was brought into court as unmanageable at home. He used bad language and stayed away from home all day. The mother later sent him to the Chicago Parental School. The boy is working now and gives his mother all he earns.

10,262, Group I.

An Irish Catholic family with four children. The father died eleven years ago, and the mother has supported the family by washing. The home has always been very poor but neat. The boy's older brothers have both been wards of the court; one is now in the John Worthy School and one is in Pontiac. This boy is only thirteen years old now, but has been a ward of the court for four years. He was arrested when he was nine years old for trying to steal brass air-valves from freight cars and he had been

up before this for stealing coal from the railroad tracks. He was put under the care of a regular probation officer and has done well. In spite of unfavorable home conditions, he has never been in court again. The officer visits the boy every three weeks and often sees him on the street, so that she may become acquainted with his companions. The mother says that the officer is "very pleasant" and that she gives her "good advice." The boy has been transferred from public to parochial schools several times, but is now in Saint ———. The boy has always been very fond of his mother and very good to her.

School statement.—I am *13* years old. I left school when I was ——. I was then in the —— grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *P. D. Armour Sch., Nativaty School will start monday Feb. 14 at St. David's.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *spelling, reading, writing, and arithmatic, because if you get to work in an office.*

18,833, Group I.

This girl's father was born in Germany and came to this country after he was grown up and learned a trade. He was a baker but died of paralysis a few years ago. The mother is a German-American, a hard worker and keeps the home neat and clean although she works out washing and scrubbing to help support the five children. This girl worked at the Fair for some time but she seems easily to have deceived her mother and had been leading an immoral life while she was pretending to work. Her mother brought her into court when she was sixteen, saying that she was incorrigible and that she had found her in a rooming-house with men. The girl had been immoral for two years before this time. She was sent to Geneva but was transferred to the Chicago Refuge for Girls where her baby was born and where she stayed for a year. After she came home she did housework for a time and pretended to care for the child, but she left home finally and abandoned it, and her mother thinks that she is now in a house of prostitution.

22,493, Group I.

A Russian Jewish family of three children; the father died many years ago and the mother worked very hard to support the family. The girl went to school very little and worked when very young. The other two children, an older sister and an older brother, are both very good and industrious. This girl worked "down town" in stores and became very immoral. At the age of sixteen she was brought into court and acknowledged having lived with different men for several days at a time. She was sent to Geneva and was later released, but after her release she ran away from home and entered upon an immoral life. Lived with a man in a hotel.

24,698, Group I.

A Norwegian family of five children. The mother is an office-cleaner and earns about $6.00 a week. The father died about ten years ago and the mother has worked hard ever since. She cleans offices at night, so that the girl was left free to roam the streets during the evening. The girl did housework for six months and worked in the Boston Store for a time. She always gave all her wages to her mother. The mother thinks she was led astray by girls she met in the store. She finally left home and kept a room where she took men for money. After she had been away from home a long time the mother found her, took her to court herself, and had her sent to Geneva. She was then sixteen years old.

10,258, Group I.

An Irish Catholic family with two children; the father dead and the mother a cook in a restaurant. A very poor home of three rooms, formerly two, in a very poor neighborhood. The mother has gone out to work for thirteen years. Five children died at birth. The family always had coal from the county when the children were small. This boy's brother is also a ward of the court. The boy, who is very deaf, was first brought into court at the age of fifteen by his mother; he would not work, had been abusive to his mother, and had struck her several times. He was sent to the John Worthy School for six months. When he was sixteen he was brought in again, on the same charge, and was sent to the John Worthy School for eight months. When he was seventeen he was brought in on the charge of disorderly conduct and put on probation for four months, when he was first paroled to a regular officer and later to the Junior Business Club. The officers of the club got several positions for the boy, but he had a strong aversion to any kind of steady work and he was finally sent to the John Worthy School for the third time. The boy is now a lumber teamster. He has worked very irregularly, and has had many positions; for two years he was on a farm; for six months he was in a machine shop, and was in a harness shop three months.

School statement.—I am *19* years old. I left school when I was *16*. I was then in the *5* grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Frankin Brothers and J. Worthy* (*Chicago Ave. and Sedwig*) *Schools.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *reading and writing because I can read and find where I want to go.*

10,353, Group IV.

This boy, the youngest of three children, is a member of a southern family of good standing. His parents seem to have been at one time wealthy. The home is very comfortable, and the family are now living in an apartment for which they pay $60.00 a month. The father is dead, and

the mother brought the boy into court when he was fifteen, saying that he ran away from home, stayed in vicious places, and that she did not know what to do with him. She asked the judge to put him under the care of an officer. Two years later she brought him into court again saying that he was becoming very bad indeed, staying out until three in the morning, visiting gambling dens and immoral places. He was then sent to St. Charles for one year, where he graduated from the seventh grade. Between the two appearances in court he was under the care of two regular probation officers. The second one endeavored to gain his confidence as a friend rather than as an officer. She had the boy report to her twice a month and she called occasionally at the home. Her calls at the house she felt were unnecessary because the mother watched the boy so closely. She regards him now as a young man whose delinquency should be forgotten.

He has worked for one manufacturing company for six months, and his employer was very sorry to lose him. He is now employed on one of the daily papers and said to be doing well.

10,233, Groups I–II.

An Irish Catholic family with four children. The father has been dead ten years, the mother owns a little laundry in front of the house. She is a good worker and a good manager and is able to support the family and keep the house of five rooms neat and tidy. This boy is the youngest. Has a good record in both the parochial and public schools. The mother brought the boy into court at the age of fifteen saying he would not go to school and she wanted him sent to the John Worthy School. She is now very sorry that she did this. The boy, she says, is really a good boy. He is now a conductor earning $20.00 a week, and gives his mother his money. Previously he worked one year as a driver and earned $12.00 a week. When released from the John Worthy School he was paroled to a regular officer who called to see him every two weeks and to whom he often reported. The officer was a friend of the whole family. The mother speaks of her as "a fine woman."

School statement.—I am *21* years old. I left school when I was *15*. I was then in the *7th* grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Visitation School Derbay.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *reading and writting, because I find them usefull.*

10,187, Groups I–II.

The child of a Canadian father and an American mother, both Protestants. At marriage the father was forty-one and the mother was fifteen. There are four children, one of whom, a girl, is a school teacher. The father, a physician, died leaving a good estate when this boy was a baby. The mother is a drunkard and has squandered much of what he left. They

still live in a well-furnished seven-room apartment, in a good neighborhood, but the house is slovenly and ill-kept. The mother has always been a woman of bad habits; all the children have been much neglected. The mother has always been very indifferent to the boy. When this boy was fourteen he was brought into court for threatening to stab a man. He was put on probation and paroled to a special officer who blames the boy's delinquency on his mother. The officer says she does not visit the boy's home often because she is not a regular officer. The mother says "there never was any probation officer." The boy has never been in court again. He has, however, never worked, and loafs about poolrooms most of the time. At seventeen he was in the third grade.

School statement.—I am *20* years old. I left school when I was *17*. I was then in the *3rd* year. I began to go to school when I was *5* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *John McLaren, Alfred Tennyson, Brainard, and St. Patrick's Commercial School, St. Michael's, Plymouth, Ind.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *Sacred Heart College, because machinery, arithmetic, bookkeeping, freight routing, they wanted men that could do that kind of work.*

21,020, Group I.

A Russian Jewish family of five children. The father died suddenly after the birth of this child and the mother has always worked hard to care for the children all of whom seem to have turned out well except this girl and she has been working steadily since her release from Geneva. The neighborhood in which they are living is full of saloons and cheap theaters but the home (four rooms) is clean and well kept. The girl began to work at the age of fourteen; was a clerk in a department store for a while and then worked in a gum factory. The mother thought that the girl got in with bad company; she did not believe that the girl had been immoral but took her to court at the age of fifteen because she felt that the girl was in danger of "going wrong" and was determined to save her. The girl was found to be immoral and was sent to Geneva. She had been in the habit of running away from home and her mother could do nothing with her.

12,804, Groups I–II.

A German Protestant family. The mother was married at twenty-two and came to this country when she was thirty-five; the father was between thirty and thirty-five when he immigrated. The mother cannot speak English. The father died of cancer ten years ago. The stepfather is a lumberyard laborer. The boy's sister works, and the stepsister stays at home. The family is supported by the mother scrubbing and washing; the mother says she has a "weak head" and cannot remember things on account of hard

work and worry. They have a neat home, but in a very congested neighborhood on a filthy, unpaved street. The two stepbrothers have always been very bad boys; they never would work, and the father will not allow them to stay at home. One boy sleeps in basements and comes around occasionally. The mother thinks they have had a bad influence on her boy. This boy was first brought into court at the age of thirteen on the charge of incorrigibility; he stole seven dollars from his mother, and had been stealing small sums for a long time, and would not attend school regularly; he was committed to the John Worthy School. Within a year he was brought into court three times as an incorrigible; he was twice put on probation, and the third time was again committed to the John Worthy School. He worked on a farm for three months. He has worked in a coat factory, in a carpet factory, and for a while drove a team. The boy has been paroled to two police officers and to the Junior Business Club. The police officers do not remember anything about the boy. The officer of the Junior Business Club says he got several "jobs" for the boy, but he did not have the ability to hold them. "He is slightly weakminded." This officer says he is now doing well on a farm and is such a good worker that several farmers want him. He thinks the boy has found his place.

12,422, Groups I–II.

This girl was one of ten children, two of whom died of tuberculosis, two died of typhoid fever, and one of diphtheria. Her father and mother were both English. The father, who worked on canal boats and made pretty good earnings, was killed in a railroad accident. The mother, who drank, proved to be quite incapable of taking care of the children; she was a shiftless, drinking woman and didn't seem to want to look after them at all. The girl worked in a box factory and when she was fifteen she had three fingers badly injured so that for a time she was not able to work. Her mother said she could not have her at home as she could not pay for what she ate. She was found by an officer in a house of prostitution. The girl says her mother left her in the house of prostitution and that Mrs. J——, the keeper, and her mother tried to make her stay. The officer brought her into court and she was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd. She was there two years and was then released to her brother. This brother has been a barber since he was eleven years old; he has a good home, three children of his own, and a brother as well as this sister lives with him. One brother who is living with the mother has been in court several times for stealing. This girl has been working and doing very well since her release. She has been a machine operator for the last eight months earning $6.00 a week.

12,563, Group II.

An only child of American Protestant parents. The father is dead and the mother owns some property in the country and the building in which

they live; she rents the store in front and all of the rest of the building, except three small, dark rooms. She was once a school teacher but she has an ungovernable temper, at times verging on insanity. Neighbors and probation officer think she is not in her right mind at times. She recently put some tenants out and one of them had her arrested for disorderly conduct. She threw eggs in court at the judge who fined her and she is now in jail serving a thirty-days' sentence for contempt. Boy attended parochial and public schools. At sixteen he was in the seventh grade. The investigator found boy alone with his dog, cooking his supper. He is fond of his mother and wanted to go to jail for her or with her, but the judge would not allow it. He has had several different kinds of jobs. He was inspector at Marshall Field's for a while, and agent for a candy store, and errand boy at Mandel's, but is out of work now. He paid his mother his board when he was working. He and his mother are going to the country when she comes out of jail. At the age of thirteen this boy was brought into court, charged with malicious mischief. He was accused of throwing stones and breaking windows. He was put on probation and was paroled to a police officer, who was "always chummy" with him. He went to see the boy "often," but the mother did not like any interference with her authority. The officer says the boy is a good boy now.

School statement.—I am *17* years old. I left school when I was *16*. I was then in the *7* grade. I began to go to school when I was *4* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Ward School and Morely School and St. James School.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *Reading and Writing and Armithict because you can tell where you are and can be in touch with your people.*

12,750, Group I.

An American family with poor physical inheritance. Two children are alive, while several have died. The father was married at twenty-three and the mother at fourteen. The father died some time ago, and the mother has supported the children by going out to wash. They were always wretchedly poor; the house is dirty and in a poor neighborhood. In 1904 they had five rooms, in 1907 three rooms. An older brother now works. This boy went to the public school. At the age of eleven he was brought into court on the charge of disorderly conduct. He had set fire to a freight car filled with hay. He was put on probation, and has been under the care of three regular officers, the last one a woman. The mother considered the second officer "her good friend" but she does not like the last officer. She thinks "men get along better with boys than women." The officer visited the boy often, had the boy report to her once a month, and "tried to bolster him up to do something." The boy has managed to keep out of trouble—due to the close watchfulness of the probation officer, who thinks him a little weak-

minded. The boy was partially paralyzed a few years ago. He is ill-nourished, sick, and pale. He has worked some time and in 1907 he worked two months as errand boy, but "has no ambition," and is out of work now.

School statement.—I am *15* years old. I left school when I was *14*. I was then in the *4* grade. I began to go to school when I was *6* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Tilden Schole.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *aritmetic and spelling because I couldnt get work without it.*

11,698, Group I.

A Polish Catholic family with eight children, of whom two have left home, although they still help support the family, and one is in Feehanville. The mother was sixteen and the father twenty-two at marriage; and they immigrated a year later. The father died three years ago, and the mother is a miserable, incompetent, degraded woman, ill most of the time, without any moral standards, who, although she has been a widow for three years, has a child thirteen months old. She is now living with five children in two rooms in an old shed which an uncle owns and in which he keeps vegetables. The whole place is squalid and wretched. During one illness the boy begged. He had one leg cut off by a train several years ago, but has an artificial leg and gets along well. He was brought into court at age of nine for begging and picking up refuse from garbage can with mother's consent. He was then sent to the Crippled Children's Home. Eleven months later he was again arrested for begging. The family was destitute and boy had to beg. He was sent to the John Worthy School for two years. A year later he stole brass from a railroad. He now lives with Father Quille and seems to be improving. He has no bad habits and is going to work. He has never been on probation.

School statement.—I am *15* years old. I left school when I was *14*. I was then in the *3* grade. I began to go to school when I was *8* years old.

In Chicago I have attended the *Joe Worner Mandes Cornell Branch John Worthy School.*

The studies which have helped me most to earn money are *reading writting noumber slepping becayse can have a good Job.*

DEATH PENALTY AND HOMICIDE

ARTHUR MACDONALD
Washington, D.C., Honorary President of the "3d International Congress of Criminal Anthropology"

History shows that man has become less and less cruel. When one reads of the enormous sacrifice of lives for seemingly small offenses, there is not only a sense of horror, but a feeling of impatience, that such things should ever have occurred. In one year (1820), forty-six persons were hanged for forging Bank of England notes, some of which were afterwards said to have been good.

According to Plato, crime is a disease, and the incurable criminal should either be banished or put to death, and thus deliver the republic from a great danger and the criminal himself from a very sad existence.

As society has become more humane, it fortunately has developed a horror of the shedding of blood, until now the death penalty is applied in practically few cases. In France, for instance, murder must be premeditated, or accompanied with other crime, if punished by death penalty.

The increasing and frequently excessive indulgence of magistrates has lessened the fear of the law, and as a consequence criminals have become more bold in their misdeeds. While penalties have become less severe, public security from the criminal has not increased.

In some cases the criminal is doubtless diseased, as Plato states, but in most instances, he is a wilful enemy of society, and severity and certainty of punishment restrain him.

Viewing the world as a whole, the official statistics of leading countries[1] show a general increase of crime in the last thirty

[1] *Man and Abnormal Man,* including a study of children, in connection with bills to establish laboratories under state and federal governments in the study of the criminal pauper, and defective classes, with bibliographies. Senate Docu-

years, while severe punishments have become less and less in number.

IMPORTANCE OF DEATH PENALTY OVERESTIMATED

The question of the death penalty has been emphasized too much and thus has been made to seem more important than it really is. For the question has been treated rather from the point of view of sentiment than of fact. But as will be seen in our statistical consideration of the subject, there are not as yet sufficient data to determine the influence of the death penalty. We must depend, then, on the opinion of those who have had the most extensive and direct experience with criminals themselves. While such opinion may not be final, it is less liable to error, than the opinon of those who have had little or no direct experience with the criminal as he is.

OPINION OF PRISON OFFICIALS

In an extensive visitation of prisons here and in Europe, living in the institutions, talking freely with the most intelligent wardens, keepers, and criminals, I do not remember one who did not believe in the utility of the death penalty in its effect upon certain classes of criminals, especially the professional criminal.

CONFESSION OF A BURGLAR

While studying a certain class of murderers, I had an extended conversation with a burglar of superior intelligence, who was experienced in his profession. He considered it a blunder to kill anyone, but he would not hesitate an instant to do it, if necessary to make his escape. He preferred, however, to operate where there was no *possibility* of punishment by death. He could enter most any place, and it would be still easier to escape from prison when he would have plenty of time, as in imprison-

ment No. 187, 58th Cong., 3d Sess. 780 pages, 8vo. Washington, D.C., 1905. Price 40 cents.

This document might be obtained gratis, either through any U.S. Senator or Representative, or by writing directly to the Superintendent of the House or of the Senate Document Room. Also the "Superintendent of Documents," at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., will send any public document on receiving its price.

ment for life. He might also work up a pardon case after the public had forgotten him and his crime.

CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS FAVOR DEATH PENALTY

Criminals themselves surely ought to know what kinds of punishment have most influence over them. Their organizations are mainly for appropriating the property of others. They are composed mostly of young men. The leaders find it necessary, in order to keep their members loyal and preserve the organization, to make the death penalty the main punishment for disobedience to their rules.

COMMON-SENSE ARGUMENT

The criminal is human, and like the average man, he fears punishment and especially death, for he is a coward. Sometimes he appears to be brave, but this bravery is usually temporary and mostly due to vanity and conceit.

DANGER OF ABOLISHING DEATH PENALTY

In substituting for the death penalty imprisonment for life, thieves, robbers, and assaulters committing crimes subject to life imprisonment would be encouraged to make sure and kill their victims; for this additional crime would rid them of a troublesome witness without increasing their punishment.

Also criminals imprisoned for life, could kill their keepers (some do), or anyone where there was opportunity, without danger of additional punishment.

ELIMINATION OF LOWEST CRIMINALS

There are certain criminals with very low natures, who cannot be suppressed. They are ready at any time to kill anyone. Those having experience with such hardened natures know that they are not only most dangerous and incorrigible, but absolutely worthless. Why should such criminals be imprisoned for life at the expense of honest citizens? Why should they not be eliminated once for all?

The fact that all punishments are being made less severe is the very reason we should have one left to protect the state

against such criminal monstrosities. The death penalty makes it certain that the criminal cannot take the life of another. Frequently those executed have killed more than one person.

OBJECTIONS TO DEATH PENALTY

Arguments against the death penalty are generally theoretical and frequently sentimental. Such arguments have little weight from the scientific point of view. But since these arguments are so often advanced, a few will be briefly mentioned.

It is said the death penalty is a relic of barbarism. The answer is that the thousands of brutal murders annually occurring are also relics of barbarism; but one is the killing of the innocent and the other of the guilty; and if the fear of the death penalty will lessen the destruction of one innocent life, as it probably does, it should be maintained.

UNJUST HUMANITARIANISM

There are thousands of innocent persons murdered in the United States every year. Most of these are helpless women. Many of these murderers escape, and many are not convicted for want of evidence, though doubtless guilty. Very few of those convicted are executed. Notwithstanding these facts there seems to be great sympathy for the murderers, mostly brutes, to be executed, who are often considered as though they were heroes. It is difficult to comprehend such sympathy, which ignores thousands of innocent and helpless victims, who suffer much more pain than that inflicted by the death penalty. It is curious we hear little or no sympathy for the numerous innocent victims, their families and friends.

It is often said that it is better that a thousand escape than that one innocent one be punished. But what shall we say of the thousand of innocent ones who are murdered as compared with the few guilty ones who are executed? Such disproportionate, unjust, and morbid sympathy for a guilty brute seems to be more a pathological than normal feeling.

It is said the death penalty is irrevocable and thus an innocent man might suffer it. It is well known to prison officials and the

police that such instances are mostly mythical and seldom if at all can be proved beyond a doubt. The law allows every chance to the criminal, where there is the least uncertainty. As already indicated, it is known that the murders for which criminals are convicted are not always the only ones they have committed. In fact, there are many murderers who are never arrested, because unknown to the police.

INFLUENCE OF THE DEATH PENALTY

As indicated by the statistics of England, which are given farther on,[2] the great majority of murders are committed, not by the regular criminal, but by persons of low and brutal natures in miserable domestic and social conditions, frequently leading to repeated family quarrels, angry words, and blows. In such desperate surroundings, hard times or other causes can make matters even worse, so that there is usually an increase of murders, which in many instances perhaps is not affected by the death penalty. I say "perhaps," because it is not difficult to think of cases, where the reading or hearing of an execution for murder may cause hesitancy and thus tend to lessen such murders, so that where the death penalty is in force and murders are increasing, the increase might be still greater, were there no death penalty. For all criminals, whether professional, habitual, or occasional, are fundamentally cowards, with whom fear always has force.

SOME EXPERIMENTS

In 1775 there were a large number of robbers and brigands in the suburbs of Paris. The death penalty was applied. Immediately the effect was felt. A similar experience occurred in Rome in 1590.

Recently France abolished capital punishment, but she has been forced to return to it. For according to Lacassage, in January and February of 1907, there were 80 assassinations on the streets of Paris.

Switzerland abolished the death penalty in 1874, but in 1879 penal powers were restored to the cantons and nine resumed

[2] See page 93.

the death penalty. These with similar experiences in other countries are significant.

STATISTICS OF DEATH PENALTY AND HOMICIDES

As already suggested, statistics are not sufficient to show whether the death penalty lessens murder and other crimes or not. For statistics as to murder are as yet not adequately collected, and if they were, the question could not be determined without comprehensive statistics of all forms of crime; and were these obtained, it is doubtful if the question could be settled as a general proposition, on account of the difference of laws and conditions in many countries. But in certain places at certain periods it is very probable from statistical data that the death penalty lessens certain forms of crime.

The fact that in some instances, murders or other crimes of violence have decreased or increased after the abolishment of the death penalty, does not show that this was the cause of the decrease or increase, because, as already mentioned, most murders are probably due to miserable or desperate conditions. Another reason is that many murders, and especially crimes of violence, are due to alcoholism.[3]

From a general consideration of statistics, and from the opinion of those who have had long experience in dealing *directly* with criminals, it seems very probable that the death penalty lessens certain forms of crime.

In order that the reader may examine the results for himself, I will give the official statistics of different countries of the world. It is true that many of the tables are very incomplete and inadequate, but it is all that I have been able to obtain from official sources.

ENGLAND AND WALES

Table 1 shows the number of persons sentenced to death during the twenty years from 1886 to 1905. The number rarely exceeds 30. The largest number in any one year was 41 in 1903.

[3] See articles (by writer) entitled "Statistics of Alcoholism and Inebriety," *Journal of Inebriety,* for Autumn, 1909, Boston, Mass.

[4] *Judicial Statistics of England and Wales* (London, 1908).

The second part of this table shows the disposal of persons sentenced to death for murder from 1896 to 1905.

The law of 1868 regulates the death penalty in Great Britain. Murder, high treason, and incendiarism of war vessels are pun-

TABLE 1

Year	Persons Sentenced to Death, 1886–1905			No. Executed	Sentence Commuted to Imprisonment for Life
	Males	Females	Total		
1886	31	4	35	..	..
1887	31	4	35	..	..
1888	32	4	36	..	..
1889	17	3	20	..	..
1890	22	2	24	..	..
Annual average	26.6	3.4	30	..	..
1891	17	2	19	..	..
1892	20	2	22	..	..
1893	24	4	28	..	..
1894	25	4	29	..	..
1895	16	3	19	..	..
Annual average	20.4	3.0	23.4	..	..
1896	32	1	33	20	11
1897	13	1	14	6	7
1898	22	5	27	11	15
1899	20	9	29	15	14
1900	19	1	20	13	5
Annual average	21.2	3.4	24.6	12.1	10.4
1901	26	2	28	15	12
1902	28	5	33	22	11
1903	36	5	41	27	13
1904	26	2	28	16	11
1905	31	1	32	17	15
Annual average	29.4	3.0	32.4	19.4	12.4

ished by death, including certain cases of assassination. There appears to be no great variation in the application of the death penalty.

From an examination of circumstances of cases of murder for twenty years (1886–1905), the motives or causes of the crime are given in Table 2.

These figures are held as merely tentative by the English expert, Sir John Macdonell. For in many crimes one or several

motives might be assigned. Ninety-two were due to jealousy and intrigues, 90 to drink, 77 to revenge, 68 to quarrels or violent rage. These are the principal causes. Fifty were due to robbery.

The instruments or weapons used seem to be matters of chance, as chair, axe, or chopper. Where jealousy was a motive, probably with premeditation, shooting was more often resorted to.

TABLE 2

Motive or Cause of Murders	Total No.
Drink	90
Quarrels or violent rage	68
Jealousy and intrigues	92
Revenge	77
Robbery	50
For insurance money	3
Extreme poverty	39
Illegal operation	12
To remove obstacles to marriage, etc.	9
Shame and disgrace	4
Sexual passion	26
Other causes not known	81
Total	551

In Table 3 are given the day and time of day, 208 murders were committed. The highest number (39) was on Saturday, the lowest (23) on Sunday. About one-fifth of the murders were committed between 10 P.M. and midnight and nearly half between the hours of 8 P.M. and 2 A.M.

A majority of the murders were committed in densely populated localities. In the opinion of the English experts, murder is not the crime of the so-called criminal classes, but in most cases is an incident in miserable lives in which disputes, quarrels, angry words, and blows are common.

There is a distinct class of murders, the motive of which is robbery, committed by habitual criminals, forming the climax to a criminal career. This species of murder is not so frequent as other kinds.

As to the time of life of murderers, it will be seen from Table 4 that a large majority commit their crime between the ages of 21 to 40 years, when they are strongest. About 59 per cent of all of them convicted between 1886 and 1905 were between these ages.

TABLE 3

Total No.	Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
23.....	12 M. to 2 A.M.	5	4	..	6	2	1	5
6.....	2 A.M. to 4 A.M.	1	1	1	1	..	1	1
4.....	4 A.M. to 6 A.M.	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
5.....	6 A.M. to 8 A.M.	1	..	1	..	..	..	3
10.....	8 A.M. to 10 A.M.	..	2	1	2	1	2	2
12.....	10 A.M. to 12 M.	1	1	1	3	..	6	..
19.....	12 M. to 2 P.M.	2	4	2	5	2	4	..
12.....	2 P.M. to 4 P.M.	3	..	2	3	2	2	..
21.....	4 P.M. to 6 P.M.	2	3	3	3	6	2	2
21.....	6 P.M. to 8 P.M.	5	3	4	3	5	1	..
33.....	8 P.M. to 10 P.M.	4	3	1	2	5	12	6
42.....	10 P.M. to 12 M.	6	4	10	5	7	7	3
208.....	Totals	30	26	27	33	30	39	23

TABLE 4

SEX AND AGES OF PERSONS CONVICTED OF MURDER FROM 1886 TO 1905

Ages	Males	Females	Total	Percentage of Males to Total No. of Males	Percentage of Females to Total No. Females	Percentage of Both to Total No.
12 to 16.....	1	...	1	0.2	....	0.2
16 to 21.....	45	11	56	9.3	17.2	10.1
21 to 30.....	153	27	180	31.4	42.2	32.7
30 to 40.....	130	11	141	26.7	17.2	25.6
40 to 50.....	86	5	91	17.7	7.8	16.5
50 to 60.....	45	6	51	9.2	9.4	9.3
Above 60.....	27	4	31	5.5	6.2	5.6
Total.....	487	64	551	100.0	100.0	100.0

Murder in England and probably in all countries means murder by men, for they are seven times as many as women. Out of a total of 552 persons sentenced to death since 1885, 488 or nearly 90 per cent were men. This also includes cases of child murder to which women are more inclined than men.[5]

Another point brought out in England is that a large number of murders by men are wife murders. Out of 487 murders by

[5] Similar results are found in Ireland.

men, 124 were of wives by husbands, 76 of mistresses, 39 of sweethearts, making 239 or nearly one-half of all!

Murder and other crimes of violence have decreased some since 1857, but not so much as other forms of crime.[6]

IRELAND

The death penalty applies to the same kind of crimes as in England and Wales and is executed in the same way (by hanging).

From 1886 to 1905, 73 persons were convicted of murder, that is, 160 per 100,000 population. Sixty-three of the murderers were men and ten women, and five of the latter were convicted of murdering their infant children.

Table 5 below shows a decrease in murders and manslaughter from 1887 to 1906, but a large increase in crimes against property with violence. It may be that the amount of crime remains somewhat the same, and the variations are changes in form. Thus it might be that the violence of murder and manslaughter may have passed over into crimes against property, thus causing the decrease in one and increase in the other.

In general, Table 5 shows that crime has increased in Ireland.

TABLE 5

CRIMES REPORTED TO POLICE

	Annual Averages				Absolute No.
	1887–91	1892–96	1897–1901	1902–6	1906
Murders	51.8	43.2	31.8	29.8	19
Manslaughter	65.8	73.2	56.2	43.0	44
Crimes against property with violence	338.6	384.8	529.4	744.4	783
Number per 100,000 population	7.11	8.39	11.78	16.89	17.84
All crimes: Number per 100,000 population	192.88	184.92	207.30	211.93	215.70

SCOTLAND

The number of persons sentenced to death since 1846 in Scotland has not been more than four or less than one as a yearly

[6] Statement of crime statisticians.

average for periods of five years. The death penalty applies to the same crimes and is executed in the same way as in England and Ireland.

Table 6 indicates many variations with a slight decrease in murders, a large increase in theft by housebreaking, and a general increase in crime from 1895 to 1906.

TABLE 6

	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	Average for Five Years
Murder	4	19	11	12	8	11
Attempts at murder	3	1	6	1	6	3
Culpable homicide	47	47	35	32	31	38
Theft by housebreaking	269	275	339	365	330	316
Housebreaking with violent intent	20	44	59	50	60	47
All crime	.....	.....	2,203	2,290	2,153	...

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	Average for Five Years
Murder	9	5	12	7	10	9
Attempts at murder	3	4	10	3	3	5
Culpable homicide	56	37	42	48	30	43
Theft by housebreaking	351	385	442	538	625	468
Housebreaking with violent intent	78	88	105	95	107	95
All crime	2,167	2,291	2,479	2,590	2,631	...

	1905	1906	Average for 1902–6
Murder	13	9	10
Attempts at murder	5	4	5
Culpable homicide	40	52	43
Theft by housebreaking	665	507	556
Housebreaking with violent intent	135	110	110
All crime	2,832	2,631	2,632

AUSTRALASIA[7]

Punishment by death is rare in murder cases in Australasia. Formerly this was not the case. As shown in Table 7, the executions were 151 during the decade of 1841–50, but 66 during the ten years 1881–90. In South Australia there have been but

[7] *Official Year Book* (Melbourne, 1908).

eleven executions in thirty-one years, ending with 1902. Table 7 gives the number of executions in each province during each decade of the 50 years ending in 1890, and also those which took place in 1891–95, 1896–1900, and 1901 to 1906.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF EXECUTIONS

	1841–50	1851–60	1861–70	1871–80	1881–90	1891–95	1896–1900
New South Wales	..	38	34	27	23	15	7
Queensland	68	..	14	18	15	16	1
Victoria.....	..	47	41	19	13	12	4
South Australia..	..	7	12	6	2	2	1
Western Australia	..	..	..	..	..	6	10
Tasmania.....	83	32	15	3	5	1	..
New Zealand....	..	..	..	12	8	1	5
Total.....	151	124	116	85	66	53	28

	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
New South Wales.....	3	..	3	1	..	1
Queensland.....	5	..	2	..	2	3
Victoria.....	..	2	..	1	..	..
South Australia.....	..	..	..	1	1	1
Western Australia.....	1	..	..	..	3	1
Tasmania.....	..	..	..	..	1	..
New Zealand.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total.....	9	2	5	3	7	6

Table 8 gives a classification of the more serious offenses from 1901 to 1906. There is no decrease in convictions for murder and manslaughter. For all serious offenses against the person, there is about 16 per cent decrease from 1901 to 1906.

TABLE 8

CONVICTIONS FOR SERIOUS CRIMES (SUPERIOR COURTS)

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA	NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS FOR					
	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Murder, attempts at.....	24	31	32	34	32	35
Manslaughter.....	21	16	19	24	14	21
Rape and crimes of lust ...	113	92	90	97	96	70
Other offenses against the person.....	274	243	244	225	256	329

CANADA[8]

Of the 14 death sentences pronounced in 1904, six were commuted to life imprisonment; 6 in 1900; 6 in 1899; 4 in 1898; 3 in 1897; 2 in 1896; 4 in 1907; 2 in 1906; 6 in 1905.

During the period 1896–1905 there were 176 convictions for attempt at murder and manslaughter, or a yearly average of 18 convictions as compared with 21 convictions for the same crime in 1906.

For the ten years ending with 1905 there was a yearly average of 97 convictions for shooting and stabbing and wounding compared with 177 convictions for same crime in 1906.

TABLE 9

CRIMES, 1885–1906. DEATH SENTENCES

	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895
Murders	10	14	4	9	8	8	7	..	6	11	5
Death sentences executed	6	8	..	5	5	7	6	..	5	4	4

	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Murders	6	4	23	11	10	6	11	6	14	8	2
Death sentences executed	2	2	9	7	..	..	6	..	..	12	2

BRITISH INDIA[9]

In Table 10 are given the official statistics in British India from 1892 to 1906 as to number sentenced to death, number convicted of crimes affecting life, and number convicted for all crimes. A general examination of the table will show a somewhat stationary condition of crime.

In 1897 there was a temporary increase of crime. The death sentence reached the high figure of 628 and the other figures for this year are larger than usual. These increases were due probably to the distress of the country causing a great number of thefts. The disturbed condition of the Panjab frontier was probably the cause of increase of murders.

[8] *Criminal Statistics (of Canada)*, Ottawa, 1909.

[9] *Statistics of British India (Criminal Justice)*, Calcutta, 1908.

TABLE 10

	No. Sentenced to Death	No. Convicted of Crime	No. Transported	No. Convicted of Crimes Affecting Life
1892	429	787,386	1,596	4,311
1893	431	779,492	1,647	4,316
1894	441	807,718	1,496	4,256
1895	486	835,355	1,505	4,339
1896	441	837,810	1,555	4,529
1897	628	885,575	1,912	4,690
1898	461	842,391	1,641	4,580
1899	526	884,330	1,315	4,848
1900	592	941,624	2,200	4,858
1901	500	863,309	1,690	4,517
1902	481	840,773	1,679	4,720
1903	506	822,296	1,789	4,669
1904	467	837,388	2,069	4,757
1905	445	856,245	1,821	4,507
1906	505	854,930	1,900	4,791

GERMANY

From 1882 to 1906 there were 1,311 persons sentenced to death in Germany. The annual average was as follows:

1882–86	76	1897–1901	42
1887–91	52	1902–1906	37
1892–96	55		

The number has lessened since 1882 by more than one-half, and the reason given by the German statistician is, that crimes punished by death have become less frequent.[10]

The death penalty is applied to crimes of high treason, to murder, and to attempts of murder upon the person of the emperor or governor of a confederate state.

The death penalty is provided by the code of May 31, 1870. Executions are not public. The method is by decapitation with ax, sword, or guillotine.

TABLE 11

	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Absolute number convicted for:													
Murder (*a*)	110	113	108	101	106	79	89	84	103	86	94	91	93
(*b*)	...	0.31	0.29	0.27	0.28	0.20	0.23	0.21	0.26	0.21	0.23	0.22	0.22
Homicide (*a*)	165	170	162	174	163	171	162	158	179	189	179	180	168
(*b*)	...	0.47	0.44	0.47	0.43	0.44	0.41	0.40	0.45	0.46	0.43	0.43	0.39

b = No. per 100,000 population of punishable age.

[10] *Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, Band 185, Berlin, 1908.

FRANCE[11]

The annual average sentenced to death in France was as follows:

TABLE 12

1811 to 1815	264
1816 to 1820	397
1821 to 1825	252
1826 to 1830	111
1831 to 1835	66
1836 to 1840	39
1841 to 1845	48
1846 to 1850	49

The Minister of justice of France warns against any rigorous deductions from these figures. This great decrease, however, is due in part to the fact that certain crimes punished by death in 1810, since 1832 are punished by life imprisonment. Thus, counterfeiting and theft with attenuating circumstances were punished by death before 1832.

From 1851 to 1906, the average annual number of death sentences was as follows:

TABLE 13

1851–1855	56
1856–1860	43
1861–1865	22
1866–1870	17
1871–1875	29
1876–1880	25
1881–1885	29
1886–1890	30
1891–1895	28
1896–1900	17
1901–1906	16

There is a general diminution of death sentences. From 1881 to 1905, the Court of Assizes pronounced the death penalty upon 611 persons as follows:

148 from 1881 to 1885
154 from 1886 to 1890
143 from 1891 to 1895
88 from 1896 to 1900
78 from 1901 to 1905

[11] Compte général de l'administration de la justice criminelle, Paris, 1907.

The tables 14 and 15 which follow show in what percentage, since the law of November 21, 1872, the jury have admitted attenuating circumstances, as in the crimes of parricide, infanticide, poisoning, assassination, and setting fire to inhabited buildings.

TABLE 14

1873–1880	No. Indicted	No. Found Guilty	No. Sentenced to Death	Attenuating Circumstances
Parricide	92	64 or 70%	16	48 or 75%
Infanticide	1,767	1,130 or 64%	8	1,122 or 99%
Poisoning	150	94 or 63%	7	87 or 93%
Assassination	1,929	902 or 47%	162	740 or 83%
Setting fire to inhabited buildings	1,211	438 or 36%	6	432 or 99%
Total	5,149	2,628 or 51%	199	2,479 or 92%

From 1873 to 1880 (Table 14), out of 5,149 cases, 2,628, or more than half, were declared guilty, among whom 2,429 or 92 per cent received the benefit of attenuating circumstances.

The proportions from 1881 to 1905 are 34 per cent declared guilty and 87 per cent receiving the benefit of attenuating circumstances:

TABLE 15

1881–1905	No. Indicted	No. Found Guilty	No. Sentenced to Death	Attenuating Circumstances
Parricide	353	157 or 44%	40	117 or 74%
Infanticide	3,770	1,257 or 33%	7	1,250 or 99%
Poisoning	236	142 or 55%	5	137 or 96%
Assassination	6,604	2,439 or 37%	548	1,891 or 77%
Setting fire to inhabited houses	2,435	655 or 27%	11	644 or 98%
Total	13,418	4,650 or 34%	611	4,039 or 87%

It is evident that in the last fifty or more years commutations of the death penalty have increased.

PERSONAL DATA OF THOSE SENTENCED TO DEATH

In Table 16 will be found some personal data as to those condemned to death from 1833 to 1905 in France. The majority

of homicides are committed between the ages of 20 and 40 during the vigor and prime of life.

TABLE 16

NUMBER CONDEMNED TO DEATH IN FRANCE SINCE 1833

Personal Data

	1833 to 1880	1881 to 1885	1886 to 1890	1891 to 1895	1896 to 1900	1901 to 1905
Sex:						
Men	1,570	141	144	136	86	77
Women	205	7	10	7	2	1
Age:						
16 to 20	107	17	17	22	14	18
21 to 30	532	52	54	62	34	33
31 to 40	534	41	45	39	23	11
41 to 50	353	20	21	13	8	15
51 to 59	180	17	13	7	5	..
60 and more	69	1	4	..	4	1
Degree of education:						
Illiterate	812	33	36	22	10	7
Literate	925	113	111	116	75	68
Superior education	38	2	7	5	3	3
Profession:						
Agriculture	817	70	74	47	27	22
Industry	516	48	40	46	27	24
Commerce	191	15	13	15	20	24
Domestic	50	8	6	8	2	2
Professional	81	2	9	7	4	3

As to occupation, the largest number of homicides are engaged in agricultural pursuits, but from 1891 to 1905 the industrial classes furnish about as many, and from 1896 to 1905 the commercial classes furnish nearly as many as the agricultural. This may be due in part to the increasing tendency of the population to live in cities.

AUSTRIA

The penal code of 1852 (still in force) provides the death penalty (by hanging) for high treason, public violence followed by death, homicide, and provocation to homicide; direct participation in murder accompanied by theft, and arson, followed by death.

Table 17 shows a very large number of executions relatively to condemnations. This legal rigidity is accompanied with a gradual decrease in murder and also in crime in general from 1886 to 1905, as indicated in Table 18. Strictness in enforcing

the most severe and notorious penalties tends to create confidence in the strict and sure enforcement of all laws, increasing the wholesome fear of breaking law, which has good effect on moral weaklings.

TABLE 17

ANNUAL AVERAGES

	Death Sentences	Executions	Commutations
1854–1873.....	42	37	5
1874–1880.....	107	100	7
1881–1890.....	81	29	3
1891–1900....	74	28	3

NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY HOMICIDES

1814–1880....	191	1899.....	132
1881–1885....	163	1900.....	106
1886–1890....	136	1901.....	110
1891–1895....	133	1902.....	117
1896.....	110	1903.....	114
1897.....	118	1904.....	92
1898.....	116		

TABLE 18[12]

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS FOR EVERY 10,000 OF CIVIL POPULATION

	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Murder and infanticide..	0.18	0.11	0.09	0.08	0.10	0.10	0.09
Manslaughter.....	0.10	0.10	0.17	0.08	0.09	0.10	0.09
Serious bodily injury.....	2.07	2.13	2.03	1.92	1.88	1.88	1.84
All crimes.....	256.7	253.2	242.6	242.9	246.7	244.4	243.2
	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Murder and infanticide..	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08
Manslaughter.....	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08
Serious bodily injury.....	1.94	1.94	1.89	1.92	1.85	1.98	2.26
All crimes.....	230.1	229.2	225.8	229.6	226.3	236.8	226.7
	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1901–5
Murder and infanticide..	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06
Manslaughter.....	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.11	0.09
Serious bodily injury.....	2.13	2.28	2.02	1.97	1.99	1.92	2.03
All crimes.....	237.0	248.9	233.0	230.1	224.2	217.9	230.5

[12] *Die Ergebnisse der Strafrechtspflege,* etc., Wien, 1908.

ITALY

The last execution in Italy was in 1876. The death penalty is abolished for every crime, even the killing of the king. The most severe punishment is imprisonment for life with seven years' solitary confinement. The number of death sentences before 1889 were in annual averages: 40 in 1870 to 1876; 64 in 1878; 87 in 1879; 104 in 1880; 134 in 1881; 92 in 1882, and 91 in 1883. Table 19 shows a large decrease in voluntary homicides from 1880 to 1903 in proportion to population.

TABLE 19

	Voluntary Homicides	Percentage per 100,000 Population
1880–1886	2,776	9.68
1887–1889	2,601	8.75
1890–1892	2,103	6.93
1893–1895	2,370	7.65
1896–1898	2,110	6.65
1899–1901	1,922	5.96
1902	1,708	5.22
1903	1,820	5.52

SPAIN[13]

The Spanish penal code (published August 30, 1870) provides a death penalty by means of the garrot. Since 1890 the executions have ceased to be public. According to Table 20 the number condemned to death, though varying from year to year, has not materially changed from 1879 to 1901. A somewhat similar statement applies to the number executed.

PORTUGAL[14]

Portugal abolished the death penalty in 1867. The murders before 1867 were less than 140 a year. Since that time they have greatly diminished in number, till in 1881 they were 43, but in 1886 they increased to 86.

Table 21 gives the number of homicides, robberies, thefts, and woundings for the years 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1886.

[13] *Estadistica de la administración de justicia en lo criminal, etc.*, Madrid, 1907.

[14] *Estatistica da Administraçao da justicia criminal*, Lisbon, 1884.

While there has been an absolute decrease in homicides, there has been a large increase in woundings.

TABLE 20

	Condemned to Death	No. Executed	Annual Averages Condemned		
			Assassination	Homicide and Fatal Wounds	Parricide
1879	20	10			
1880	32	21			
1881	30	9			
1882	38	16			
1883	34	11			
1884	47	23	122	962	29
1885	31	10			
1886	25	2			
1887	57	14			
1888	31	6	101	805	33
1889	39	12			
1890	45	9			
1895	50	12			
1896	33	12			
1897	47	17	88	855	35
1898	45	10			
1899	47	17			
1900	33	20	84*	961*	34*
1901	27	7	88*	895*	33*

* Absolute numbers.

TABLE 21

	1878	1879	1880	1881	1886
Homicide	139	121	110	43	86
Robbery	247	220	218	69	93
Theft	1,450	1,344	1,410	..	1,405
Wounding	1,964	1,737	1,844	..	2,491
All crimes	8,361	8,130	7,786	7,643	

SWITZERLAND

In 1874 the federal constitution of Switzerland abolished the death penalty, but in 1879 the cantons had restored to them their penal powers, and nine of them resumed capital punishment.

Table 22 indicates for Switzerland from 1893 to 1906 a somewhat constant quantity of crime in general, with a decrease

in the more serious crimes including murder and manslaughter and an increase in the less serious forms.

TABLE 22[15]

	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Prison population.....	4,301	4,426	4,087	3,983	4,053	4,078	4,069
Total number of convicted.....	21,094	20,719	18,403	17,857	18,118	18,754	18,699
Heavier forms of crime..	11,377	1,122	1,243	1,155	1,219	1,313	1,234
Lighter forms of crime...	5,560	5,109	5,547	5,912	6,171	6,068	6,108
	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Prison population.....	4,179	4,310	4,189	4,179	4,085	4,044	4,131
Total number of convicted.....	18,806	19,364	19,649	19,437	19,538	18,956	18,541
Heavier forms of crime .	1,240	1,250	1,181	1,169	1,109	1,135	1,103
Lighter forms of crime...	6,117	5,976	6,218	6,311	6,059	6,260	6,617

BELGIUM

The last execution in Belgium was in 1863. From 1857 to 1863, 97 per cent of the death sentences were commuted. Of the 325 sentenced to death from 1831 to 1863, only 55 were executed.

TABLE 23

	No. Sentenced to Death	No. Executed	Annual Average No. of Persons Condemned for				
				Assassination	Murder	Parricide	Poisoning
1831–1835	29	3					
1836–1840	31	2					
1841–1845	48	7					
1846–1850	80	18					
1851–1855	63	18					
1856–1860	38 (Capital Pun.)	4					
1861–1865	36	3	1861–1865	11	9	..	1
1866–1870	39	..	1866–1870	16	12	1	1
1871–1875	38	..	1871–1875	17	14	1	1
1876–1880	40	..	1876–1880	23	16	1	1
1881–1885	47	..	1881–1885	24	25	1	1
1886–1890	35	..	1886–1890	25	33	1	2
1891–1895	57	..	1891–1895	36	36	1	2
1896–1900	24	..	1896	33	34	4	3
1901	5	..	1897	26	21	1	1
1902	10	..	1898	14	16	4	1
1903	10	..	1899	38	16	1	2
1904	10	..	1900	22	22	..	2
1905	3	..	1901	26	21	1	1
			1902	26	14	..	3
			1903	20	11	1	..

[15] *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz*, Bern, 1908.

Table 23 gives the number sentenced to death from 1865, and the number sentenced to death from 1865 to 1905. It also gives the number of persons condemned for assassination, murder, parricide, and poisoning in annual averages from 1861 to 1895 and in absolute numbers from 1896 to 1903. The number of assassinations and murders has not varied much since 1861 to 1903.

The number sentenced for capital crimes has decreased from 1861 to 1903, but with variations.

SWEDEN

The penal law of 1864 gives the conditions of the death penalty. The two chambers of the Swedish Parliament recently have refused to abolish the penalty.

In Table 24 are given the number convicted per million population of punishable age for murder, manslaughter, and crimes in general from 1866 to 1904. There has been a slight increase in murder and manslaughter and decrease in all crimes against property.

TABLE 24[16]

NUMBER CONVICTED PER MILLION PUNISHABLE POPULATION

	Murder, Manslaughter, and Other Crimes	All Crimes against the Person	Theft	All Crimes against Property
1866–1870....	937.3	1,310.2	698.7	1,863.0
1871–1875....	1,100.2	1,468.7	493.1	1,468.7
1875–1880....	1,130.6	1,475.2	418.2	1,223.4
1881–1885....	1,104.2	1,408.1	397.6	1,169.9
1886–1890....	1,118.4	1,355.3	324.0	929.0
1891–1895....	1,104.3	1,332.4	376.6	986.9
1896–1900 ..	1,192.1	1,374.9	373.9	895.5
1901–1904....	1,102.9	1,270.2	396.2	980.1
1866–1875....	1,019.9	1,396.6	594.4	1,663.0
1876–1890....	1,117.6	1,411.8	379.2	1,105.0
1891–1904....	1,135.4	1,329.1	381.5	984.4

HOLLAND

Capital punishment was abolished in Holland in 1870. In fact there has been no execution since 1860. From 1811 to 1869 as many as 501 were sentenced to death, but only 101 were

[16] *Statistik Tidskrift,* Stockholm, 1904.

executed, showing the great frequency of pardons. The most severe punishment is imprisonment for life, which is applicable to two kinds of crime, assassination and murder. The code of 1881 maintained the abolishment of the death penalty. Table 25 shows that the proportion per million population for crimes against life to be 10.0 in 1850–59, 15.1 in 1860–69, periods when the death penalty was in the code. When the death penalty was abolished in 1871–80, the proportion of these crimes decreased to 8.5, but subsequently increased to 12.1 in 1881–90.

TABLE 25

	Absolute Number				Proportion	
	Assassination	Attempt at Assassination	Poisoning	Parricide	Total Number	Per Million Population
1850–1859...	..	..	..	..	32	10.0
1860–1869...	21	18	12	2	53	15.1
1871–1880...	25	6	2	..	33	8.5
1881–1890...	33	16	4	..	53	12.1

FINLAND[17]

In Table 26 are given the numbers convicted per 100,000 population for crime in general from 1893 to 1906, showing no great increase or decrease. The absolute numbers of murder or attempts at murder since 1903 indicate a large increase (45) in 1906.

The number sentenced to imprisonment for life, while varying much from year to year, shows no general increase.

DENMARK

Denmark's penal code of 1866 provides a death penalty, applied especially to assassination. Only four executions have taken place since 1866.

Table 27 shows the number of males convicted in Denmark from 1901 to 1905 for murder, assassination, wounding, and crimes against public order. This table indicates variations from year to year, but no important increases.

[17] *Annuaire statistique de Finelande,* Helsingfors, 1908.

TABLE 26

	Murder or Attempts at Murder (Number of)	No. Convicted per 100,000 Population (Age 15 or More)	No. Sentenced for Life
1893	..	851	49
1894	..	810	37
1895	..	842	16
1896	..	953	19
1897	..	1,016	15
1898	..	1,178	9
1899	..	1,131	19
1900	..	1,174	18
1901	..	1,047	37
1902	..	998	27
1903	20	989	18
1904	17	859	14
1905	28	733	29
1906	45	929	28

TABLE 27[18]

NUMBER OF MALES CONVICTED

	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901
Crimes against public order	210	168	178	217	170
Murder, assassination	5	3	20	7	2
Wounding	395	344	341	316	397
Theft	1,197	1,041	966	1,046	1,086
No. sentenced to death	1	...	1	...	...

BULGARIA

Capital punishment is maintained in Bulgaria by the code of 1857, in Greece by the code of 1834, and in Servia by the penal law of 1860.

NORWAY

The penal code of 1842 provides the death penalty in Norway. But the code of 1902 abolishes it, to take effect in 1904.

CHILI

In Chili from 1895 to 1904, there was a general increase of crime, but a large decrease for 1907, as indicated in Table 28, where the quinquennial averages are given.

In Table 28 are given the percentages convicted of homicide, wounding, etc., showing an increase from 1904 to 1907.

[18] *Annuaire statistique du Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1907.

The large decrease in crime in general (Table 29) is striking when compared with the large increase in homicide and woundings (Table 28) for the same year.

TABLE 28[19]

PROPORTION FOR 100 CRIMES CONVICTED

	1904	1905	1906	1907	Total Number
Homicide	1.74	2.25	1.92	4.18	63
Infanticide	0.03	0.22	....	0.33	5
Parricide	0.03	0.04	0.04	....	...
Wounding	7.39	8.42	8.18	12.29	185

TABLE 29[20]

	No. of Crimes	Annual Quinquennial Average
1895	1,960	
1896	2,221	
1897	2,199	2,245
1898	2,795	
1899	2,051	
1900	2,323	
1901	2,363	
1902	2,855	2,473
1903	2,227	
1904	2,598	
1905	2,266	
1906	2,393	
1907	1,566	

RIO JANEIRO[21]

The number of homicides, woundings, and robberies officially reported from 1892–1902 are given in Table 30, for Rio de Janeiro.

TABLE 30

	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
Homicides	2	..	3	7	6	11	10	15	8	15	6
Wounding	..	..	27	19	14	20	48	22	14	18	12
Robbery	2	..	4	11	5	19	22	14	20	28	14

[19] *Ministerio de Justicia,* Santiago, 1908.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Directoria General de Estatistica,* Rio de Janeiro, 1902.

URUGUAY[22]

In Table 31, the numbers of homicides, woundings, and all crimes against the person for 1904 to 1906 are given, showing a large increase in homicides.

TABLE 31

	1904	1905	1906
Homicides	42	24	70
Wounding	228	282	268
All crimes against the person	310	346	454

BUENOS AYRES[23]

According to Table 32, there has been a general decrease in all crime in Buenos Ayres from 1898 (10.83 per million population) to 1908 (7.36 per million population). The number of homicides has varied from year to year considerably, but in 1898 there were 94 and in 1908, 82. There was a large decrease from 1903 to 1905. Attempts at homicide have greatly decreased since 1903.

TABLE 32

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Homicides	94	78	86	84	76	57
Wounds	2,493	2,479	2,660	2,706	2,568	2,140
Attempts at homicide	123	111	106	130	135	138
Total of crimes	2,741	2,697	2,874	2,944	2,845	2,574
Proportion per million (all crimes)	10.83	9.17	9.09	9.88	10.15	8.15
		1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
Homicides		56	66	71	98	82
Wounds		2,370	2,590	2,387	2,633	2,656
Attempts at homicide		24	7	7	34	6
Total of crimes		2,821	2,940	3,237	3,467	3,679
Proportion per million (all crimes)		7.44	7.15	6.99	7.55	7.36

RUSSIA

The new penal code of Russia of 1903, though approved by the emperor, has not yet been put into force. It provides the

[22] *Anuario Estadistico*, Montevideo, 1907.

[23] *Year Book of Buenos Ayres*, Buenos Ayres, 1909.

death penalty mainly to protect the life of the Tzar. The method of execution is strangulation in the interior of the prisons. Since the law of 1881 on the state of siege, it is possible to inflict the death penalty for crimes against the common law and the governor-generals can send evidence to the military tribunals.

Tables 33 and 34 show an increase in crimes against life as well as all crimes since 1897 to 1905. In Table 34 are given the number of cases submitted to the courts for homicides, bodily wounding, and all crimes. In Table 33 are given the number convicted for parricide, murder, etc., since 1900 to 1904. The figures are absolute; whether they indicate increases relative to population is not indicated.

TABLE 33

NUMBER CONVICTED

	Parricide	Murder of Wife and Parents	Poisoning	Assassination	Murder	Death Blows
1900	27	208	32	433	430	1,616
1901	22	221	28	463	425	1,850
1902	25	199	33	441	452	1,848
1903	21	189	32	472	566	2,027
1904	25	193	24	473	557	2,149

TABLE 34[24]

CASES SUBMITTED TO THE COURTS

	Homicides	Bodily Wounding	All Crimes
1897	12,894	45,248	218,567
1898	12,874	47,597	229,169
1899	14,219	52,736	239,650
1900	14,325	56,671	251,145
1901	15,326	63,067	275,449
1905	26,359	84,965	365,882

JAPAN

Table 35 shows the number condemned to death, sentenced to life imprisonment, and the amount of crime in general in Japan from 1901 to 1906.

There has been a general decrease in the different forms of crime given in table.

[24] Maurice Vernes, *Journal de Société de Paris* (1907), p. 378.

TABLE 35

	No. Sentenced to Death	Sentenced to Life Imprisonment	Crimes against the Person	Crimes against Property
1901.....	48	207	11,361	68,678
1902.....	63	238	10,956	66,489
1903.....	58	240	8,286	68,437
1904.....	55	195	6,041	63,164
1905.....	28	170	4,811	51,007
1906.....	..	...	5,427	52,956

ARGUMENT

(1) Historically the death penalty has been enforced less and less until it has ceased to exist in many countries. (2) The importance of the death penalty has been overestimated. (3) It is important mainly because it has been made to seem so to the public. (4) From a criminological point of view it is of subordinate significance. (5) The death penalty is not a question of sentiment, but of fact. (6) Whether the death penalty lessens crime (especially murder) or not, cannot as yet be demonstrated by statistics, because: (*a*) Facts as to murders are not as yet adequately collected. (*b*) And, if they were, the question could not be determined without comprehensive statistics of all forms of crime. (*c*) And, were such data obtained, it is doubtful if the question could be settled as a general proposition on account of the various conditions in different countries. (*d*) But in certain localities at certain periods the death penalty has been shown with great probability to lessen certain forms of crime and, therefore, the probability of this effect has been increased for different countries under similar conditions. (7) The fact that murders and other crimes of violence have decreased, after abolishment of death penalty, does not show that this was the cause of such decrease, for: (*a*) Most murders are probably due to miserable and often desperate conditions as shown in England. (*b*) Many murders and especially crimes of violence (as certain kinds of assaults) are due to alcoholism. (8) The conclusion is that from a statistical point of view it is probable that the death penalty tends to lessen certain forms of crime. (9) As statistics are not adequate to demonstrate with certainty the influence of the death penalty, the next best source upon which to depend is

the opinion of those having long experience in dealing directly with criminals. This opinion favors the maintenance of the death penalty. (10) Criminals themselves in their own organizations for plunder make death the most frequent form of punishment. (11) The most astute criminals, as robbers and bank-breakers, have often said that they prefer to operate where there is no possibility of suffering the death penalty. (12) Arguments against the death penalty are generally theoretical, and frequently sentimental. (13) Such arguments have little weight from the scientific point of view. (14) But since these arguments are so frequently advanced, a few will be briefly noted: It is said the death penalty is a relic of barbarism, or a legal murder, or shock to the moral sense of the community, etc. Such objections show a disproportion in sentiment, for, while there is abundant sympathy manifested for the very few guilty murderers executed, there seems to be little or no sympathy for the hundreds of innocent victims often brutally murdered. The injustice of such sentiment is often so great as to be pathological. (15) The fact that the death penalty has gradually ceased to be executed is no reason why it should cease altogether. (16) The death penalty makes it certain that the criminal cannot take the life of another. Frequently those executed have killed more than one person. (17) The death penalty gives a firmness to the execution of all the laws by a sort of radiation. (18) Robbers, thieves, and assaulters committing crimes subject to life imprisonment (where there is no capital punishment) are encouraged to make sure of killing their victims, for this additional crime would rid them of a dangerous witness, without increasing their punishment. (19) Also a man imprisoned for life could kill his keepers without further punishment. (20) The unnecessary and injurious notoriety given to executions by the press should not be allowed, thus avoiding a serious but unnecessary objection to the death penalty.

REVIEWS

The Development of Religion: A Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology. By IRVING KING, PH.D., State University of Iowa. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. xxii+371. $1.75 net.

The outlook for the usefulness of social studies in the service of a scientific study of religion is hopeful so long as such books as this are produced. In a day when all sorts of non-scientific and pseudo-scientific writers take advantage of sociological dress to hide the nakedness of their poor ideas, it is certainly heartening to find a book with the subtitle *A Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology* which is sound sociologically. In spirit and method this book is worthy of great praise.

The general argument of the book is that religion has been developed "through the overt activities which appear in primitive social groups," activities either spontaneous and playful, or activities arising from the necessity of meeting the demands of certain life-processes. The emotional values therein are due to the fact that the activities were chiefly social.

Starting with that thesis our author proceeds from the most general analysis of the nature of the religious attitude to the discussion of specific questions like the development of religious practices, of the Dread Something which he calls "the Mysterious Power," of divine personages, of ethical monotheism, and of supernaturalism. In brief, he says that the element common to all religions is the "appreciative or valuating attitude." This attitude is "the outcome of the overt activities of the life-process," the result of difficulty in accomplishing a purpose, because the value of the purpose is increased when attained under difficulty. The religious attitude is a special form of "valuating attitude" in general, but the situation which tends to develop it is that the thing desired shall be desired not by the individual alone but by his group. The form and the necessities of the group therefore determine the object of the religious valuation. Sometimes, this object is economic; again, where the economic necessity is less pressing, the object of religious value will not be connected with economic activity, but with

striking or dangerous objects of nature or occurrences affecting men's lives. Once aroused it is often transmitted by custom until sometimes it happens that the cause of its origin is lost sight of.

It seems to the present writer that Dr. King has performed two notable services in this book. He has shown that the religious attitude is related in its psychical nature to the processes by which all values, of whatever kind, are brought into consciousness. In its origin it does not stand as a thing apart. In the second place, he has shown that the evaluating attitude which gives us religion differs from all others in the fact that it evaluates those things which stress and strain have brought to the attention of group consciousness. This means that the religions which history and ethnology show us could not have risen outside of *social* organizations, for the form of social organization not only determined the form the religion took, but, as the author points out, only the valuations arising from groupal activities could be emotionally intense and persistent enough to give us the religious attitude.

It should be added that he has also made an advance upon most writers on magic by his hypothesis that certain acts which later become magical rites at first are spontaneous responses to emotional tension produced by some mysterious or dangerous situation. These he classes as pre-magical, and adds that if they had happened to be closely connected with group consciousness, they might have furnished the starting-point for religion, or had they been more closely related to individual interests, they would have developed into magical practices. According to our author, religion grows out of group activities; magic out of individual reactions to difficulties. This hypothesis of the social origin of religion and the individual origin of magic is interesting, but one has to confess that the evidence adduced for it is by no means conclusive.

While one agrees with the book in general, there are some questions which it suggests. One would like to ask why sex, as well as food and defense, was not noted as furnishing the occasion of emotional strain sufficient to cause religious valuations to arise (p. 139); why some magical practices may not be the result of conquest, whereby once recognized religious practices are driven into exile and thus become "individualistic" and magical as a result of being outlawed, etc. (pp. 194–95). Moreover, a

different emphasis doubtless would be given several matters by the sociologist. For example, it is doubtful whether our author is correct when (p. 67), to illustrate his point that among primitive peoples the sense of personality is indefinite, he says that the Australian applies the term for relationship to groups rather than to individuals, "not because the Australian is in doubt as to his blood relationship, but because his own sense of personality is so vague." Students of the Australians tell us plainly that the latter have no conception of the connection between offspring and the sexual act (Spencer and Gillin, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 124–25, 265, 337). Moreover, their customs are such on many occasions that even if they did connect sexual intercourse with offspring, it would be impossible to tell who is the father. On the other hand, they have clear ideas of putative relationships. Here it seems to the reviewer that our author has allowed a psychological prejudice to blind him to the facts. However, these are but secondary points, and detract but little from the valuable contributions made. One cannot fail to observe the contrast between this book and another which has recently appeared on almost the same subject. In method and spirit they are as wide apart as the poles.

J. L. GILLIN

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The Education of Women. By MARION TALBOT, Dean of Women, and Professor in The University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. ix+255. $1.37 postpaid.

So much has been said and written in recent times about *woman* that it is with a sense of weariness one opens a book devoted to a consideration of the "education of women." However, before the reading of the first page of this book is finished, the weariness vanishes and the mind is on the alert for the unfolding of a record that "will always be a source of courage to increasing numbers of women who will be eager to take an active part in controlling the stream of women's activities." Though in spreading this record before the reader the mistakes made by women's colleges in copying the narrow courses of study offered boys and men in high schools and colleges are made evident, yet there is

no trace of that antagonism between the sexes which is one of the bugbears of the opponents of higher education for women. Miss Talbot is a representative college woman, not only in her education but also in her work as dean and professor in a coeducational university, so her book may be considered a representative book in defining unconsciously the attitude of college women toward social questions, particularly those involving the relation of men and women. The treatment of college life as it is and as it should be is plainly frank. The elective system and the college curriculum are both discussed freely, but with a constant trend toward insistence upon the necessity for making the college experience, both academic and social, function in the life of the students after their college days are ended.

> A fetich has been made of the term "liberal education." Only that body of knowledge has been supposed to be available for the higher intellectual training which has no immediate relation to the life interests of the student. . . . . The college faculty seems content to prescribe a dietary, regardless of the person to be fed.

It was a happy decision on the part of Miss Talbot to print in full the programs or courses of study in the elementary and high schools of Boston from 1859 to 1909, and of Chicago from 1861 to 1909. To students of education in America these courses will outline very clearly the trend of the public schools, notwithstanding the incorporation of a large percentage of immigrants from continental Europe in their membership. All the material in the book has been organized to give a moving panorama of the industrial and educational life of women belonging to the great middle class in the country. The changes, industrial and commercial, educational, civic, philanthropic, and social, are presented by means of statistics well annotated. The machinery of education is analyzed through the courses of study in two cities (Boston and Chicago), Vassar College, and the University of Wisconsin. Parents intending to give their daughters a collegiate education will do well to read the chapters on that subject: "The Elective System," "The College Curriculum," "Social Activities," "Hygienic Education," "The Domestic Environment," "Educational Needs of College Women." In them are answered specifically many questions that must arise in the minds of parents who are unfamiliar with the college and its life.

One point on which the theory of social life and educational

theory tend to go awry in vocational training develops out of utilitarianism pushed to the limit. It finds expression in practice (described on p. 154) that separates the great field of knowledge into boy-and-girl divisions. There is in that technical school boy-chemistry, physics, English, and mathematics, and girl-chemistry, physics, English, etc. It is surprising that so keen an observer of the social life, and so impersonal a constructionist of the meaning of the intellectual life, should let slip the opportunity to indicate the dangers attendant upon drawing early in life, in the high school, a sharp line of demarkation between the fields of activity of men and of women, not the least of these dangers being an explicit separation of language, science, mathematics, and art, each into two distinct types so alien in aim that boys and girls cannot meet intellectually in a joint study of even their mother-tongue—English. If a teacher wishes to brace his educational theory by social theory this book will be invaluable; contrariwise, if a teacher of sociology wishes to construct a theory of social progress in this country by way of education he will find in this work abundant material for his purpose.

ELLA FLAGG YOUNG

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO

Eugenics: The Science of Human Improvement and Better Breeding. By C. B. DAVENPORT. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1910. Pp. 35.

This little book marks a new departure in eugenics. Instead of the well-known and more or less generally accepted Galtonean theory which has selection as its basic principle, Mr. Davenport bases eugenics upon the principle advanced by Mendel, namely, the principle of scientific mating with the idea of the preponderance of special characters rather than the selective mating which considers the highest possible average, regardless of the highest possible development of a single quality of character. In other words, if the principles advanced by Mendel and proven to be more and more applicable to biology are applicable to the human race with the same exactness, we have found a means of controlling and reducing to a minimum undesirable characters and this not by a process of reckless and cruel elimination but by a process of scientific

mating which each individual can apply for himself with the least amount of social control.

The theory advanced by Mendel and elaborated by other biologists, of whom one of the most prominent is the writer of this booklet, may be stated in Professor Davenport's own words as follows:

1. The principle of independent unit characters states that the qualities or characteristics of organisms are, or may be analyzed into, distinct units that are inherited independently.

2. The principle of the determiner in the germ plasm states that each unit character is represented in the germ by a molecule or associated groups of molecules called a determiner. These determiners are transmitted in the germ plasm and are the only things that are truly inherited.

3. The principle of segregation of determiners in the germ plasm states that the characteristics do not blend. That if one parent has a characteristic and the other lacks it, then the offspring get a determiner from one side only. . . . .

This brief statement of the doctrine shows clearly the drift of this new field of biological inquiry; and a more complete and accurate knowledge of the preponderance of one characteristic or set of characteristics against the preponderance or the absence of such a characteristic in the offspring according to the existence or non-existence of such a characteristic in either one of the mates would naturally lead toward a more scientific mating. This will not imply the total abolition of those unfit for marriage from Galton's standpoint, but will make possible such a selection of mates as will result in the preservation of the best characters of even some of those who, either as physical or mental specimens, are not wholly desirable.

That Mendelism will finally become the basis of eugenics is quite probable. Whether it will do for eugenics what seems reasonable to expect that it will do is still a matter of speculation. Workers such as Dr. Davenport have a vast field and virgin soil to work upon, and much in the way of sociological speculation will surely be ventured upon as soon as this new field of inquiry becomes sufficiently popularized to strike the fancy of the theorist. It is possible that Mendelism will solve for us the race problem and determine whether we are to develop along the line of eudemics[1]

[1] The word eudemics is suggested by Prof. Koopman of Brown University as a substitute for national eugenics.

or along the line of inter-racial mating which will finally lead to the establishment of an international brotherhood of man both racial and social.

Mendelism promises to be to heredity and its problems what Dalton was to chemistry, namely, to establish the laws of fixed proportions. Professor Davenport's little book should be read by all interested in the problems of race improvement.

CAROL ARONOVICI

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Privilege and Democracy in America. By FREDERICK C. HOWE, PH.D. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xii+315. Price $1.50.

"The first man," says Rousseau, "who, having inclosed a piece of ground, undertook to say, 'This is mine,' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society." And this man, he says, is responsible for all the crimes, wars, murders, and misery that the human race has had to endure. Dr. Howe might very well have closed each chapter of his book by paraphrasing Cato's words into, "Private ownership of land must be abolished."

The evils under which America is now suffering, he declares, are not due to law-breakers but to law-makers. All our ills may be traced to one of four evils—monopoly of land, private ownership of the highways of the nation, the tariff, and franchises. All these are mothers of monopoly and of these private ownership of land is easily chief, for out of this grows the coal, iron, oil, copper, gas, and timber monopolies. We read of famines in India and Russia, but there is a famine in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis today when men, women, and children go hungry. This is not because men are less productive than formerly; on the contrary they produce more. In handling looms a man can produce as much as three hundred men could in 1769; in cotton-spinning, as much as three hundred and twenty; in making shoes, as much as a thousand men. In the cities the per-capita production is greatest and here we should expect the most universal well-being. Far from it. Instead "one-quarter of the people are hovering upon the border-line of want or are actually engulfed in poverty."

The explanation is that men are working for landlords just as

they did in the days of feudalism. No man is bound to any particular piece of soil, but there is no particular piece of soil he can make his own. Speculators buy it up and hold for higher prices. It is estimated that one-half the land in our cities is thus withheld from its most productive use. In consequence land values mount. But this is not wealth, for wealth ministers to the welfare of society. Instead it is a heavy tax on well-being, for rents mount up and the laborer must turn over to the landlords an ever-increasing proportion of his products. The press occasionally heralds a 10 per cent increase in wages; in Massachusetts rents increased 52.43 per cent in five years. The average production of wealth is $1,172.20, but $300 of it goes for rent, consumption taxes, and monopoly charges.

The evil of the private ownership of land manifests itself in another form through the railways. In ten years the capitalization increased nearly $6,000,000,000, a large part of which was due to land values and not to extensions or improvements. Our street railways are capitalized at $139,778.70 a mile, which is from two to three times the cost of construction. The rest is franchise value.

Only two remedies are possible, industrial socialism and industrial freedom. From Plato to Karl Marx men have dreamed of the former, but it was left to Henry George to discover the road to industrial liberty—by taxing the entire rent value of land which would in effect abolish private ownership. Confiscation? "Surely society owes nothing to him who merely monopolizes that which all men want and which all men must have to live."

Such in outline is the thought of Dr. Howe's book. It is a strong statement of present-day conditions and a stirring appeal in behalf of the ideas of Henry George. But the solution of some problems which naturally arise out of, and are fundamental to, such an arrangement are scarcely touched upon at all. The reader is impressed at times with what appears to be a careless use of figures. And there are a few misleading statements, such as the reference to the burning of cotton to raise the price, and an occasional inaccuracy, such as the reference to the compact between Charles II (*sic*) and the land-owners in Parliament in 1692. But all in all the book is a strong one and a worthy companion to its predecessor of a similar character.

David Y. Thomas

University of Arkansas

The Making of Species. By DOUGLAS DEWAR AND FRANK FINN. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1909. Pp. xix+400, with 12 figures.

The purpose of this book is well expressed in the Preface by the statement of the authors that each had a feeling that the problems of the origin of species had not been settled, and alone each one felt unable to attack and settle so momentous a question; but apparently they found strength in union and have attempted to settle the question of species-making. Most naïve is their statement given on p. 7 of the Introduction: "Our aim in writing this book has been twofold: In the first place, we have attempted to place before the general public in simple language a true statement of the present position of biological science. In the second place, we have endeavored to furnish the scientific men of the day with food for reflection."

Certain it is that the scientific men of England must be highly complimented by being provided with food for reflection by a pair of amateur ornithologists. On p. 8 we are informed that Great Britain is losing her scientific supremacy, and on p. 9 we find the statement that the authors are not attacking Darwinism, but neo-Darwinism, which is characterized as a pathological growth on Darwinism, which, according to the authors, "can only be removed by a surgical operation," but we are not informed anywhere in the volume as to the nature of this operation.

Some idea of the contents of the book can be gained from the headings of the chapters. Chap. i, entitled "The Rise of the Theory of Natural Selection and Its Subsequent Development," is mainly historical, and is principally devoted to the neo-Darwinian situation. Chap. ii, "Some of the More Important Objections to the Theory of Natural Selection," contains absolutely nothing new, and is at best a crude rehash of the various objections urged against natural selection during the last half-century. Chap. iii, dealing with "Variation," shows an even less clear idea of the problems involved; certain it is that the position of DeVries and Bateson is anything but clearly understood. A number of instances of "mutations" among birds are cited, which instances are nothing more nor less than the most trivial variations, without any information whatsoever as to whether the variations breed true. Chap. iv, on "Hybridism," is essentially a half-century behind the times. Chap. v, on "Inheritance," where they wish to be profound and far seeing, falls quite flatly into the

neo-Darwinian camp by the acceptance of the theory of biological molecules, whatever they may be. Chap. vi, on "The Coloration of Organisms," is about the sort of thing one would expect from amateur ornithologists. Chap. vii, on "Sexual Dimorphism," has nothing to commend it. It is essentially a rehash of the work of Thompson and Geddes. The final chapter, viii, on "The Factors of Evolution," is probably the best chapter in the entire volume. It states in a fairly correct, but not very concise manner, something of what we now know concerning the factors operative in evolution.

The work as a whole has no excuse for its existence. The authors are evidently not alive to the developments in the field of evolution in recent years, and the illustrations are little less than abominable. Certainly in a work which is intended for the general reader, and which purports to deal with the problem of evolution broadly, there can be no excuse whatsoever for limiting the illustrations to twelve very mediocre figures of unimportant birds, which really illustrate nothing.

The book work is good, and the publishers are to be commended for the care and the good workmanship which have been put into the book, but it seems a shame that so much effort should be expended on a volume of so little use, either to the scientific public, or to the general reader.

W. L. Tower

The University of Chicago

Biography of American Statesmanship. An Analytical Reference Syllabus. By George Elliot Howard, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science and Sociology in the University of Nebraska. Published by the University, 1909.

This is an attempt to arrange the subject-matter for the careers of American statesmen in such form that students may easily grasp the significance of each and understand what the contributions of each career to American politics have been. The names selected are such as must meet universal approval and the significant contributions are not overlooked or substituted out by matters of less moment. As an experiment in teaching, this method of analysis seems to have been successful. But teaching is such an evasive art that it is difficult to prescribe rules or method. Teaching is inspiration. What enables one teacher to succeed might be useless to another; but any general text, or collection of readings or syllabus

like Professor Howard's may be of much service. An excellent feature of this syllabus is the listing under the name of each great leader of the principal and standard biographies or collections of writings bearing upon the subjects to be taught.

WILLIAM E. DODD

Chinese Immigration. By MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE, formerly Associate Professor of Sociology, Stanford University. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1909. 1 vol. Pp. x+531.

This work is devoted to the study and analysis of the Chinese and the Chinese problem in America, with a critical history of the agitation, enactment, and administration of the treaties and laws relating to the subject.

In tracing the history of the Chinese agitation, the writer shows that it originated in the greed and unfounded prejudice of the early settlers of California, a prejudice which the politicians were quick to see and cultivate as a political issue. In a critical examination of the California Senate Memorial to Congress in 1876, bitterly denouncing the Celestials, the author shows that the committee was composed of the strongest anti-Chinese agitators, that the witnesses examined were mainly local police officers, petty politicians, and hoodlums, and that the memorial was a gross misrepresentation of existing conditions. A similar inquiry into the investigation of the congressional committee in 1876 showed a packed committee, a partisan investigation, and the widest discrepancies between the evidence received and the report rendered. Such, the author points out, were the sources of information relied on by our legislators and accepted without question by an unthinking public.

The review of the legislative history and debates of the various Chinese measures and treaties, and the contemporary expressions of public opinion, together with an analysis of the political situation in the West, leads the reader to the irresistible conclusion that these measures, though violating the solemn promises of the nation, were passed for the mere purpose of throwing political sop to the western states on the eve of national elections.

The life and character of the Chinese and their relation to the economic conditions of California are discussed in considerable detail, refuting many charges of the Chinese antagonists. In con-

clusion the writer urges that the important question is not the exclusion of the Chinese but the fair and honest observance of our treaty obligations with them.

The work is written in an easy and interesting style and is based upon a critical and exhaustive study of apparently all conceivable sources. It is a real contribution to the study of the Chinese problem, a field that has hardly been entered by the scientific investigator, although the subject of legislation for half a century. While the book is pro-Chinese in its sympathies, its conclusions in the main seem sound, and are justified by the evidence submitted. The volume contains a selected bibliography and numerous footnotes.

ARNOLD B. HALL

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Vocational Education. By JOHN M. GILLETTE. New York: American Book Co., 1910. Pp. viii+303.

This volume presents in book form the essential ideas and principles set forth in lectures before the students of the College of Education of the University of North Dakota and in talks before educational meetings. The author states that "the field of education contemplated is that of the elementary public schools," but he properly suggests that "the principles of social adjustment might very well govern all grades of educational effort." Indeed it is because of the growing conviction that such adjustment is an essential factor in sound educational methods that educators will welcome this admirable contribution to a rational study of the problems involved.

Vocational education is stated to be "a practical and direct conception of the method of making young human beings fit for life." It "views the individual as a member of the larger social order. . . . . While it insists that he shall be vocationalized (or specialized), it as emphatically insists that he shall be essentially cultured and fundamentally moralized." The author's position here is sound as regards the object of education. In view of the general conception of vocational education which the author states is often confounded with industrial education, he rightly points out that industrial training is not broad enough to cover the demands of education in America. In his effort, however, to differentiate voca-

tionalization from industrialization he carries the fundamental conceptions of the former over into socialization to such an extent as to be confusing to the reader. In fact, a careful reading gives the impression that the two terms are used as synonymous. The naming of the three parts of the book confirms this impression. Part I is "The Educational Renaissance," Part II, "Social Demands on Education," and Part III, "Methods of Socialization." It is true that the point is constantly emphasized that "to be unspecialized is really to be socially functionless," and "to make citizens in the best sense is to make them able to further some dominant social interest." But there is also reference first, to the factors or phases which operate in determining what men should be as men or to personality as a social product, and second, to the fact that everyone in society is interested in various activities which the author classifies as political, economic, cultural, religious, and social. A better-balanced treatment of the subject would bring out still more clearly though briefly the importance of educating for individuality and for citizenship, leaving the greater part of the book to discuss education for a specific function through vocation. If this were done the word of caution by the writer of the introduction would lose much of its force. As a work on the socialization of education the book is suggestive and convincing—its present title is somewhat misleading.

MARION TALBOT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Physical and Commercial Geography: A Study of Certain Controlling Conditions of Commerce. By H. E. GREGORY, A. G. KELLER, AND A. L. BISHOP, Professors in Yale University. 8vo, pp. viii+469; figs. 26, pls. 3. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1910. $3.00.

This, the latest text in the field, is divided into three parts, spaced about equally: I, The Natural Environment; II, Relation of Men to Natural Conditions; III, The Geography of Trade. The plan is logical and the plane of treatment is high. There is a manifest determination to depart from the plan hitherto followed in such texts, of mentioning everything on earth with tables of statistics about each entry; and there is an effort made, with much success, to present the principles underlying the facts of commerce.

This is especially true in Part III, which is distinctly the best part of the book.

From the point of view of a text for college use it may fairly be challenged that Part I is not an adequate treatment of physiography, if it is all the student is to get; and if the student brings to the work the regular high-school training in physiography a goodly fraction of this presentation is superfluous.

The plan here followed, of reducing the formal treatment of countries to three, though a good one, still leaves the field too large for a single volume, so that the material on these countries suffers from brevity.

The book is a distinct advance over all its predecessors. It is the only American text which is at all adequate for college work.

J. PAUL GOODE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
June 15, 1910

BOOK NOTICES

Le calcul des probabilités et les regularités statistiques. By JOSEPH LOTTIN SAINT-TROUD. Pp. 32.

In this somewhat abstruse discussion of the calculus of probabilities in its relation to statistical method, the author reviews historically the growth of the theory of great numbers from Jacques Bernouilli, through Fourier, Poisson, Laplace, Cournot, Quetelet, and J. Bertrand. He traces the differentiation and definition of the various classes of averages, objective and subjective means, types, etc. His use of the causal concept—he makes much use of the classification of constant, variable, and accidental causes and of efficient cause—occasionally reminds one of scholastic terminology, and he treats the concept in a metaphysical manner throughout. He does not pretend to make any application of the statistical principle or law of great numbers and the theory of the neutralization of variations to social, or moral phenomena, and in the extremely abstract statement which he gives to the relation between the inductive examination of causes and of the laws of their operation and the systematic observation of masses or numbers, he guards wisely against its literal application to other spheres than that of physical causation.

P. W.

Le crime à deux. Essai de psycho-pathologie sociale. Par SCIPIO SIGHÈLE. Nouvelle édition, traduite sur le 3. édition italienne. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1910. Pp. 235.

The present work is a new edition in French of Sighèle's previous book of the same name. The former has been modified somewhat, in that the chapters have been expanded and brought up to date by the inclusion of new facts.

F. F.

Les principes biologiques de l'évolution sociale. Par René Worms. Pp. 120. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1910. Fr. 2.

This little volume marks the beginning of the publication of a new series in the *Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale,* in 18mo. The present argument is a variation of the theme in the author's earlier work, *Organisme et société.* "It seeks to show . . . . how the principles which dominate the organic existence of the individual also determine his life in society." It applies the biological principles of adaptation, heredity, and selection to an exposition of the fundamental facts of social evolution in the interest of an exact science of sociology. Needless to say, the author has not given sufficient weight to the cultural influences of society. L. L. B.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

The Sociological Bases of Ethics.—Sociology, as the psychology and biology of the collective life, is the proper scientific basis for the science of ethics. The human mind is such that judgments of moral value spring immediately from a knowledge of social facts. The moral not only springs directly out of the social, but functions to bring about a new and higher type of the social. The moral ideal must lie within the limits of the socially possible, which limits it is the business of the social sciences to define. Development of scientific knowledge of human society tends to establish three standards or norms, with ethical implications: social survival, social efficiency, and social harmony. Ethics therefore is a normative discipline lying beyond all the social sciences.—Chas. A. Ellwood, *International Journal of Ethics,* April, 1910. L. L. B.

Milchfragen.—The injurious effect of artificial nutrition upon the health and growth of the young child is evident because of the disproportionate mortality of artificially nourished infants. With the well-to-do the death-rate among children raised by the bottle is twice as great as with those raised at the breast; among the poorer classes the death-rate is over *four* times greater among the former than among the latter. Protective legislation should secure to the woman worker the right to nurse her child. Increase in the standard of living is necessary to remove those disadvantages of artificial nutrition which are dependent upon unsanitary dwelling conditions and upon milk adulteration. O. Lipsius, *Die Neue Zeit,* February 4, 1910. E. W. B.

The Democratic Ideal and the Christian Church.—The democratic ideal is menaced in America today (1) by lowering of standards due to the acceptance of everybody's judgment as of equal value and (2) by a plutocracy which in the second and third generation is tempted to assume an emancipation from service. The democratic ideal is the cardinal principle of Jesus' teaching and the church should (1) not excite class against class, capital against labor, (2) fight commercial dishonesty, (3) oppose plutocratic corruption, (4) uphold the majesty of the civil authority, (5) and recognize what is common in its own ideals and in those of the trade unions.—C. B. Brewster, *North American Review,* March, 1910. E. S. B.

The Relation of the Law to Public Health.—Health preservation for the public may be secured through legislation increasing the powers of governmental agencies charged with the protection of health or through the great body of common law. Unless a common-law nuisance exists, boards of health are often powerless, either because of the express language of the statute or because of constitutional guarantees to private property. The practical effect of a private individual's action in preventing pollution of a stream flowing through his land is remarkable in contrast with the results of inaction by a community. Many death-dealing nuisances await the attack of those who would protect public health.—Alfred Hayes, Jr., *Popular Science Monthly,* March, 1910. E. S. B.

Aspects of Unemployment.—Unemployment is an inherent defect of an economic system common to all civilized nations. The root cause is the absence of anything to regulate the supply of and demand for labor, so as to procure an equilibrium. Productivity has increased without a sufficient rise in demand to give employment to displaced labor. The amount of work per man is

excessive in relation to the total amount of labor available and the extent of demand. The essential need is regulation to obtain equilibrium of supply of and demand for labor.—C. J. F. M., *Westminster Review,* March, 1910.

E. S. B.

La psychologie objective appliquée à l'étude de la criminalité.—Criminality is increasing continually. Statistics of crime from Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England, and Russia show for each country a remarkable increase in criminals in proportion to population. The dogmatic, the biological, the parasitical theories of crime are untrue. Social and economic phenomena alone explain it. The inability of the degenerate child to adapt itself to new situations, as compared with the normal child, the interrelation of alcohol, poverty, and degeneracy, are the inseparable accompaniments of crime. It is highly important that there be established an international criminological association in order that there may be uniformity of work on the part of the civilized nation.—Professor W. Bechterew, *Arch. d'anthrop. criminelle,* March 15, 1910.

E. E. W.

Le Darwinisme en sociologie.—Darwinianism has served for the destruction of those theories in sociology which stand for immutability, especially as they found a place among the philosophers and social scientists of the eighteenth century. Furthermore it has led to identifying man with nature, as opposed to setting him apart from nature as something distinct from the lower animal and plant world. Darwin has permitted of no gap in life progression from the unicellular—as represented in the amoeba—up to the most highly complex—as represented in man. The result of such a procedure has been that every great social scientist of today includes the principles of Darwinianism in his theories, even though these different scientists do not come to the same conclusions on specific social theories.—Bouglé, *Rev. de métaphysique de morale,*

E. E. W.

Du rôle politique des économistes.—Economists are not merely a lot of theorists whose ideas have no practical bearing in the real activities of the world. They have stood for free trade, because this gives open competition and a survival of what should survive; for permission of capital to enter foreign countries if it could be more greatly productive there; for an unhampered activity generally. Child labor should be a matter of regulation, not of destruction. The economist goes to the roots of things and thus approaches the solution of social problems fundamentally.—M. Yves Guyot, *Journal des économistes,* February 15, 1910.

E. E. W.

The Growth of a Language.—When the original stocks came together, confusion set in and ultimately a language would be produced differing widely from either parent. Words are faded images handed down from remotest ages. They get their meanings from their environments and new meanings from new environments. The language of science is almost international; a term that is of interest only to savants needs but slight change to be accepted everywhere. English is the coming language for its users are rapidly increasing and spreading throughout the world.—C. W. Super, *Popular Science Monthly,* April, 1910.

E. S. B.

Les syndicats agricoles.—The agricultural syndicates can do much to prevent the country from being depopulated. Farmers cannot be held to the native soil by discourses on the charms of rural life. The agricultural syndicates seek to make farming more remunerative, to give to the vocation greater security, and to create a love for it. Since 1884 the syndicates have been free to buy in common those things necessary to cultivation of the soil. But on May 29, 1908, the court rendered a judgment making it illegal for the syndicate to buy merchandise for their members. The only practical alternative now is an amendment to the law of 1884 making provision for this power necessary to the effectiveness of the syndicate. The aims and efforts of the agricultural

syndicates have never been commercial, but purely for social betterment by mutual aid in organization. They would make rural life attractive to the young who have tended toward the cities.—Jules Mihura, *La réforme sociale,* February, 1910. R. B. McC.

Australian Morality.—Morality is not to be judged by relationship to fixed standards, but it is fundamentally related to the system of social control of the group. On the whole and if judged by their own social standards, Australian life was moral in a high degree.—Irving King, *Popular Science Monthly,* February, 1910. E. S. B.

Laws of Diminishing Environmental Influence.—Neither experiments nor statistics give proof that ordinarily environment can alter the salient mental and moral traits to any considerable extent from what they were predetermined to be through innate influences. Environmental influence diminishes (1) with increased phylogenetic rank, (2) with the evolutionary rank of the tissue affected, (3) in proportion to the age of the tissue affected, (4) with the organism's power of choice.—F. A. Woods, *Popular Science Monthly,* April, 1910. E. S. B.

Philanthropy and Sociology.—Sociology is the more fundamental and comprehensive science, while philanthropy is its chief application. Problems of social betterment may be approached from three standpoints: (1) of biology, (2) of personal character and adjustment, (3) of social conditions. While a knowledge of the first two (as in the cases of heredity and psychical condition) is absolutely necessary to effective social work, the broader outlook of the third must be the final guide to a scientific philanthropy. This broader view, based upon a knowledge of the evolution and organization of society, emphasizes the advantages of working for the total betterment of society without falling into mere palliation in particular cases on the one hand, or of becoming a revolutionary impossibilist on the other.—Chas. A. Ellwood, *Survey,* June 4, 1910. L. L. B.

Sociology—Its Definition and Its Limits.—Sociology is the science of the fundamental laws which apply to social phenomena. It includes the statics of society embracing a manageable set of the elemental institutions, and then the dynamics embracing the formative laws relating to all forms of social development, prehistoric and historic. Sociology is the science of dominant tendencies which can be demonstrated to control the evolution of civilization.—Frederic Harrison, *Sociological Review,* April, 1910. E. S. B.

Victorian Wages Boards and the New Zealand Conciliation-Arbitration Act.—Victoria and New Zealand after trying the American *laissez faire* way of watching the industrial conflict proceed from under-pay and overwork to lockout and strikes and unemployment and sweating began to experiment with cures, such as wages boards and conciliation-arbitration, until it has now become a deep-rooted and widespread conviction that it is very clearly the duty of the state to interfere in industrial disputes and that the prevention of strikes, the regulation of pay, and the fixing of the hours of labor are obligations which the body of citizens must take up through their constituted authorities.—Paul Kennaday, *Yale Review,* May, 1910. E. S. B.

Inter-racial Relations.—World-unity will be attained not so much by fusion and intermarriage between races as by definitely organized co-operation of individuals preserving their individuality. The higher nations have an important trust—to protect, guide, and inspire the lower races. How to preserve order without crushing individuality is the great administrative problem today. An international code of ethics is gradually evolving and international opinion is being more effectively brought to bear to prevent unnecessary hostilities. Behind hostilities, necessary for some time yet, are forces tending to co-operation and cohesion which are destined eventually to prevail.—Francis Younghusband, *Sociological Review,* April, 1910. E. S. B.

Some Immigration Differences.—Profound changes in American racial conditions in the last century are: (1) immigration stock of much lower grade; (2) a larger volume with less and less means of utilizing it; (3) distribution of immigrants in the cities where they herd together in close communities and under conditions as nearly as possible a replica of those from which they come; (4) no longer personal contact with employers, slight commerce with American ideals; (5) decreasing native birth-rate but high foreign birth-rate; (6) large numbers of transient immigrants coming and going in response to economic opportunities in this country.—H. P. Fairchild, *Yale Review,* May, 1910.

E. S. B.

The Social Significance of Play.—Work without play makes boys menaces to civilization and girls mothers of misery to future generations. Powerful armaments and richest trade balances cannot resurrect the lost vitality of the race. A playground built today saves the building of a jail tomorrow because the proper direction of the universal play spirit is a preventive of juvenile delinquency. Opportunities for play are civic investments in vitality, citizenship, and the prevention of crime.—O. T. Mallery, *Annals Amer. Acad.*, March, 1910.

E. S. B.

Will Trade Training Solve the Child-Labor Problem?—Employers are beginning to recognize child employment as a short-sighted policy and are seeking the aid of society in bringing competitors to their own higher standards. They are beginning to regard child labor as a weakening of citizenship and a cheapening of industry itself. Prohibitive legislation and compulsory elementary education open the door of opportunity for youth, but the education must be of such a character as to help the child by its attraction, enable him to choose intelligently his vocation, and lead him into such fields of skilled labor that in the education of his own children compulsion will not be necessary.—Owen R. Lovejoy, *North American Review,* June, 1910.

E. S. B.

Modern Research in Social Problems.—The cheering aspect of recent study of social problems is that we no longer see a mere inert acceptance of anomalies and injustices as being inscrutable and beyond the power of man to remove. Instead, modern social research ascertains underlying facts, exalts first principles and primary truths. We see earnest men attacking social problems in a purposeful and scientific manner, searching for unchallengeable truth and therewith making the people free.—Geo. Connell, *Westminster Rev.*, February, 1910.

E. S. B.

The Social Ideal and the Modern Church.—The social ideal consists in the superiority of the spirit of service over the spirit of gain. The Christian ideal is to translate the social ideal into actual conditions, to tone up and invigorate the social system, to make men know assuredly that democracy means wider opportunity and larger obligation with respect to social service. While claiming to be scientific, socialism is professedly based on class antagonism; but the church says with Wesley: Ourselves and others cannot be put asunder. The church recognizes that persons are the stuff of society and that social strength must be made of individual tissue.—C. B. Brewster, *No. Amer. Rev.*, April, 1910.

E. S. B.

Woman and Democracy.—In primitive social life, woman because of her physical weakness was necessarily subordinate; through religious superstition she was made more subordinate. Other things being equal, every moral person should have the right to express an opinion by voting concerning social interests and the laws under which he lives. How can we deny this right to pure and clear-minded women which we permit to ignorant, immoral men? Let suffrage be limited to some rational test, and not by mere accident of birth. Who answer to the roll of opponents to equal suffrage?—about all savages, enemies of society, drunkards, rumsellers, constitutional stand-patters, and weak-minded men in general.—Borden P. Bowne, *No. Amer. Rev.*, April, 1910.

E. S. B.

Can Labor Be Capitalized?—Let the corporations establish a reserve fund for the maintenance of dividends at reasonable rates, even during a period of depression. Let labor be capitalized to the amount of each worker's yearly wage, and let dividends be declared from the surplus earnings *pro rata* on the capital stock and the capital stock of the workers.—William Shaw, *Outlook*, April 2, 1910. E. S. B.

Ethical Problems of Prison Science.—Among the malign influences of the criminal class are: (1) the suffering from disease and abnormality through physical inheritance; (2) serious reduction of the social income; (3) evil education of children brought up under the influence of criminals; (4) the temptations offered to ambitious politicians. Methods of procedure are: (1) restrain the dangerous members of the criminal class; (2) reformation through simple training in social habits, holding the man to his place in society, and keeping him from positively destructive action; (3) prevention by anticipating anti-social conduct and erecting barriers in the way; (4) construction—building up physical, intellectual, and moral vitality.—C. R. Henderson, *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1910. E. S. B.

Play and Social Progress.—No railroad accident or calamity involves such tragedy as the slow paralysis of a human spirit through work, work, work, until the whole of the spirit has atrophied and nothing but the bare shell, the body, remains. Not only laborers, but industrial captains and social workers may and do lose the spirit of play. The presence of the play spirit means keen enjoyment of the game whatever it may be that is being played. The number of cities maintaining playgrounds has increased from 90 in 1907 to 177 in 1908 and 336 in 1909. As a people gain and retain the play spirit which is natural to little children, they enter into the possibilities of social progress. And a thousand years of social progress may be made in a single decade.—H. S. Braucher, *Annals Amer. Acad.*, March, 1910. E. S. B.

Frankreichs Sorge.—A declining birth-rate, as a necessary consequence of an advancing culture, cannot be prevented by governmental measures. To many, therefore, the present stand-still in the population of France threatens her position among the nations of Europe. But today the relative military strength of two states does not determine the issue of "group conflict" so much as the power of the combination of nations in which the individual state has its membership. By reason of her fortunate alliance with Russia, France need not fear the decline of population, coincident, as it is, with higher cultural development and greater material prosperity.—Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Monatsschrift für Soziologie*, November-December, 1909. E. W. B.

Die Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung für die Wohlfahrt unserer Jugend.—The movement for "garden cities" in England and Germany arose to meet the problem of the overcrowded tenement with its injurious effects upon the physical and moral development of the child. Co-operative associations are organized (1) to purchase and plot the tract of land; (2) to provide for the prevention of speculation in land values; (3) to retain ownership of parks and playgrounds and of a number of dwellings sufficient to regulate rents. Agricultural and manual training for each child, a social center for the community are features of the plan. In England in 1903, in Germany in 1905, respectively, the first practical undertakings were initiated, and with their success an impetus was given to further attempts.—A Kampffmeyer, *Zeitschrift für Jugendwohlfahrt*, January, 1910. E. W. B.

Der gegenwärtige Stand der Boden- und Wohnungsfrage.—The scientific contest over the housing and land problem is to be assigned largely to differences of opinion on economic principles. The decisive factor in production of houses is demand. High land values result from high rents caused by competition of renters for the city advantages. Taxation on common value and on unearned increment tend rather to increase than to decrease rent and the market price

of dwellings. On the whole, police inspection, minute regulations, and taxes work to discourage building operations while healthy speculation promotes it. Insurance against loss of rent, extension and perfection of means of intercommunication between suburbs and the city are two means that will contribute to the solution of the problem.—Dr. Adolf Weber, *Zeitschrift für Politik,* April, 1910. E. W. B.

Die Wanderung ins Ausland als nationales Problem.—In social science "national" has no longer an anthropological significance, but instead signifies subjective membership in the same linguistic or cultural group. Hence both politically and economically, emigration has far-reaching international consequences. Not only is the national policy of an immigrant-receiving country influenced by foreign-born vote, but its cultural unity and development will be largely determined by the degree and rapidity of assimilation and by the relative proportion of the constituent racial elements. After cheapness and quality of goods the German immigrant ranks as a factor in German commercial expansion. National political economy demands colonies as producers of raw materials, as markets for the goods of the mother country, and especially as stations to which emigration may be directed.—Sartrius von Walterhausen, *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft,* March, 1910. E. W. B.

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THE HOUSING OF NON-FAMILY GROUPS OF MEN IN CHICAGO

MILTON B. HUNT
The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the autumn of 1908 at the request of the Chief Sanitary Inspector of Chicago, the Department of Social Investigation (Russell Sage Foundation) of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy undertook an inquiry into housing conditions in Chicago. The following article is the result of one of the special investigations undertaken in connection with that inquiry. It was believed that problems of peculiar interest had grown out of the use of dwellings, designed for family occupation, by groups of persons of a non-family character. It was also felt that many facts of immediate community interest would be uncovered in an attempt to ascertain how non-family groups of industrial men were being housed. It should, however, be emphasized that this article deals only with the *bona fide* working-man, that it does not discuss the mode of life of the so-called "hobo" who makes use of the ten-cent lodging-house and finds his quarters, so far as he resorts to Chicago as a dwelling-place, in or near "the loop."

Of the type of man, however, with whom the following article has to do, little has been known. It is a matter of common knowledge, of course, that the great industrial plants, like the packing-houses and steel works, the agricultural implement factories, and other industries of that general type which require a very considerable amount of unskilled or low-grade labor, depend largely upon groups of immigrant men. It is also known that there are large numbers of men performing labor of the same general grade in connection with the construction work of the great railroad systems, the cutting of timber or ice in various sections of the country, and in construction work on our city streets, who can find employment

only during the season of the year when their work is either possible or profitable. For many of these men who find employment from spring to autumn, Chicago is a winter resort. For many of those whose work takes them out into the lumber camps or ice fields from autumn to spring, Chicago is a summer home. In a number of cases, of course, members of these groups, men who have had a considerable period of employment in America, have been able to bring over their families. Their temporary or seasonal earnings are supplemented in many cases by the sewing or unskilled domestic work of their wives. In many cases, however, they have not yet been able to locate their families on this side, and during their periods of unemployment, they establish themselves with other members of their nationality in fairly permanent domestic relationships, after the fashion described in the following paper.

It is believed that the facts here given will have a real interest for the student of the city problem. In these facts there is to be found an illustration, of which, of course, many could be cited, of the way in which modern industry dominates all the aspects and conditions of life for those who are of the pecuniarily incompetent grade. Instead of work being a fact with other facts, controlled in a dignified and human way by the demands of the worker, we have here all the interests of the individual subject to the requirement that the opportunity for earning a wage shall be obtained by the worker. Family ties are broken, for a considerable time at least. The family habits of life, all normal association with women and children in simple and natural ways, are abandoned. Days pass into weeks, weeks into months, and months into years during which the worker is free from all the normal responsibilities and deprived of all normal satisfactions connected with family life. The conditions under which this life of an abnormal deprivation on the one hand and abnormal freedom from control on the other is passed, are those of hard, unremitting, uninteresting work amid sordid surroundings, recompensed by an inadequate wage, alternating with sleep and a period of leisure or unemployment, spent in crowded rooms, ill-ventilated, ill-lighted, poorly furnished, and as transient in their use as the clothes which the men wear and discard, or the unsound recreations in which they too frequently indulge.

S. P. Breckinridge
Edith Abbott

The rapid development within the last decade of the great industries in and near Chicago, the new railroad problems of the transcontinental lines which center in Chicago concerning track elevation within the city limits and construction work where the roads are being extended into new territory, the

Photograph by R. R. Earle

TYPES OF HOUSES NEAR THE STEEL MILLS IN SOUTH CHICAGO

In such as these Bulgarian, Servian, and Croatian lodging groups were found

rehabilitation of the street railway system of a city covering an area of 194 square miles, the perfecting of the street surfaces and the gas and electric systems, and the construction of buildings both for commercial and household purposes have created an unprecedented demand for unskilled laborers who are willing to work in gangs. This demand has been met only by drawing on the supply furnished by newly arrived immigrants. So eager have they been in their response and so satisfactory in the quality and quantity of their labor that today the greater part of our rough work is done by men of foreign birth.

A large proportion of these men are married men who have left their homes and families to come here and work until they can save money enough to bring their families over and establish new homes in America. Such has been the practice of immigrants in the past, and according to the last report of the Commissioner General of Immigration,[1] there is a much larger number of males than females coming to our country among the immigrants of every nationality, with the exception of the Irish and Japanese. The proportion between male and female immigrants among different national groups varies almost directly with the length of time during which the nationality has been sending immigrants to America, so that those nationalities which have been sending immigrants longest show the smallest excess of men over women. In the case of the large groups of men who have left their wives behind, it is interesting to inquire by what domestic arrangement they replace the normal family life. Two arrangements seem to have been worked out: either the men attach themselves to a family group as lodgers or boarders, or they form a non-family group of their own. This may be organized either under a house-boss or on a co-operative basis. The predominance of the one kind of organization over the other again seems to depend largely on the length of time during which immigration of that particular nationality has been in progress, and the non-family type prevails among the most recently formed colonies, although

[1] *Report of Commissioner General of Immigration* (1909), 22.

even among those with whom immigration has the oldest history, one occasionally finds non-family groups.

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the methods of living among groups of immigrant men who had immigrated without their families, and to learn the types and condition of the houses in which they lived, the extent to which overcrowding was prevalent, the dimensions of their rooms, the rent, whether the men were a non-family group organized under a house-boss or on a co-operative basis, or whether they were boarders or lodgers with a family group, and other facts which might give some insight into their living conditions. While the study was primarily one of housing conditions, addtional facts of interest were gathered from the groups regarding their ages, social status, the length of their residence in the United States, their occupation, their wages, the length of their working hours, the method of payment prevailing in their industry, and the details of their group organization. An interpreter belonging to the nationality of the group visited was used in every case. Visits were usually made in the evening or on days when the men were most likely to be at home from their work so that as many of the men as possible might be seen in person.

While the study has not been extensive enough to cover all nationalities among which non-family groups might be found, yet the groups selected were those which are believed to be typical. Altogether, 96 groups, composed of 850 men, were visited, divided by nationality as follows: 25 groups of Bulgarians including 249 men; 33 groups of Croatians and Servians including 326 men; 33 groups of Italians including 236 men; and 5 groups of Greeks with 39 men.

An attempt will be made in the following pages to present separately the results of the investigation for each of these nationalities.

I. BULGARIAN GROUPS

Of large stature, with a ruddy complexion, fresh from the soil, the Bulgarians come to America capable of hard service and heavy labor. Without natural aptitude for commercial activities,

they are especially well adapted for the labor gangs and are well able to endure the hard, rough work in our industrial plants. The way in which men who contribute as they do to American industrial well-being are able to maintain decent and wholesome conditions of living becomes a question of real interest.

The Bulgarians in Chicago are found grouped largely in two localities, one in the neighborhood of Adams Street where it crosses Peoria, Green, and Sangamon streets, just east of Halsted Street, and on some near-by streets parallel to Adams Street, the other at the gates of the steel mills in South Chicago. The first of these two is the center of interest to Bulgarians in Chicago. Here are the Bulgarian coffee-houses, the Macedonian bakeries, the Bulgarian grocers and butchers, the one-night lodging-houses, and the employment agencies. Here may be found Bulgarian newspapers and friends from home. Here the men come in the spring from the smaller cities and towns to be shipped out by the employment agencies. Here they return after finishing their work to wait for another job. In this neighborhood during the month of February, 1910, 13 visits were made and 105 men interviewed. Of these men, 58 were living under transient conditions, engaging rooms by the night or week only. The others were more permanent residents and rented their rooms by the month. The transient nature of the arrangements made in this neighborhood is evidenced by the fact that within an interval of 45 days a second visit was made to the headquarters of one of these groups and the personnel of the group had changed entirely.

The other national center, as has been said, is in the midst of that mass of Slavic people representing many nationalities, who have gathered in a crowded colony at the gates of the steel mills in South Chicago. Here are Bulgarians, Croatians, Servians, Lithuanians, Poles, and men of many other nationalities. Sometimes several neighboring houses are inhabited by a single nationality, but more frequently one finds representatives of different nationalities within the same group. Almost all of the men living here depend for employment upon the steel mills.

With regard to household economy, the men were organized

in a variety of ways. In the simple lodging-house, beds were let by the manager for ten cents a night. The men might get their meals with the owner in his restaurant-coffee-house, or they might shift for themselves. In other groups the men chose a boss who was responsible for the cooking, the washing, and the care of the rooms. Sometimes he did all this himself and received in return for his labor three dollars a month from each man. In case he did not wish to do all the work he hired a cook or sent out the washing. In two cases it was found that the boss had hired a Croatian woman to do the work for him. He

NUMBER AND SIZE OF GROUPS IN SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ROOMS

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups of													Total
	4 Men	5 Men	6 Men	7 Men	8 Men	9 Men	10 Men	11 Men	12 Men	13 Men	15 Men	18 Men	19 Men	
1 room	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
2 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
3 rooms	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
4 rooms	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
5 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	3	..	1	..	8
6 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	1	1	7
Total number of groups	1	1	4	1	..	1	3	1	3	5	1	2	1	24
Total number of persons	4	5	24	7	..	9	30	11	36	65	15	36	19	261*

* Including 22 women and children and 1 Servian man.

usually owned the furnishings and paid the rent. He bought the food for the men and at the end of the month there was a general reckoning, and the food expense was divided pro rata among the men. Again, it was found that a Bulgarian man and his wife had together assumed the position as boss. In that case the woman did the work and the man collected from the men their share of the expense. Three dollars a month was usually paid by each man for lodging and cooking, and the food expense was divided equally among them so as to cover the cost of the woman's as well as their own. Still another plan was that of the simple co-operative group, in which the total expense was shared equally by all the members of the group. A fourth plan seemed the most profitable of all to the landlord.

Photograph by R. R. Earle

BULGARIAN LODGING GROUP IN SOUTH CHICAGO

Eighteen men and the "boss" in the apartment; six men slept in this room

According to this each man was charged 75 cents a week for the use of a room, where as many men as could be crowded together were lodged. The men thus herded together purchased each his own food and otherwise shifted for himself. There were 63 men found in simple co-operative groups, 167 were found living with a boss as manager, while 40 were found in the transient lodging-houses.

The table which has been given shows the number of persons constituting these groups into which they organize themselves, and the number of rooms in the apartments occupied.

II. CROATIANS AND SERVIANS

Men from both of these nationalities frequently live in the same lodging-house groups. The language is common to the two and those who call themselves Servians come either from the same portion of Austria from which the Croatians come, or from the neighboring kingdom of Dalmatia or Bosnia. In a group of 141 men who claimed to be Servians, there was not one who had come from the kingdom of Servia.[2] On this account it seems proper to present the facts about these two groups together.

Tall and broad shouldered, fairer than the Bulgarians and more nearly resembling the Poles, these men from the mountain farms of Austria and Dalmatia form a valuable addition to our workers, and the "Austrians," as our labor agencies call them, are eagerly sought for when work is hard and heavy.

The Croatian colony has its center near Eighteenth Street and Center Avenue on the west side of the city, within the limits of South Halsted Street, West Sixteenth Street, Blue Island Avenue, and West Twenty-second Street. In this neighborhood the Croatian newspapers are published, and there are also to be found a large Croatian church, Croatian lodge-halls, stores

[2] As authority for their close relationship, see the statement made by Calhoun, *The Whirlpool of Europe*, 323: "There is no real distinction of race or language in this region inhabited by the Serve-Croats who spread across the Balkan states and through Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, to the country of the Slavenes." The present distinctions are based rather more upon political or religious grounds than upon racial or linguistic distinctions. The Servians are adherents of the Greek Orthodox faith, while the Croatians are Roman Catholics.

of all varieties kept by the Croatians, and, in fact, a complete national colony. This section is that within which may be found a part of the large Bohemian colony, now rapidly spreading to the westward, besides many Servians and Slovaks. An editor of one of the Croatian newspapers estimated the Croatian population of the city to be between 28,000 and 30,000, with probably 20,000 living in this one colony. There is another group of probably 3,000 on Archer Avenue, near Robey Street, in which there is also a Croatian newspaper published. Still others are to be found in South Chicago, near the steel mills, where men from both nationalities may be found in the same group.

There are also two large Servian colonies. The larger is on Clybourn Avenue near Fullerton. A Servian newspaper is published in this locality, and there are Servian restaurants, stores, saloons, and lodge-halls in the neighborhood. The smaller is on Milwaukee Avenue near Wicker Park. It is an interesting fact that almost all the men in these colonies have come from Dalmatia, Bosnia, or Herzegovina.

Thirty-three groups, representing 183 Croatians and 141 Servians, of whom 82 came from Austria, and 59 from Dalmatia, were interviewed. This was done during the month of March when many of the men were unemployed. Detailed information was secured from groups from three of the colonies: the colony about Center Street, that in South Chicago, and that on Clybourn Avenue near Fullerton.

The size of these groups, including the few women and children living in them, and the number of rooms in the apartments occupied by each group are shown in the table given below.

Among these the most common type of living arrangement is for a married couple to own a boarding-house. They pay the rent and own the furniture and charge each man in the group about three dollars a month for his lodging, the preparation of his food, and his washing. The cost of food is divided proportionately each month among the men, the husband counting as one of the boarders. A cruder method of accounting is that of keeping a grocery book, in which the grocer or

Photograph by R. R. Earle

BULGARIAN LODGING GROUP, SOUTH CHICAGO

Eighteen men and the "boss" in five rooms

the butcher enters every day the cost of the food bought for each individual. This means, in fact, a separate account with the grocer or the butcher for each boarder, and this he settles in person as often as necessary. The boarding mistress prepares

NUMBER AND SIZE OF GROUP IN SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ROOMS

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups of														Total Number of Groups
	4 Men	5 Men	6 Men	7 Men	8 Men	9 Men	10 Men	11 Men	12 Men	13 Men	14 Men	16 Men	17 Men	18 Men	
3 rooms	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
4 rooms	..	..	1	1	3	2	..	3	2	..	1	1	..	..	14
5 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	5
6 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	2	1	1	..	8
8 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
9 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
11 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total no. of groups	1	..	1	1	3	3	5	3	5	1	4	3	2	1	33
Total no. of persons	4	..	6	7	24	27	50	3	60	13	56	45	34	18	377*

* Including 51 women and children.

and serves separately the food for each man, who receives exactly what he has paid for. There are, however, some groups in which the men pay a fixed sum each week. There are five co-operative groups, some with and some without a boss, but no one-night lodging-houses were discovered in these particular localities.

III. ITALIANS

Another extremely interesting colony from the point of view of this study is constituted by the Italians, and it was possible to collect data with reference to more representatives of that nationality than of the others studied at this time. Although it is difficult to give exact boundaries to the Italian colonies in Chicago, they have definite centers and their general location may be easily indicated. The largest is probably that to be found within the boundaries formed by Canal Street on the east (it should be noted that many Italians may be found as far east as State Street), Harrison Street on the north, Center Avenue on the west, and Twelfth Street on the south. This section is of course by no means exclusively Italian, although it is predominantly so, for families of almost every other nation-

ality may be found within it, and there are, in particular, large numbers of Greeks, Russian Jews, and Lithuanians.

A large colony of Sicilians is found in the area between Chicago Avenue and Division Street, with the river as the western and Sedgwick Street as the eastern boundary. Still another colony of Italians is near Grand Avenue, between Center and Halsted streets, but they are intermingled with large numbers of Greeks as well as with representatives of other nationalities located within this area. The fourth large colony is located near Twenty-second Street between Wentworth and Stewart avenues. Each of these colonies is complete in itself, with Italian newspapers, banks, churches, stores, saloons, and labor agencies. These Italian colonies are made up almost entirely of normal families and one has difficulty in finding groups of the non-family type.

The investigation of these groups was necessarily postponed until the month of May, when the labor agencies had shipped out thousands of men for work in the western construction camps. At this time, therefore, many entire groups had taken their mattresses and blankets and gone into the country. The Italian laborer is much shorter in stature than the Slav, yet he is capable of doing a good day's work with the pick and shovel or carrying hods of brick and mortar. With a natural dislike for the cold, he is constitutionally idle during the winter months, but as soon as spring comes he is ready to be shipped out and to earn enough to make up for lost time with the hope of being able to send something home to Italy, and to save enough to tide him over another winter. And, as almost every group reported that some of the men had gone to the country, there is no doubt that if the visits had been during the winter months, larger groups would have been found.

The groups visited were chosen from two colonies, that near Hull House and the one near Grand Avenue. In all, 38 visits were made and 237 men were interviewed.

The number of men within the groups, including families where they were found, with the number of rooms occupied, is given in the following table:

NUMBER AND SIZE OF GROUP IN SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ROOMS

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups of													Total
	2 Men	3 Men	4 Men	5 Men	6 Men	7 Men	8 Men	9 Men	10 Men	11 Men	12 Men	13 Men	14 Men	
1 room	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2 rooms	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
3 rooms	..	1	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
4 rooms	..	..	1	1	3	2	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	12
5 rooms	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
6 rooms	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	2	1	1	..	7
8 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
9 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total number of groups	3	1	4	5	6	6	3	2	2	3	1	1	1	38
Total number of persons	6	3	16	25	36	42	24	18	20	33	12	13	14	262*

* Including 26 women and children.

The organization of the Italian non-family group is unlike that of either the Bulgarian or Croatian. There are lodging-houses where ten cents provides a cot and some blankets for the night, but each man provides his own food. There are the co-operative clubs, organized in two different ways: according to one plan the men pay the rent and the necessary group expenditures co-operatively, but each man buys and cooks his own food; in the other they pay collectively for all expenses, including food, and each man in turn cooks for the group, or the one who arrives home first prepares the simple meal. In cases where the men board in the family group they pay the usual three dollars a month for rent and cooking and washing, and they either pay collectively for the food at the end of the month, counting as their own the food consumed by the woman, or each man buys his own food and brings it to the woman to be cooked. Of the 236 men interviewed, 151 lived in co-operative groups, while 85 were boarders in a family.

IV. GREEKS

With a rich heritage of custom and tradition, and a reputation as traders and colonists, the Greeks come to America with their commercial ability well developed, and serve in the ranks of laborers only long enough to learn the English language

and to start in business for themselves in a small way. Then the commercial instinct asserts itself and they become peddlers or owners of bootblack stands, restaurants, fruit-stores, or other small places of business. In the bootblack shelter, the restaurant, or the fruit stand the Greek is found waiting upon his American customers. Large numbers of them are serving as peddlers of fruit and vegetables on our streets, and small groups are located in many different parts of the city near their places of business. But the largest central Greek colony is in the neighborhood of Hull House, east and west of Halsted Street, between Harrison and Taylor streets. Greek newspapers, a Greek church, Greek bakeries, Greek coffee-houses, all varieties of stores, are found in the immediate neighborhood. A smaller colony is near Grand Avenue, where it is crossed by Peoria and Sangamon streets.

The attempt to investigate the non-family groups among the Greeks was confined to the colony in the neighborhood of Hull House. Four visits were made and 39 men interviewed. These were all men engaged in the fruit and vegetable business. The practice in all these instances was to rent a whole house, use the first floor as a stable for their horses, and sleep in an apartment above.

The size and number of the groups is indicated in the following table:

NUMBER AND SIZE OF GROUPS IN SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ROOMS

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups of				Total
	7 Men	8 Men	11 Men	13 Men	
4 rooms	1	..	..	..	1
5 rooms	..	1	..	1	2
8 rooms	..	..	1	..	1
Total number of groups	1	1	1	1	4
Total number of persons	7	8	11	13	39

Three of these groups were organized on a co-operative basis, all expenses being equally divided at regular intervals; in the fourth group, one man owned the entire building and

Photograph by R. R. Earle

BULGARIAN LODGING GROUP ON THE WEST SIDE

Five men occupied this room; windows open on the "elevated." Photograph taken by flashlight

the other men rented rooms in which to sleep and space in the stable for their horses. The food was provided and paid for on a co-operative plan.

V. POLISH GROUPS

The study of the Polish lodging groups confirmed the fact that the longer the period of immigration, the smaller the number of non-family groups which would be found; for the Polish immigration is older than that of any of the other nationalities which have been described. In the district selected, there was not found a single non-family group. While in many instances the number of lodgers exceeded the number in the family with whom they lived, yet in every case there was a family as a permanent basis and the lodgers formed a temporary class, moving from group to group or from colony to colony in response to the demand for labor, or as their economic condition changed.

The Polish population constitutes one of the largest sections of the foreign element in the city and it is impossible to set any definite boundaries to the colonies. Certain centers, however, may be located which could be likened to Polish villages. These, however, either become Americanized or change in their national characteristics as one goes from the center to its points of contact with the outside world. The colony in the northwest part of the city has its densest Polish population about the St. Stanislaus Church, with the territory bounded by Ashland, Dickson, Holt, and Cleaver streets as the heart of the district. With this as a center, in every direction, except due east where the river serves as a barrier, the Polish population stretches out, intermingling with other nationalities, individuals continually moving to better localities as their economic status improves.

On the west side, on Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, near Loomis Street and Ashland Avenue, the Poles are found, mingled with Bohemians and other Slavic nationalities. Throughout the whole territory this intermingling of Slavic people is so complete that it is difficult to distinguish one group from another.

Another large Polish colony is in that district spoken of as "back of the Yards" where successive colonies of Irish, Germans, Poles, Lithuanians, and, more recently, the Slavic races have forced their predecessors out of the buildings in the immediate neighborhood of the stockyards to a place more remote from the smoke and smell and into more desirable locations. The Polish people, who through thrift and economy are able to better their circumstances, are moving south and west from this locality, but the new arrivals board with the families near the yards, and here the lodging groups are found. Another small colony may be found east of Halsted Street, near Thirty-second and Thirty-third streets, intermingled with other Slavic groups.

As has been said, no strictly non-family groups were found. The Polish worker becomes a boarder in a family rather than one of a co-operative group. In these boarding groups there are frequently women boarders as well as men, the women usually being related to the man or wife in the family. As a rule the number of boarders found in the Polish family is not so large as the number constituting the group of boarders in families of other nationalities. A house to house canvas was made in 13 blocks in the stockyards district and in five blocks in South Chicago. The following table shows, as a result of this investigation, the number of families found and the number of lodgers in each family group:

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND SIZE OF BOARDING GROUPS, BY DISTRICTS

District	Number of Families Having as Lodgers										Number without Lodgers
	1 Man	2 Men	3 Men	4 Men	5 Men	6 Men	7 Men	8 Men	9 Men	10 Men	
Stockyards	122	121	60	56	20	17	9	4	1	1	213
South Chicago	26	36	16	21	4	8	1	..	..	..	66
Totals	148	157	76	77	24	25	10	4	1	1	279

The prevailing organization of the groups is simple. In most cases the boarder pays a stipulated rate; usually $3.00 a month for his room, his washing, and the preparation of

his meals. The housekeeper keeps a special grocery book for each boarder, taking it to the grocer or the butcher, who keeps a separate account with each man. The woman frequently cooks and serves each man's food separately. This method is crude and involves a great deal of work, but it insures to each man exactly the amount of food he pays for. After the men have passed through the first stages of the Americanizing process they adopt the less cumbersome form of paying a specified sum each week for their food.

VI. GENERAL HOUSING CONDITIONS

The types of houses in which these groups of men live differ with the sections of the city in which they congregate. They are, in fact, found in every type of house from the one-story frame cottage, now moved to the rear of the lot to make room for a pretentious brick building, to the modern brick apartment. These groups most frequently select their apartments without regard to the type of building or its condition of cleanliness or repair. Groups are found in the small cottage, hidden and darkened by more imposing buildings in the front, unpainted, and neglected by landlord and tenant alike. Again they are found in the poorly built two-story frame building, hurriedly constructed after the "fire," now crowded, unpainted, and dingy, with outworn and inadequate sanitary arrangements. These dwellings are often almost ready to be condemned as unfit for habitation.

Again, groups of men are unexpectedly found within the "furnished rooms" district. Not infrequently they are to be discovered in a once-fashionable house, with high front steps and hand rails, finished within with large, high rooms, great doors, large windows, and marble fireplaces, furnished with old-fashioned beds, bureaus, and tables, and often still retaining the old-fashioned hanging lamp. They are also found in those districts in which many houses are now deserted by their former owners to make way for the industrial plants which are coming into the neighborhood, which suffer alike from neglect by the landlord and abuse by the tenant. Not infrequently they are found in the big brick block tenement houses, divided into

monotonous apartments, unsanitary in construction, and dark and dirty within.

The Greeks visited had all chosen a house with a stable on the first floor where horses and wagons could be kept, and with rooms on the second or third floor for the men to live in. These houses were often poor in repair and unsanitary because of the stables beneath, but always clean and neat.

The question of rent is an interesting one, and the following tables show the rent paid and the number of rooms in the apartment.

These tables show little difference in the rents charged due to difference in nationalities. In the case of the Bulgarians,

BULGARIANS

RENTS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS PER APARTMENT*

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups Paying a Monthly Rent of												Total
	$8	$9	$10	$11	$12	$13	$15	$18	$20	$24	$30	No Report	
1 room	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	3
2 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
3 rooms	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
4 rooms	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
5 rooms	..	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8
6 rooms	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	7
Total	2	2	3	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	24

SERVIANS AND CROATIANS

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups Paying a Monthly Rent of										Total
	$6	$8	$9	$19	$11	$12	$14	$15	$22	No Report	
3 rooms	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
4 rooms	..	1	1	5	2	3	..	1	..	1	14
5 rooms	..	2	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	5
6 rooms	..	..	..	1	..	4	2	1	..	..	8
8 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
9 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
11 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total	1	4	1	8	2	9	2	3	1	2	33

*No table is given for Greeks because one group owned the house in which they lived and in the other cases the rents could not be ascertained.

ITALIANS

Size of Apartment	Number of Groups Paying a Monthly Rent of																Total
	$4	$5	$6	$7	$7.50	$8	$9	$10	$11	$12	$14	$15	$17.50	$18	$20	N.R.	
1 room	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2 rooms	..	4	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
3 rooms	..	..	1	3	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7
4 rooms	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	4	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	12
5 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	3
6 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	3	..	..	1	..	7
8 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
9 rooms	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	5	2	3	2	4	1	5	2	2	2	4	1	1	1	2	38

the rents seem very high compared with the accommodations. But here the landlord collected the seventy-five cent weekly payment for lodging, and thus when the rooms were full received a large total payment. Other differences[3] are probably

[3] The following tables, showing the location of the buildings and of the apartment occupied by the groups, are given for completeness, although the numbers are too small to be anything more than suggestive.

LOCATION OF THE BUILDING IN WHICH GROUPS WERE FOUND

Nationality	Number of Groups in	
	Front Buildings	Rear Buildings
Bulgarians	21	3
Croatians and Servians	33	0
Italians	31	7
Greeks	1	3

FLOORS ON WHICH GROUPS WERE FOUND

Nationality	Number of Groups in Apartments on			
	First Floor	Second Floor	Third Floor	Basement
Bulgarians	16	5	2	1
Croatians and Servians	11	17	4	1
Italians	12	14	4	7
Greeks	0	4	0	0

due to location, nearness to the business district, and other factors normally determining rents.

The question of jurisdiction over the sanitary problems growing out of the living conditions of groups of this kind seem to be somewhat complicated. The city building department regulates the construction of tenements as well as of lodging-houses and hotels, and the building code formulates rules to which the buildings shall conform. The city law, then, designates a minimum floor area for rooms,[4] and a minimum air space;[5] it also provides for a minimum window area of not less than 10 per cent of the floor space to open to the air.[6] Similar regulations are in force in the case of tenement houses.[7] In houses whether new or already constructed in 1901, the code prohibits the use of any room for sleeping purposes by more than one person for each 400 cubic feet of air space.[8] Its definition of a lodging-house is a house where rooms are rented for periods of a week or less.[9] All other apartments would come under tenement-house regulations provided there was more than one apartment in the building.[10] The state Board of Health provides for the regular inspection of lodging-houses and for an annual statement to the county clerk of the number of rooms, the size in cubic feet of the largest and the smallest, the number of guests at the time of the statement, the largest and smallest number of guests at any time during the year, and other details. Managers are supposed to keep a register open to authorized officials.[11] The regulations regarding crowding are found in the following provisions of the statute:

> It shall be unlawful for any landlord, proprietor, manager or clerk of any lodging-house, boarding-house, tavern, inn or hotel to permit any room in such lodging-house, boarding-house, tavern, inn or hotel to be used or occupied for sleeping purposes which does not contain four hundred (400) cubic feet or more of air space for each person sleeping therein at the same

[4] Tolman's Municipal Code, sec. 417.

[5] *Ibid.*, sec. 417.

[6] *Ibid.*, secs. 1222, 273, 413.

[7] *Ibid.*, sec. 1221.

[8] *Ibid.*, sec. 1221.

[9] *Ibid.*, sec. 1233.

[10] *Ibid.*, sec. 389.

[11] Illinois Revised Statutes, chap. 126A, sec. 15.

time, and in every room in any lodging-house, boarding-house, tavern, inn or hotel containing more than one bed, the beds shall be so arranged as to have a passage way of not less than two feet horizontally on all sides of each bed. And all beds shall be so arranged that under each of them the air shall freely circulate, and there shall be adequate ventilation.

Just what the definition of a lodging-house is, is not given in the statute, and whether or not the groups described in this paper would fall under the jurisdiction of the state is uncertain, and it cannot be said whether a family who have two lodgers or two rooms to rent for irregular periods, or a man and wife with a house full of lodgers, or a co-operative group hiring a house by the month would or would not come under the jurisdiction of the Board of Health.

Out of 484 rooms visited, 10 were found to have an area of less than fifty square feet, while 179 had between fifty and one hundred.

Crowding and lack of cleanliness go hand in hand. Wherever there is a large group of working men to whom domestic life is impossible, the rooms in which they live are inevitably dirty and ill-kept. If the groups are boarding with a woman who keeps the house and does the work, conditions are somewhat better, although in a large group the demands upon a woman leave her little time for cleaning. Because of the habits encouraged by the conditions under which the men work on the railroad or in the mills, the standard of cleanliness in their living quarters is lower than in a normal family group.

This table shows to what a large extent the apartments

Nationality	Number of Persons Sleeping in Rooms with the Following Number of Cubic Feet per Person								Total
	Less than 100	100 to 150	159 to 200	200 to 250	250 to 300	300 to 350	350 to 400	400 or over	
Bulgarians	...	8	5	34	40	47	53	74	261
Croatians and Servians	...	3	36	41	65	85	37	110	377
Italians	...	2	30	30	49	57	16	78	262
Greeks	...	..	..	..	9	5	6	19	39
Total	...	13	71	105	163	194	112	281	939*

* Includes 89 women and children.

are crowded beyond the minimum set by legal requirement, viz., 400 cubic feet for each person.

The following table shows the number of men actually found making use of the separate rooms for sleeping purposes:

Nationality	Number of Rooms in Which Were Found						
	1 Man	2 Men	3 Men	4 Men	5 Men	6 Men	7 Men
Bulgarians	10	26	11	16	7	9	..
Croatians and Servians	4	36	11	26	3	17	..
Italians	21	37	17	6	2	6	1
Greeks	4	8	3	1	..	1	..

These figures indicate the number of men found. In many cases beds and couches were placed in the rooms for more men than were actually found at the time of the visit. That these beds were made use of just as all the rooms in a hotel are used at times, is shown by the fact that several second visits were made to the apartments and in rooms in which there were empty beds at the time of the first visit, at the time of the second all the beds were found filled, and in one place mattresses had been placed on the floor.

The following table shows the number of men for whom the rooms were actually fitted up, but not actually in use at the time of the visiting.

NUMBERS OF MEN AND NUMBERS OF GROUPS FOR WHICH ACCOMMODATIONS FOR SLEEPING WERE FOUND

Nationality	Number of Rooms in Which Provision Was Made for										
	1 Man	2 Men	3 Men	4 Men	5 Men	6 Men	7 Men	8 Men	9 Men	10 Men	11 Men
Bulgarians	4	22	6	20	5	11	3	4	..	..	..
Croatians and Servians	10	34	16	24	3	10	..	..	..	..	..
Italians	14	37	18	9	5	6	2	..	..	..	1
Greeks	4	7	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

By actual measurement the following number of rooms were found to be of dimensions less than those required by law for the numbers found sleeping in them, and if the rooms had been filled many others would have been added.

Photograph by R. R. Earle

BULGARIAN LODGING GROUP ON THE WEST SIDE

Nine men in two rooms

Nationality	Number of Rooms under Size Prescribed by Code		Number of Rooms if Filled as Accommodations for
	Number	Percentage	
Bulgarians	49	46	15
Croatians and Servians	61	37	12
Italians	67	35	11
Greeks	5	24	0

The building code outlaws a windowless room, and provides that no room (except an alcove room) be built without access to the outside air. This provision applies only to buildings erected after December, 1901, although the code prescribes certain conditions for rooms constructed before that time.[12] It also prescribes that the window areas shall be equal to one-tenth of the floor area.[13] In all the rooms visited, which happened to be in houses erected prior to 1901, the measurements of the windows were taken. Five with no windows, nine with no windows opening on the outside air, were found, while in 34 the window space was below the legal requirement.

In addition to the facts with reference to their housing, it was not difficult to secure information as to the age and marital status of these men whom our industrial organization induces to take up the unnatural mode of life which has been described. The first table shows that they are in the prime of early manhood, able to give of their greatest vigor to the unskilled toil by which they are initiated into American industrial life.

NUMBER OF MEN AND AGES

Nationality	Under Twenty Years		Twenty Years and under Thirty		Thirty Years or over		Total*
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Bulgarians	9	4	134	56	96	40	239
Croatians and Servians	10	3	222	70	94	17	326
Italians	18	8	124	53	94	39	236
Greeks	2	5	22	56	15	39	39

* In ten cases the age of the men could not be ascertained.

[12] Municipal Code, sec. 419.

[13] *Ibid.*, sec. 413.

As has been said, although they are living here in non-family groups, many of these men are married. There is said to be an interesting difference in the way in which marriage affects the conduct of men. The Croatian men are said to be more eager to seek their fortunes in America when they have assumed the responsibilities of marriage, while among the Servians it is the unmarried men mostly who take these chances in a new country.

Among the Italians the men were looking forward with assurance to the time when their wives and families could join them here, and not infrequently a man when questioned was found expecting his family within a few days.

Among the Greeks the immigrant is more often the young unmarried man who is hoping to make his fortune here and then return to Greece to enjoy it.

The following table shows the proportion of married and single men in the groups:

Nationality	Number of Men				Total*
	Married	Percentage	Single	Percentage	
Bulgarians	167	70	72	30	239
Croatians	110	58	74	42	184
Servians	66	47	76	53	142
Italians	131	55	105	45	236
Greeks	7	20	32	80	39

* In ten cases the social status could not be ascertained.

An interesting question was suggested as to the intention of newer immigrants with regard to bringing their families over, when as yet few of their fellow countrymen had been able to bring their families over. In the case of the Bulgarians, the members were therefore questioned regarding their expectations. Many of these men were distinctly discouraged and reported real difficulty in caring for themselves alone. But they reported that if conditions improved they hoped to be able to establish their families in America.

VII. EMPLOYMENT

The interesting questions with reference to employment are: first, the amount of unemployment due to the season or the nature of the work done; second, the number of hours worked a day and the arrangement for shifts; third, the rates of wages paid; fourth, the time and medium of payment. Upon these points a few data were obtained which are believed to be of interest and are given here.

The proportion of men found idle in the different groups varied according to the season at which they were visited. Unfortunately it was not possible to visit all of the nationalities during the same period. The Bulgarian, Croatian, and Servian groups were visited during the winter months at a time when work was dull. On the other hand, the Italian and Greek groups were visited during the month of May after thousands of idle men had left the city for the camps and after much of the work which had been suspended during the winter had begun again. The numbers of men and the industries in which they were employed is shown in the table which follows:

Nationality	Number of Men Employed in						Others	Unemployed	Total*
	Steel Mill and Cranes	R. R.	Streets*	Building	Harvester Works	Own Account			
Bulgarians	61	55	10	..	..	..	2	111	239
Croatians	158	2	31	..	27	..	43	65	326
Italians	..	104	54	29	..	6	36	7	236
Greeks	..	2	..	..	..	35	2	..	39

* This includes work done by contractors at paving, concrete work, laying of gas pipes, work by the street railroad, or any work done upon the streets.

The following tables show for each group the rates of wages received and the number of hours which the men were working at the time the visits were made.

It may be said by way of comment on these tables that the rates were not especially low and that the discouragement of the men referred to in an earlier portion of the paper was due to the irregularity of their employment rather than to an unduly low wage scale. Unfortunately no accurate data could be obtained as to the actual number of days worked during the year.

NUMBER OF MEN WHO EARNED PER HOUR THE FOLLOWING WAGES

BULGARIANS

Hours per Day	–10c.	10c.	11c.	12c.	15c.	16c.	16.5c.	17c.	17.5c.	18c.	18.5c.	20c.	20–25c.	25–37c.	37.5c.	P W.*	O. A.†	N. R.‡	37.5c.+	
8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
10	...	...	...	...	...	16	36	...	8	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	62
12	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32
	...	...	...	...	...	16	68	...	30	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	128

CROATIANS AND SERVIANS

	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	22
9	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
10	...	...	...	...	38	75	3	...	40	6	...	5	1	...	...	13	...	...	...	181
11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
12	...	...	...	...	...	29	9	...	7	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	48
13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	...	...	...	2	38	104	14	...	51	7	...	6	4	...	...	13	...	22	...	261

ITALIANS

8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	37	...	...	...	6	47
9	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	17	3	...	...	...	...	...	26
10	1	1	...	...	17	25	11	5	60	...	3	5	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	139
12	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
13	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
P. W.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	6
O. A.†	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	6
	1	1	1	3	19	26	12	5	61	...	4	6	28	7	37	6	6	...	6	229

GREEKS

O. A.†	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35	...	...	35
8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	35	...	...	39

* P. W.=Piece work.
† O. A.=Own account.
‡ N. R.=No report.

Photograph by R. R. Earle

SERVIAN LODGING GROUP ON THE WEST SIDE

Nine men in two rooms. A man and his wife act together as "boss"; the woman had prepared soup for breakfast, and the twelve plates were found on the table ready for breakfast (photograph taken at 10 P.M.)

The following table shows the number of men who were paid at weekly, fortnightly, or monthly intervals.

Nationality	Number of Men				Total
	Paid Weekly	Paid Fortnightly	Paid Monthly	Working on Own Account	
Bulgarians	..	77	51	..	128
Croatians and Servians	20	241	..	..	261
Italians	61	68	94	6	229
Greeks	..	2	2	35	39

A table is also given showing the number of men whose wages were held in arrears one week, from seven to fifteen days, and from fifteen days to a month.

Nationality	Number of Men Whose Wages Were Held Back				Total
	1 Week	7–15 Days	15 Days	1 Month	
Bulgarians	17	95	16	..	128
Croatians and Servians	18	241	2	..	261
Italians	107	58	58	6	229
Greeks	4	..	..	35	39

According to these tables the Italian is receiving the best wage and working the shortest hours. This may again be due to the fact that the visits were made at different seasons of the year, for the supply and demand for labor obviously affect the wages, but a more probable reason is that the Italian has been here longer and has learned the language and has been able to take advantage of the work of the labor organizations. Many of the Italians working for contractors on the streets, and all of the men working at the building trades were union men.

In the steel mills at the time when the Bulgarian and Croatian groups were visited, the wages paid were 16 cents an hour for laborers. Two shifts were maintained, a ten-hour day and a twelve-hour night shift, with the same wages for each. The men alternated shifts each week, and at the time of changing, one group worked the double shift (both the day and the night shift), while at the time of shifting the next week that shift was laid off for 24 hours. Payment was made every fifteen days,

by checks which were good in any store or bank, with no exchange charged. In one of the mills a voluntary insurance company was maintained by the company, and men who were willing to join were preferred as employees.

The work on the railroad varied according to the employing company and the kind of work done. The working day was ten hours, and the wages varied from $1.50 to $1.75 per day. By almost all the companies wages were paid monthly by checks, about a fortnight's wages being held in arrears. The cashing of these checks is a serious problem for men working in camps in the country.

It is evident that those working in the building trades had by far the best wages and hours. The men were hod-carriers and strongly organized and had gained an eight-hour day and a three-dollar wage.

No attempt is made to set out plans for remedying the conditions described. Obviously the problem is one in world industry as well as in local sanitation. It may be said, however, that in the machinery of the city Health Department and in the intelligent use of inspectional visits, combined with instructions upon sanitary matters, there could be formed an agency little utilized as yet. Inspectors who would interest the men in the hygienic side of the question would find a welcome response among many of the groups; for frequently questions were asked by the men as to the number who could sleep in a certain room without danger to their health. A method of ticketing the rooms or placarding on the doors has been tried very successfully in many cities and might be beneficial with many of the groups if the placards were printed in the language of the groups and if the co-operation of the men was secured.

Photograph by R. R. Earle

GREEK LODGING GROUP OF ELEVEN MEN ON THE NORTH SIDE

Seven men sleep in this room; there are two stables in the basement of this house with stalls for thirteen horses

THE TRANSITION TO AN OBJECTIVE STANDARD OF SOCIAL CONTROL

LUTHER LEE BERNARD
The University of Chicago

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM STATED.—SCOPE OF CRITICISM.—ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF UTILITARIANISM.—LIMITATIONS OF UTILITARIANISM.—CRITICISM OF CURRENT PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS.—THE NEW VIEWPOINT.—CONSEQUENT REVISION OF VALUES.—PLAN OF TREATMENT

So much has been written concerning the evils of individualism and the mistakes of the hedonistic psychology and utilitarian ethics, without suggesting a satisfactory means of curing these evils or correcting these mistakes, that one is forced to believe that something is wrong with the method of attack. One reason for this failure may be that the significance of utilitarianism as a stage in the development of social theory has not yet been rightly comprehended and that we do not adequately foresee what should be the next step in our social philosophy and policy. This study is an attempt, (1) to throw utilitarianism into perspective with the wider social forces and with the philosophical and psychological theory of its time and our time; (2) to show that the main current of present-day social theory, and likewise of ethical theory so far as it is social rather than theological and absolutistic in character, is largely an outgrowth of utilitarianism, or at least may be grouped in close connection with it; (3) to argue that we cannot escape the limitations imposed by a utilitarian ethics and by a hedonistic psychology upon our social policy until we reconstruct our system of social values, until we abandon the individual as the measure of all things social, and fix upon the group, even the widest conceivable group possessing solidarity, as the unity which lives, acts, and progresses or deteriorates. Such a change in emphasis

obviously involves a reconstruction of our current psychology and ethics; for these two sciences as now written are essentially individualistic, and hence impotent so far as contribution to a constructive sociology and social policy is concerned.

Only an outline of the argument can be presented within the present limits, but it can be stated clearly and consistently enough, it is hoped, to make a point of departure, as well as furnish a basis for criticism. The second and third chapters of the study, on "The Neural Correlate of Feeling" and "The Cause of the Act," have been included, because the influence of feeling upon social activity has been and yet is a central problem in the development of social and ethical theory, though the relationship has been but unsatisfactorily worked out. In England it has been an academic problem since the time of Hobbes.[1] This problem came particularly to the fore among the utilitarians and, though somewhat obscured and below the surface, has by no means been wanting to the neo- and idealistic utilitarians and the other modern ethical individualists who would disclaim utilitarian parentage or connection. It has also, as a problem, divided the attention of the socialistic writers of the nineteenth century, who, quite conceivably, were not able to throw off the prevailing psychology and ethics of their time; though they were checks upon, and largely in contradiction with, their social policy. The greater portion of the critical parts of this study deals with the utilitarians and their successors and predecessors, because they have been the center of modern English and American social policy and social and ethical theory.[2] Short excursions are made into related fields to

[1] Cf. Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, 163.

[2] In Germany there has been a different theoretical basis, that of a state philosophy, which was at the same time essentially a moral philosophy (*Rechtsphilosophie*). Cf. Small, *The Cameralists*. The hedonistic and utilitarian philosophies, however, did enter Germany, largely from the English of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume and their successors, perhaps mainly by way of Helvetius and Rousseau and their contemporaries, through Schiller, Goethe, Fichte, Lotze, and others. Professor Small has also found indications of German contact in the eighteenth century with Hume and his contemporaries. In France, Helvetius took much from Hobbes, while the intellectual connections of Rousseau with Locke are well known. The main current of social theory

give a completer account of the process of thought. No attempt will be made, however, to cover the whole ground, or to give a history of the development of utilitarian ethics. Space permits only the selection of types.

Utilitarianism, as has been pointed out,[3] was with Bentham and his coworkers and immediate followers mainly a movement in social policy. It was essentially a practical reform movement which in the first half of the nineteenth century accomplished great political results in England by way of insisting upon equal privileges and democratic recognition for the masses.[4] But all movements of social policy, if they do not grow directly out of a social philosophy—which perhaps can never wholly account for them—must create a social philosophy to justify their existence and interpret their aims to the masses of the people of all degrees. Utilitarianism could

and policy in France, because of the failure consistently to carry out early democratic declarations, did not get beyond this early hedonism over into the English phase of utilitarianism of the first half of the nineteenth century, except in a partial degree in some of the socialists of whom Fourier and Proudhon are types. The individualism and hedonism of French socialism of the nineteenth century stands out in strong contrast with the socialism of Rodbertus, Marx, and Engels in Germany, though there was an undercurrent of hedonistic, "utilitarian," and even anarchistic socialism in Germany, as in the case of Weitling, Lassalle, and others. The two types of socialism can also be distinguished in England, though its hedonistic and utilitarian affiliations were predominant there, as in Morris, Bax, Ruskin, and others, mainly because there was no distinct *Rechtsphilosophie,* grown out of a traditional governmental and social policy (*Cameralism*), as in Germany. The intuitionalistic and theological line of thought held somewhat of this latter relation in England, though even it was individualistic rather than social or paternalistic in its viewpoint. Cf. Small, *The Cameralists;* Sidgwick, *History of Ethics* (3d ed.), chap. iv; Helvetius, *De l'esprit,* discours iii, esp. pp. 292, 324, 325 (ed. Paris, 1758); Hobbes, *Leviathan* (ed. Molesworth), 40 ff.; Büsch, *Geldumlauf,* Introduction, *et passim;* Kirkup, *History of Socialism;* Ely, *Modern French and German Socialism;* Spargo, *Socialism,* chap. ii; Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory,* (3d ed.), II; Wright, *The Ethical Significance of Pleasure, Feeling, and Happiness in Modern Non-Hedonistic Systems.*

[3] Cf. Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics,* 287; Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics,* 361; Sidgwick, *History of Ethics,* 236 ff.; Mill, "Bentham," *Dissertations and Discussions,* I, 355 ff.

[4] Bentham's two leading democratic principles were: The "greatest happiness of all those whose interest is in question," and Everyone to count for one, and only for one. Cf. *Principles of Morals and Legislation,* chap. i, sec. 1, note.

choose as the psychological bases of its philosophy either the intuitionalism of the church philosophy, or the empirical hedonism of the free lances, coming down through Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Helvetius, Hartley, and others.[5] Intuitionalism was aristocratic, just as the church was generally opposed to social reforms. So the democratic-individualistic hedonism of the free thinkers came to be the basis of the utilitarian social policy just as it had earlier been that of the "liberty, equality, fraternity" philosophy of democracy in France and America. In fact, utilitarianism, in common with the democratic philosophy of the time, was a more or less conscious demand that each individual should be given a share in the egoistic and hedonic satisfactions which the social system afforded.

Most thinkers of the present regard the doctrines of utilitarianism as put forth by Bentham and his immediate followers, like the doctrines of democracy of Rousseau and Schiller and their followers, as overthrown. But the spirit of utilitarianism still lives and corrupts our social philosophy and policy. Important as were its earlier services, it now exerts an unsalutary influence in a democratic era, because it is essentially individualistic; because it aims primarily at democratic egoistic satisfaction rather than at democratic social conservation; because it is, despite its emphasis upon a democratic distribution of privilege and satisfaction, destructive rather than constructive. Its influence is still manifest in the reigning social theory and policy. And a more productive and long-sighted social policy and theory cannot be substituted so long as we retain our present individualistic psychology and ethics as their bases.

At the present time psychology is essentially solipsistic. As a science it recognizes only conscious processes,[6] and centers

[5] Cf. Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, 163, 204, 224, 236 ff.; Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. IV; Helvetius, *op. cit.*; Hartley, *Man*; Stephen, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 80 ff.; Martineau, *op. cit.*, Part II, Bk. II, branch i.

[6] Cf. McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 3, 15; also *Physiological Psychology*, 1, 2. McDougall, though he first made this criticism, has not pointed out the most effective way in which a new psychology can be written. He lays too much stress upon a theory of the instincts and emotions,

its treatment about a highly sophisticated and unreal self,[7] which actually functions only in the most limited sphere of social activity. The significance of the work of the students of "abnormal" psychology and of the psychology of "suggestion" and physiological and comparative psychology has not been apprehended by the orthodox psychologists as yet. They have not taken over these data into their conventional textbooks. When they do so these treatises will be revolutionized, and the self, the socius, the individual, will be defined in such terms that the sociologist will recognize it. The solipsistic nature of this self will disappear and the self will come to be viewed as a factor subject to control in an objective social situation.[8] Ethics also is individualistic in its evaluations,

which he thereby raises almost to the rank of entities. The more fruitful line of development, it would seem, is in the direction of the study of the cortex and the lower nervous system as a mechanism, i.e., of conduct, in order to get at the nature and functioning of all types of activity processes, conscious and unconscious. At all events this would prevent us from making of consciousness a self-sufficient entity, instead of a means to adjustment to nature, as Professor Judd has done. Cf. "The Evolution of Consciousness," *Psychological Review* (March, 1910), 91 ff. For definitions of psychology bearing out the assertion in the text, see James, *Psychology,* I, 1; Sully, *The Human Mind,* I, 1; Wundt, *Outlines of Psy.* (tr. Judd), 23; Titchener, *Outlines of Psy.,* 6; Stout, *Manual of Psy.,* 4; Thorndike, *Elements of Psy.,* 1; Höffding, *Outlines of Psy.* (tr. Lowndes), 1; Angell, *Psychology,* 1; Baldwin, *Handbook of Psy.* (S. and I.), 8; etc.

[7] For definitions and descriptions of this solipsistic self, see Baldwin, *op. cit.* (S. and I.), 67, (F. and W.), 170; Angell, *Psy.,* 396; Höffding, *op. cit.,* 136; Thilly, *Philos. Rev.,* XIX, 32; Stout, *op. cit.,* 517; Titchener, *op. cit.,* 301; Wundt, *op. cit.,* 242; James, *op. cit.,* 291, 293, 301; Sully, *op. cit.,* 481; etc.

[8] G. H. Mead, *Journal of Phil., Psy. and Sci. Methods* (Mar. 31, 1910), 174, has attempted to remove this solipsistic character of the self of psychology by insisting upon an initially social individual (a conception which, in some form or other, goes back at least as far as the Greek philosophers, and to Adam Smith and his contemporaries among the moderns), stating the matter, however, from the standpoint of consciousness alone and thus from the subjectivistic standpoint of the conventional psychologist. In the same article he rejects the idea that psychology should accept the objective definition of the social object or socius which the social sciences offer. However, the psychologists of the unconscious and relatively unconscious processes and the social psychologists, dealing with the same material, are undermining the artificial and conventional psychology of the highly conscious processes, and will assist in securing the adoption of the objective and social viewpoint in treating of neural and activity processes, whether conscious or unconscious.

limiting the definition of moral activity to include only the field of volition, that is, of conscious choice.[9] This is the old limitation which justified retributive punishment, and is wholly apart from the spirit of the most enlightened social practice of the present. Manifestly we need an ethics which will take account of the act, whether consciously or unconsciously performed, in relation to both its remote and immediate social results. In such an ethics "intention," that is, consciousness of one's tendency to act in a certain direction, will figure only as an aid to prevention. The act will be judged morally, that is, with reference to its social meaning, and treated constructively, on the basis of its discoverable causes. Consciousness will not figure as an entity or absolute in this causation, as it does in present ethical theory, but merely as one of the most obvious and effective points at which, by enlisting the additional asset of the individual's attention, we can begin to work more successfully preventively and reformatively and educationally.[10] This is to say that conduct will be judged objectively, when it is judged scientifically and socially.[11]

Our present-day psychology and ethics then are essentially of the individualistic type which furnished the basis of the

[9] Cf. Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 201, 202 ff., 250, as a most recent example. Professor Dewey is responsible for these passages.

[10] This is not to say, of course, that it is not of the greatest importance to bring as many of his activities as possible into the consciousness of the individual as a means to social control. It is rather a plea for the recognition of the fact that most of our activities are and always must be on a more or less unconscious and habitual basis, and hence of the necessity for a psychology which will make provision for the analysis and control of these activities. Professor Judd, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 88, 89, has defended the limitation of psychology to the field of consciousness. He appears not to have understood the point at issue. McDougall's demand, which he so strongly criticizes (pp. 88, 89), and the one made here, are that psychologists broaden their subject so as to afford a method for bringing all activities directly or indirectly under either individual or social (collectivistic) conscious control.

[11] Cf. an excellent paper by Professor Ellwood, "The Sociological Basis of Ethics," *International Journal of Ethics* (April, 1910), 314 ff. Professor Ellwood argues here in a general way for an objective and sociological basis for ethics, as does Professor Small, *General Sociology*, 33 ff., and Part V, and elsewhere. It is doubtful, however, if either has seen all the implications of limiting the scope of moral activity to the field of consciousness and volition.

old utilitarian and pseudo-democratic theory. So long as we retain them they will hinder the development of a consistent social theory which can be used—as a means of justification and communication—for the basis of a constructive and creative social policy. But if we rid ourselves of them, evidently it must be accomplished by means of bringing a new viewpoint into social and ethical science, the objective viewpoint. The best results were not possible from such an objective criterion, until we collected a considerable fund of accurate information about the working of the social organism[12] or of society as a whole, until we measured and defined a considerable number of social processes, and thus became able to define in a provisional way the socius or social object. Thanks to the work of the social technologists, the social psychologists, and other heretical psychologists (however defective parts of their work are), we have already made a beginning in this objective and constructive study of social processes. Men of affairs in government and practical activi-

[12] The term "social organism" will be used more or less in this study to indicate the unitary, vital, and functioning nature of social groups, and here of the largest group which we can characterize as being in some degree a unity of social functions, as possessing solidarity; and such can now be said of practically all mankind in some aspects of living. This usage must not be confounded with the biological and structural analogy of Spencer and his early continental imitators. The term as here employed is primarily functional in its meaning and is used because it implies a unity of functioning, a mutual dependence growing constantly greater with social development, which cannot be expressed by such an indefinite and non-descriptive term as "social process." To define the "social process" merely in terms of "the interaction of individuals" or socii, is analogous to stopping with the older natural philosophers who, before the formulation of the law of gravitation, accounted for movement in the physical world as the "continual flux of matter," i.e., the interaction of atoms, or of whatever elements the philosophers conceived matter as composed. As the law of gravitation established *how* matter moves, so must a functional and intelligent statement of the social process be in terms of the movement or tendency of that process and not leave it "at loose ends." The Group Struggle theorists state it in terms of increasing co-operation (cf. Ratzenhofer, *Wesen und Zweck der Politik*, secs. 63 ff.), and others define it in terms of growth of specialization and division of function or labor (cf. Durkheim, *De la division du travail social*, and Pioger, *La vie sociale*, 42 ff.). The point is the same. It emphasizes the growth in essential or organic unity of the group in the co-operative struggle for survival. It is in this sense that the group is organic, that society is an organism.

ties have always made large use of the objective method. They have defined or assumed their social objects and have built upon them—whether with good or bad results, depending largely upon the validity and accuracy of their definitions and assumptions. It is the function of a valid and accurate social science to make these definitions more definite. In this work a truly functional psychology can be of the greatest service.

With the coming of this objective treatment of the socius or social object and of the social processes, we may expect revolutions in our way of thinking and in our social policy. We may expect social conservation, instead of the individual democratic gratification of utilitarianism and of the old pseudo-democracy, to be the ideal of practice. This conservation will of necessity be in the nature of the strengthening and improvement of the whole social organism, of the whole social process. The conscious exertion of individuals must be directed toward the survival, growth, and perfection of the race with all that this implies and toward the development of a scientifically determined and controlled social organization which will contribute to this end.[13] Such an organization of effort presupposes an adequate system of social control, a social control based upon popular will and sanction, but coercive where the consciously and scientifically determined ideal for the race is disregarded or violated, purposely or accidentally.

The detail and data for the argument that our traditional and still dominant ethical and social theory remains essentially individualistic and hedonistic (subjectivistic) in viewpoint, and for the necessity of reconstructing this viewpoint with its implications for social control, constitute the body of this study. It

[13] Ellwood, *op. cit.*, 324, says, "The general trend of the development of scientific knowledge of human society is to establish three standards or norms, all of which have ethical implications: social survival, social efficiency, and social harmony." The only one of these three norms which he explains, however, is "survival," which would appear to be the ultimate standard or test of an intelligent social activity. Even if we explain the growth of society as increasing co-operation, we must explain co-operation finally in terms of survival. Cf. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution;* also Small, *op. cit.*, 38–39.

is held that, so long as individualism and subjectivism dominate, as they now do, our psychological and ethical theory, a scientific sociology and a constructive social policy will find themselves constantly opposed and weakened. It is contended that the solution of the problem lies in a change of emphasis from the old individualistic, though democratic, theory of egoistic satisfactions to an objective socially constructive policy. The treatment of the subject has been divided into three general sections. The first deals with the cause of the act, and attempts to determine what is the actual relation of feeling to the act. The second examines the theory that pleasure or happiness is the end or object of activity in its social relations, including a critical examination of a number of the utilitarian and hedonistic and other theories. The third is concerned with the object of, and the sanction for, a change in the theoretical criterion of the social control of activity.

II. THE NEURAL CORRELATE OF FEELING

FORMER VAGUENESS OF THE TERM FEELING.—EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT CORRELATION.—THEORY OF THE CORRELATE OF FEELING MODES.—RELATIVITY OF FEELING

In order to discuss intelligently the problems in this and the following chapters it will be necessary to devote most of the present chapter to an examination of the nature of feeling.

Even up to the present time most psychologists have pretty generally confounded feeling with sensory and ideational consciousness. The older writers used feeling as a general term for all consciousness,[1] and even some of our later psychologists so

[1] Hobbes, Helvetius, Bain, Spencer may be mentioned as examples. To Hobbes there were only two feelings in this general sense of all mental states mentioned above, appetite, desire, delight, pleasure, or joy, i.e., motion toward an object, on the one hand, and aversion, displeasure, pain, or grief, i.e., motion "fromward" the object, on the other hand ("Leviathan," *Works* [Molesworth ed.], III, 42–43). Of these feelings or emotions, however, he recognizes two classes, those of the senses and those of the mind. To those of the senses he applied the two general terms pleasure and pain, and to those of the mind, the general terms joy and grief. Since the above distinction has no qualitative value (Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* Bk. II, chap. xx), it is plain that Hobbes identified sensational and ideational consciousness. In order

employ the term either wholly or in part.[2] No fact in modern psychological analysis is more patent than this confusion of feeling and the various forms of sensory and ideational consciousness. Though various writers had at different times pointed out that the same sensory processes and especially the same sensory experiences, ideas, and images were not always accompanied by the same degrees of pleasantness and unpleasantness, or that the feeling tone might sometimes be one and sometimes the other,[3] it was not until the types of sensations had been analyzed and abstracted beyond the traditional five, through the discoveries of neurology and experimental psychology, that it was possible to place the distinction on a scientific basis.[4] The discovery of separate pain sense organs has furthered this distinction. For some writers, however, this further analysis has had the effect of strengthening the confusion in their minds regarding pain and unpleasantness,[5] and it has led others to regard sex sensation as the original and fundamental type of pleasurable feeling.[6] But for the great majority of psychologists these discoveries of separate sense organs have served to bring out more clearly the fact not adequately understood before, that the various sensory and ideational processes are not constant and fixed correlates of either pleasantness or unpleasantness.

Based on these distinctions the more recent psychologists

to take care of forms of consciousness and activity which would not come under this simple classification he added to this classification such psychical categories as hope, despair, fear, courage, anger, benevolence, ambition, magnanimity, jealousy, curiosity, etc. (*op. cit.*, 43 ff.). This method of providing for special cases is still in vogue, though in much less degree, among psychologists. Cf. McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, chap. v; Marshall, *Pain, Pleasure, and Aesthetics*, 64 ff.

[2] Gustav Spiller, *The Mind of Man* (London, 1902), is an extreme example, though traces of such confusion can be found in James, *Principles of Psy.*, Dewey, *Psy.*, and others.

[3] E.g., Spencer, *Prin. of Psy.* (New York, 1892), I, 287.

[4] Professor Max Meyer, *Psy. Rev.*, XI, 103 ff., claims at least sixteen separate types of sensations, with possibilities of more.

[5] H. M. Stanley, *The Evolutionary Psychology of Feeling* (London, 1895), chap. ii, holds that pain was the most primitive form of consciousness.

[6] Meyer refers to Lagerborg and others in this connection, *Psy. Rev.*, XV, 203 ff.

have come to regard feeling as a separate type of consciousness, as neither sensory,[7] nor ideational.[8] It is variously accounted for by these writers as a functional correlate of the bodily, conscious, or neural processes, i.e., as indicating that the organism as a whole is functioning successfully or unsuccessfully;[9] as a sign that the vitality or health of the organism is being built up or lowered;[10] or as connected with the use of stored-up nervous energy in less or greater quantities than the total supply available.[11] All these explanations assume that the feeling processes are the correlates of the whole bodily process, though Marshall makes some exceptions to this view in pointing out that some organ may be functioning "successfully," i.e., with pleasurable results, when the organism as a whole is not in such a favorable situation.[12] It has also been observed that there may be pleasantness or unpleasantness when the condition of the organism or the nature of the adjustment is exactly opposite what these formulae declare it to be.[13] Again, while there is undoubtedly some correspondence between feeling modes and efficient functioning in a racial sense, there is not necessarily such a correspondence on a habitual or social basis.[14] James Ward appears to have approached more nearly to a true statement of the relation when he reduced the correlation to terms

[7] Stumpf, "Ueber Gefühlsempfindungen," *Zeitsch. für Psychologie,* Bd. 44, S. 1–49, however, regards pleasantness and unpleasantness as sensations. Lotze, *Microcosmus* (tr. Hamilton and Jones), I, 243, 689, takes a similar view, as does also L. F. Ward at times, *Psychic Factors of Civilization,* 38, 42 ff. Titchener, *The Psychology of Feeling and Attention,* 290 ff., criticizes the views of Stumpf and others, holding the sensational view as does Meyer, *op. cit.*

[8] Cf. Angell, *Psy.,* 272 ff.; Judd, *Psy.,* 194; Titchener, *Outlines of Psy.,* 101, 108, 114; Ribot, "Sur la nature du plaisir," *Revue philosophique,* LXVIII, 181, 183; Meyer, *op. cit.*

[9] Meakin, *Function, Feeling, and Conduct,* 55; Dewey, "Theory of Emotion," *Psy. Rev.,* II, 31; Simmel, *Einleitung in die Moralwissenschaft,* I, 388; Judd, *Psy.,* 196–97.

[10] Ribot, *op. cit.,* 180 ff.; Höffding, *op. cit.,* 273; Bain, *Mind and Body,* 59; Spencer, *Prin. of Psy.,* I, 279 (New York, 1876); Titchener, *op. cit.,* 102; Royce, *Outlines of Psy.,* 179.

[11] Marshall, *op. cit.,* 221.

[12] *Ibid.,* 264–65; also Meakin, *op. cit.,* 50.

[13] Cf. Angell, *op. cit.,* 275.

[14] Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.,* 352.

of "effective" attention.[15] This statement, however, is indefinite, since consciousness is a variable and relative manifestation dependent upon neural processes, and it lacks content, leaving the meaning of the term "effective" ambiguous. Some of the most effective attention, so far as objective adjustment consequences are concerned, is not particularly pleasurable, as in the laborious acquirement of skill in any direction. The most considerable advance in the theory of feeling, however, was made by Meyer when he reduced the correlation of feeling modes from bodily to neural processes.[16] His general statement, however, is couched in mechanical terms, and his failure to recognize the existence of two fundamental lines of development in the nervous system—a fact which must be taken into account in determining internal neural adjustment—has made it necessary for him to assume a rather doubtful differential character for pain, bitter, sour, and analogous sensory processes.[17] Consequently these numerous exceptions destroy the unity of his theory.

All these theories of the correlate of feeling have something of value in them and have expressed partial truths. The earliest statement, going back at least as far as Hobbes among the moderns,[18] and to Aristotle among the ancients,[19] recognizes a more or less stable correspondence between the vital condition

[15] "There is pleasure in proportion as a maximum of attention is effectively exercised, and pain in proportion as such effective attention is frustrated by distractions, shocks, or incomplete and faulty adaptations, or fails of exercise owing to the narrowness of the field of consciousness and the slowness and smallness of its changes."—Art. "Psychology," *Encyc. Britannica* (9th ed.), XX, 71. Marshall (*op. cit.*, 236, 262), with reservations, and Stout (*Manual of Psy.*, 276), fully, accept this view.

[16] "The nervous correlate of pleasantness and unpleasantness must be *some form of activity in the higher nerve centers,* since it is generally admitted that only activities in the higher nerve centers are accompanied by consciousness, and pleasantness and unpleasantness are kinds of consciousness. But while the correlate of sensation is the nervous current itself, the *correlate of pleasantness and unpleasantness is the increase or decrease of the intensity of a previously constant current if the increase or decreese is caused by a force acting at a point other than the point of sensory stimulation.*"—"The Nervous Correlate of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness," *Psy. Rev.*, XV, 307.

[17] Cf. "The Nervous Correlate of Attention," *Psy. Rev.*, XV, 365 ff.

[18] Cf. *Leviathan, loc. cit.*, 42.

[19] Spencer, *op. cit.*, 277, makes this claim for Aristotle.

of the organism and its feeling modes. The development of accuracy of statement has been one of delimitation and specification of the terms of correlation, arriving at a consciousness correlate in the formula of James Ward, and at a neural correlate in that of Meyer. It is proposed here to modify Meyer's statement on the basis of the neurological investigations of Herrick, Sherrington, Parker, and others, using whatever is valuable in the other statements of correlation, in an attempt to secure an adequate functional statement of the correlation of feeling modes, and thus to define feeling and to determine its relation to the act.

In formulating an adequate and functional theory of the neural correlate of feeling it is necessary to take into account the phylogeny of the nervous system. There are, throughout the scale of animal development, two distinct types of physiological functions: (1) the vegetative or visceral functions, connected with the inner working of the bodily mechanism, such as nutrition, circulation, respiration, and (2) the exteroceptive functions, concerned with the adjustment of the organism as a whole to outside or environmental influences.[20] These two types of organic functions, in rising above the purely tropic type of behavior, developed more or less distinct nervous connections,[21] and because of the primary importance of quick movement for the preservation of the organism and of the species, the latter type of functions probably developed well-differentiated nervous connections and integrating centers first and specialized them to a greater degree than the former. This exteroceptive nervous system developed in the service of the animal in its reactions to external stimuli. Out of this general type of exteroceptive reaction developed the various peripheral or exteroceptive sense organs, such as those of a cutaneous nature—pain, temperature, tactual, chemical, and even the distance receptors, such as the sense organs of sight and hearing.[22] It has been established that

[20] Herrick, "The Evolution of Intelligence and Its Organs," *Science*, XXXI, 7.

[21] Herrick, "The Relations of the Central and Peripheral Nervous Systems in Phylogeny," *The Anatomical Record*, IV, 62.

[22] *Ibid.*, 62, 67, 68.

the mammalian cerebral cortex has developed mainly in the service of the distance receptors or higher exteroceptive sense organs of sight and hearing,[23] "which have dominated and set the direction of the evolution of the nervous system in vertebrates."[24] Thus the brain becomes in higher animal types the co-ordinating center of processes arising chiefly from peripheral or exteroceptive stimuli;[25] "while the co-ordinating centers of the visceral system are partly peripheral in the sympathetic ganglia and partly in this central nervous system."[26] In the higher and more flexible forms of nervous organization, where the tubular or dorsal nervous organization dominates,[27] the processes of the two systems are capable of close correlation in the higher brain centers. Where complex or conscious control is necessary all the activity tendencies of the nervous system tend to be, and for the most part are, summated in the cortex, which exists for this higher function of correlation rather than as a center for definitely specialized activity.[28]

Two facts of primary importance for the theory of feeling correlates are to be noted in connection with the phylogenetic development of the nervous system or systems. The first is that the sex functions and their nervous connections developed primarily as a part of the visceral functions and system. In the lowest animal forms the sex and vegetative functions are very closely related. Parallel with the development of the feeding and other visceral and of the sexual neural processes they got

[23] Herrick, "The Relations of the Central and Peripheral Nervous Systems in Phylogeny," *The Anatomical Record,* IV, 61.

[24] Herrick, *Science, loc. cit.,* 8.

[25] Herrick says, "The cerebellum has been developed from the somatic sensory column of the medulla oblongata as the chief central co-ordinating apparatus of the proprioceptive system."—*Anatom. Record, loc. cit.,* 64. See also Sherrington, *The Integrative Function of the Nervous System,* lecture ix.

[26] Herrick, *Anatom. Record,* IV, 62.

[27] *Ibid.,* 59.

[28] "The essence of cortical function is correlation and a cortical center for the performance of a particular function is a physiological absurdity, save in the restricted sense described above, as a nodal point in a very complex system of associated conducting paths. Those reflexes whose simple functions can be localized in a single center have their mechanism abundantly provided for in the brain stem."—Herrick, *Science, loc. cit.,* 15.

more specialized connections with the exteroceptive nervous system and developed increased powers of correlation with the exteroceptive system in the cortex.[29] But the neural processes of the sex organs have always remained predominantly bound up with the structure and functioning of the visceral or interoceptive nervous system. In the second place, the exteroceptive nervous system originated primarily as a means of adapting the organism to its environment, either for separating it from conditions which threatened to be unfavorable to it or for bringing it in contact with food, warmth, light, etc. Purely peripheral stimulation, because of the predominatingly skeletal muscular connections of the exteroceptive system, has thus always resulted in movement, either of avoidance or of receptivity. The union of interoceptive or visceral processes with the exteroceptive or peripheral processes has, from very early stages of development, led to receptive movements, as in the case of inclosure and assimilation of food.[30] This latter type of movement will take place more effectively if the connection or correlation between the two types of processes (the exteroceptive and the interoceptive processes) is made in the cortex, where sensory stimuli may operate to a greater advantage, especially in the higher forms of animal life. But an equally primitive function of peripheral nervous stimulation, and one doubtless even more important at later stages of development, was disturbance of the equilibrium of the organism, looking toward an avoiding reaction. This type of nervous process may, in its origin, be identified in general with that which in higher organisms we find ending exteroceptively in the pain sense organ. The other cutaneous sense organs, with their neural connections, have probably been differentiated off primarily from this primitive type, as have also the distance receptors or higher peripheral sensory processes mentioned above. Taste and odor sense organs have also been differentiated in this way, but they

[29] Cf. Herrick, *Anatom. Record,* IV, 61, and *Science,* XXXI, 8.

[30] Cf. G. H. Parker, "The Origin of the Nervous System and Its Appropriation of Effectors," *Pop. Sci. Mo.,* LXXV, 56, 137; Ludwig Edinger, "The Relations of Comparative Anatomy to Comparative Psychology," *Journal of Compar. Neurology and Psychol.,* XVIII, 437.

have acquired or have retained a larger proportion of visceral neural connections than the other exteroceptive sense organs have.[31]

The method by which the various types of exteroceptive sensory processes became differentiated from the more primitive exteroceptive avoiding processes was by means of lowering the threshold of stimulation for the sense organs which receive what are later tactual, temperature, etc., impressions. This lowering of the threshold of stimulation in the sense organs is correlated with the acquisition of more direct neural connection or correlation with the central nervous system than was provided by the primitive exteroceptive reactive apparatus, for definite or selective reactions. But, with the differentiation of primary centers within the brain for these different sense qualities, with the development of correlation pathways between the centers, and with the further elaboration of higher correlation centers, this acquisition of more direct connections and of connections with more highly differentiated centers has not destroyed the original neural connections or correlations with the general avoiding centers or processes, as is proven by the fact that an increased stimulation of any peripheral sense organ or exteroceptor other than a pain sense organ will also in higher animal forms give a pain reaction. The avoiding or pain connections and correlations of these differentiated processes have simply become relatively more indirect, while the original type of avoiding or pain process has remained unchanged structurally and has retained its original function.[32] This lowering of the threshold of stimulation, and the acquisition of separate connections and correlations for each specific kind of contact or cutaneous receptors and distance receptors, as distinct from the primary undifferentiated avoiding or pain receptors, has made

[31] Cf. Herrick, *Anatom. Record,* IV, 68. Practical evidence of this is to be found in the familiar fact that odors and tastes have a much more marked effect upon visceral, glandular, and vascular activities than sight, hearing, touch, or temperature have. The odor (and even the sight) of blood also appears frequently to have a tendency to stimulate sexually, because of the close visceral connections.

[32] I am indebted to Professor Herrick for the suggestion of this general structural arrangement.

it possible to have correlations of various exteroceptive nervous processes giving rise to various forms of consciousness in the higher organisms without involving pain, though pain always lies in the background as a possibility of overstimulation, fatigue, etc.

If now we apply the general principle of the neural correlation of feeling of Meyer to this theory of the structure and development of the nervous processes and their correlation of Herrick, Sherrington, Parker, and others, we shall see that the facts are taken care of readily. We find that where nervous processes are correlated, i.e., where on the one hand they supplement each other, at least in the regions of the cortex, we have the feeling mode of pleasantness, and on the other hand, where processes interrupt each other, at least in the cortex, we have the feeling mode of unpleasantness. Feeling, then, as distinct from sensory and ideational consciousness, is the result of the correlation, i.e., the supplementation or interference of nervous processes in such a way as to increase or to diminish the neural activity along a certain or given pathway. Where a nervous process or set is augmented pleasantness is experienced, and where a nervous process or set is weakened or diminished there is unpleasantness.[33] Accordingly both pleasantness and

[33] It is not necessary to raise the question here as to when either feeling or sensory consciousness first appeared phylogenetically. The purpose here is to show certain developmental and relational facts of structure and functioning in the correlation of the visceral, exteroceptive, and ideational (free cortical) neural processes, which will serve as a basis for the theory of the neural correlation of feeling modes—whenever and wherever in the development process feeling may have appeared. It is not here maintained that the existence of sensory neural processes or receptors necessarily implies sensation, or that correlation (supplementation and interference) of processes necessarily implies feeling at earlier stages of development than that of man. The presumption would be of course that they do. Professor Herrick takes the view that consciousness is in a broad sense the function of both cortical and subcortical nervous processes (*Science, loc. cit.,* 17) and that it did not originate as a superimposition upon biological processes, but as a part of the general organism in adjustment or activity (*ibid.*). But, since we know that almost all ideational and imaginal consciousness comes either directly or indirectly from the exercise of the higher sensory neural processes, and especially from the activity of the distance receptors (cf. Herrick, *ibid.,* 8), the admission of the existence of sensation arising from primitive peripheral and from visceral and sex neural

unpleasantness may exist in the same organism at the same time, provided different nervous sets are involved in the adjustment process or more than one adjustment is being made.[34]

According to the theory of the nervous system here accepted we should expect, from their close phylogenetic connections, that the visceral neural processes, such as those of digestion, circulation, respiration, etc., would when working properly tend to supplement each other, and consequently that their unimpeded action would, when we are conscious of it, produce pleasantness. As a matter of fact we find that such is the case.[35] In the same way sexual neural processes, because of their close structural connection with the visceral or vegetative neural processes, tend strongly to supplement the latter, carrying the correlation into the cortex and involving tactual, temperature, etc., sensory supplementation from the exteroceptive system, with the result that sexual activity ordinarily is highly pleasurable. But on the other hand the primitive peripheral or exteroceptive neural processes, i.e., the pain sensory neural processes, are so implanted in the nervous structure phylogenetically that they tend to interrupt the visceral or interoceptive neural processes when they come in contact with them, and even to interrupt the derivative sensory neural processes when the latter run over from their more direct connections or correlations with their own immediate instinctive response centers or cortical correlations, i.e., when stimulation is unduly increased. Consequently stimulation of the pain sense organs or strong stimulation of any peripheral sense organ is usually unpleasant.[36] The fundamental

sensory processes and of feeling resulting from the correlation of these and other processes at a very early stage would not involve any high degree of conscious control at such a stage.

[34] Cf. Ribot, *op. cit.*, 180; Meyer, *Psy. Rev.*, XV, 315; Angell, *Psy.*, 275; Titchener, *op. cit.*, 108.

[35] Digestion tends to increase circulation, as does bodily exercise. Exercise promotes both a strong respiration and a rapid circulation and the result is distinctly pleasurable, if all the processes work normally.

[36] Cases in which slight stimulation of pain sense organs produces apparently a mild degree of pleasantness evidently depend upon the inhibition or assimilation of the pain sensory neural processes involved by some visceral or peripheral neural set.

interruptive nature of the pain sensory neural processes under strong stimulation makes it impossible to secure a correlation of them with higher neural sensory processes or with visceral neural processes and thus to make a high degree of pain pleasurable.[37] It is because of these two fundamental types of correlation of visceral or vegetative (and sex) and pain sensory neural processes, with their almost invariably pleasant and unpleasant feeling results, respectively, that feeding and sex activities on the one hand and pain sensations on the other have been so stubbornly and almost universally identified with pleasantness and unpleasantness feeling modes.[38] The explana-

[37] This statement of the neural correlation avoids the contradiction which Meyer had to meet (cf. *Psy. Rev.*, XV, 366), to the effect that supplementation of pain processes by higher sensory or ideational neural processes may tend to make pain processes the correlates of a high degree of pleasantness. According to the theory here developed, supplementation of pain and visceral (including sex) neural processes by the higher sensory or ideational neural processes could never take place independent of the predominating vegetative or interoceptive neural set, because of the phylogenetic origins and functions of pain and sex processes. So that any interference with or supplementation of either of them would cause it to tend only to have a diminished or increased effect of its customary kind.

[38] Such a confusion of terminology and of thinking exists in practically all our polite literature and in most scientific writing where the relations are involved. Reasons for such confusion are: the fact that vegetative, sex and pain sensory correlations with the interoceptive and exteroceptive neural processes being among the most primitive and instinctive and hence most closely correlated structurally and functionally, pain and sex sensations and activities more invariably correspond to unpleasant and pleasant feeling modes, while the other sensory and ideational neural processes vary more widely; that the higher sensory and ideational neural processes may actually connect up with the lower visceral and exteroceptive neural processes so as to produce the sensations of the latter (as in suggestion); the close resemblance between these lower sensations and the feeling modes to which they usually correspond, while the higher sensory and ideational experiences differ radically from the feeling modes with which they instinctively, habitually, or fortuitously occur. Arguments against the validity of such confusion are: just this fact that a variety of sensory experiences occur in connection with apparently the same feeling modes; the fact that pleasantness and unpleasantness can be experienced in connection with the higher sensory and ideational neural processes and the lower visceral neural processes without calling out any pain or sex or other visceral sensation whatever; and finally the fact that sensations are localized and feeling modes are not. It appears that the similarity must be accounted for on the basis of the close connection of these sensory and activity processes with the feeling correlations in their instinctive or phylogenetic origin rather than as a matter of

tion of feeling in terms of neural correlation instead of in terms of sensory or ideational consciousness does away with this confusion.

The feeling modes experienced in connection with the correlated exercise of the other exteroceptive sensory processes can be explained in terms of the same general nervous correlation. The bitter and sour sensory neural processes, the neural processes of the sense organs of the nauseating odors, etc., because of their relation to survival, have been so implanted, i.e., correlated, in the nervous system phylogenetically that when they are excited they tend to interrupt the existing visceral neural processes or sets[39] and, if the disturbance is very great, to bring the conflict of processes into the cortex and thus to arouse disagreeable consciousness. They tend frequently also to inhibit or interrupt the various exteroceptive sensory neural processes, such as those of sight and hearing. In either case the conflict of processes results not only in unpleasantness (where consciousness is involved) but also tends to produce a new disposition of the organism and of its organs for the purpose of escape from the stimulus.[40] In a similar manner the sensory neural processes connected with the sense organs of sweet and those of the various ordinarily pleasing odors, tend to strengthen the more fundamental visceral neural processes and exteroceptive com-

identity. But, even if feeling modes should be demonstrated to be only abstractions from sensory and ideational consciousness, it would not affect this theory of correlation and the resulting theory of the relativity of feeling as a criterion or valuation of activity.

[39] The nerves of taste and smell have much stronger visceral or interoceptive connections than those of sight or hearing have. Cf. Herrick, *Anatom. Record,* IV, 68.

[40] Smell and taste are by no means infallible guides, in their pleasantness and unpleasantness manifestations, especially for many of the odors and chemical combinations or tastes produced in a social or civilized order of technical control, though they are pretty reliable guides in the instinctive or uncultural animal world. Consequently ideational consciousness has to be brought into play to determine when in cultural life we can safely make exceptions to our instinctive reactions on the basis of feeling consciousness arising from smell and taste neural correlations. A similar higher conscious reference is also necessary in connection with sight and hearing and all the other peripheral senses.

binations with them, producing a flow of saliva in the glands, forward or receptive movement, etc.

In the case of sight and hearing, the nervous processes are not so closely connected with the visceral neural processes, but more closely with the other processes of the peripheral or exteroceptive nervous system. Here we find that sharp and amorphous sounds (noises) and sudden and unharmonious visual impressions tend to inhibit or disturb the nervous sets with which the auditory and visual neural processes are connected, even going over into positive pain reactions, as described above, if the stimuli are strong enough. The results are an attempt to escape from the stimulus, on the objective side of behavior, and the feeling mode of unpleasantness on the subjective side when consciousness is involved. On the other hand rhythmical sounds and symmetrical visual impressions tend to result in neural processes which supplement the neural sets with which they are connected and thus to produce receptive or advancing movements and the feeling mode of pleasantness when consciousness is involved.[41]

In the case of the contact receptors, or the cutaneous sense organs, the correlation of neural processes is much more simple and direct. Increase of stimuli more readily leads over into a direct pain response, on the one hand, while correlation of neural processes either by way of supplementation or interruption of other connected neural processes, in the cortex or elsewhere, takes place more readily and less variantly. For example we may respond to temperature or tactual stimulation either unconsciously, or with the consciousness of both pleasantness and unpleasantness, or even with both unpleasantness and pain,

[41] Wild animals—and even human beings—are easily disturbed by a sharp sound or a distorted image in the periphery of the retina, while both animals and men may be pacified and even hypnotized by the regular recurrence of sounds or objects (rhythm and regular space movements) provided the recurrence is not abrupt. The device of providing simple music to increase the labor activity of workers is known to savages and was largely employed by tyrants and others in early times. The fact that we see landscapes, pictures, buildings, etc., in a series of planes is well known to landscape gardeners, architects, sculptors, painters, etc. Cf. Hirn, *Origins of Art;* Hildebrand, *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture* (tr. Meyer and Ogden), New York, 1907.

and sometimes with pain and pleasantness, as in a case where we enjoy the warmth of the fire and at the same time experience pain from overstimulation of some of the temperature sense organs. Similarly, scratching or caressing may be both pleasurable and painful, pleasant alone, or without conscious results whatever.

The same general relationship of support and interference is also true of the ideational neural processes or highest cortical processes. But here the interference and supplementary connections appear to be the result of habit or training rather than of heredity—unless the cases in which the ideational neural processes arouse the sensory or visceral neural processes through association and thus establish relations with the basic vegetative neural set, with the usual results, can be shown to be hereditary connections.[42]

Thus the neural processes from the primitive visceral processes and the most primitive visceral and peripheral sensory neural processes (those later recognized as connected with sex and pain sensory consciousness) up through the various forms of exteroceptive sensory processes—the contact receptors and the distance receptors of the exteroceptive system, and the interoceptively connected peripheral sensory processes of taste and including the highest ideational neural or cortical processes, and including the highest ideational neural or cortical processes,

[42] Examples of such correlations are, the thinking of food one likes with the imagined sensory appearance of its specific favor and "watering" of the mouth, imaging of a sharp knife inflicting a wound with a dimmed imaginary sensation of pain and stiffening or shuddering or squirming movement of the body, etc. Whether we inherit any such correlations or merely acquire them is still a question in psychology. We certainly have large capacity for breaking up such co-ordinations, as in "getting used" to things. Some others that are unquestionably acquired are our attitudes toward books, people, pets, houses in which we live, various hobbies, etc. Professor Herrick, in speaking of the indefiniteness of the correlations of the higher neural processes in vertebrates, says, "In short, the educational period is limited to the age during which the epigenetic tissue, i.e., the correlation centers whose form is not predetermined in heredity, retains its plasticity under environmental influence. Ultimately even the cerebral cortex matures and loses its powers of reacting except in fixed modes. Its unspecialized tissue—originally a diffuse and equipotential nervous meshwork—becomes differentiated along definite lines and the fundamental pattern becomes more or less rigid."—*Science,* XXXI, 10.

furnish a descending scale of hereditary or instinctive correlation, i.e., supplementation and inhibition or interference, with the prevailing basic neural sets and processes. Those processes developed latterly in phylogeny appear to be less definitely and irreversibly associated by heredity in this way, till in the higher ideational neural processes it is doubtful if there is any but acquired definite correlation at all. Corresponding to these inherited and acquired neural attitudes of supplementation and conflict we have throughout the series a correlation of feeling modes, pleasantness and unpleasantness. Thus we find that pleasantness is usually connected with sex, sweet, etc., sensory and corresponding ideational neural processes, since these processes, because of their phylogenetic connections, usually supplement or strengthen the dominant neural sets. In the same way we ordinarily find unpleasantness associated with pain, bitter, sour, etc., sensory and related ideational neural processes, since these are generally inhibitive of the prevailing neural sets, because of their phylogenetic connections. But this close inherited neural adjustment and its correlative feeling adjustment is not definite and fixed. Both inherited and acquired pathways which are either inhibitive of or supplementary to the prevailing set may be modified so that it cannot be said of any one process, however fundamental phylogenetically, that it always and invariably results in either mode of feeling. In the higher and therefore less stable and less hereditary adjustments the interchange between interference and co-operation of processes is quite marked, so that in this region (as in a large range of visual and auditory impressions) it becomes quite impossible to foretell what feeling mode will follow the sensory impression, unless one is familiar with the habit acquirements of the person receiving it.

But with a completer development of the cortex or end segment and as the higher exteroceptive sensory neural processes (such as those of vision and audition) and finally the higher ideational neural processes[43] are added to the lower

[43] Professor Herrick makes consciousness a part of the general system of biological control. It is significant that the major part of imagery is visual and

exteroceptive sensory and motor, and the visceral, neural processes (such as the sensory processes of pain and sex connections and those of circulation, respiration, and digestion), the center of control of the organism is greatly modified. The ideational neural processes exert a large though perhaps not principal control over man, while the visceral and exteroceptive neural processes of various grades are most fundamental in making adjustments among the lower animals, where the nervous equipment is more nearly limited to these processes. In this way man comes to have a sensory and ideational life largely apart from the lower sensory and vegetative existence. A great deal of visual and auditory and cortical activity goes on without any appreciable connection with the lower nervous dispositions or sets, i.e., the vegetative, the sex and pain processes. We engage in conversation, we discuss problems in science, we hear music, view pictures, etc., with but little increase in vascular or respiratory activity and usually with no overt or conscious evidence of pain or organic and sexual neural activity. The explanation of this fact must be that the higher sensory and ideational neural processes are capable of going on without the necessity of neural correlation with the lower exteroceptive and visceral processes. Yet at such times we may have the most vivid feeling experience of pleasantness or unpleasantness. These feelings are certainly aroused in connection with scientific work, with viewing a picture or landscape, or viewing a back alley or dump, or with hearing music, quite as much as in connection with exercise, digestion, or sex and pain stimulation.[44] Evidently, therefore, we can have interference and supplementation of the higher sensory and ideational neural processes regardless more or less of the lower neural processes. However, even if such correlation is never wholly independent

auditory, graduating down through the other senses to pain, thus verifying Professor Herrick's statement that "the distance receptors . . . . have dominated and set the direction of the evolution of the nervous system in vertebrates" (*Science*, XXXI, 8).

[44] Meyer thinks that feelings arising from higher sensory or ideational neural co-ordinations are the stronger. Cf. *Psy. Rev.*, XV, 320–21.

of the lower processes,[45] the connection is often so slight that we may have pleasantness or unpleasantness practically independent of or in opposition to them. Frequently we experience pleasantness thus aroused when we also have vascular and respiratory depression, or even pains of indigestion, surface pains, etc. In the same way unpleasantness arising from correlation of cortical and higher sensory neural processes may be experienced along with strong normal visceral activity. This antithesis is even more marked in the field of pathology.

Thus it appears that, whether we have to do with feeling in its more primitive aspect of direct or indirect correlation of visceral processes or of visceral with exteroceptive processes, or with feeling in its later evolutionary and functional aspect of correlations of the higher sensory and ideational neural processes more or less independent of the visceral and lower exteroceptive neural processes, such correlation is a purely internal matter. Feeling is a purely personal or individualistic phenomenon.[46]

Feeling is a simple or relatively unreflective form of consciousness, serving to make elementary adjustments of avoidance and acceptance of a more complex character than those made to direct stimulation and of a less complex character than those made on the basis of reflective or ideational consciousness. Just as feeling is not connected with simple sensation, so also it is at a minimum in the most complex thinking. It is only where we can go no further in thought, or when the think-

[45] Different people appear to vary largely in this respect, some being very emotional and others being in most respects habitually cool and unruffled. For some people all kinds of ideational and even higher sensory activity have marked overt results, in increased respiration, vascular extension (as blushing), etc., while other people experience none of these. Many people cannot, at least without practice, inhale putrid odors or even look upon blood or a painful performance without becoming sick and possibly vomiting. Sharp words sometimes, as does fatigue, bring sensations of pain to the surface of the body. Ellis (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*) gives an instance of a woman habitually having primary sexual experience upon hearing music. Erotic music and pictures and histrionic representations generally have some such effect, usually in a milder degree, as is well known. But the ordinary forms of conversation and the higher forms of reasoning are usually without such visceral, or pain and sex concomitants as would indicate any particular neural connection.

[46] Judd, *Psy.*, 193, 202.

ing is really ended and the matter is "clear in our minds," when the problem is solved, that we have unpleasantness and pleasantness respectively as correlates of neural processes involved in higher thinking activity.[47] Really complex, i.e., the more sophisticated social, adjustments are not made on the basis of feeling response, just as they are not made on the basis of mere sensory reaction.

Feeling is also entirely relative as regards its object.[48] In connection with the lower and more instinctive processes, correlations are more or less definite and fixed, though apparently never completely and irreversibly so. Pain is usually unpleasant; sweet is usually pleasant. But the higher and more habitual or relatively uncontrolled processes enter into less and less definite correlations the higher we go in the exteroceptive scale, till we reach the stage of highly indefinite cortical correlations. These correlations can be made relatively definite however by fixing habits. As a matter of fact any habitual or instinctive correlation can be broken up or reformed, that is, any act may be made pleasant or unpleasant. The scourge, the sedentary self-torture amid vermin and filth of the Hindu fanatics, or the similar isolation of Stylites on the column, laceration of one's body, etc., may become sources of pleasure; while the taking of savory food, the sound of sweetest music, the odor of roses, or the sexual act may become the agents of the most unbearable unpleasantness. For this reason feeling modes cannot be effective guides to social adjustment and control. In a purely instinctive or static, i.e., habit-controlled, world where, hypothetically, everything remains forever the same, feeling might operate as a successful criterion for race adjustment. It might, barring cataclysm and the unexpected, work toward the escape from danger and the reproduction and feeding of the greatest number of individuals not competing or co-operating with each other, except on an animal plane—though this may be said to be doubtful.[49]

[47] Cf. James Ward, *op. cit.;* and Dewey, "Theory of Emotion," *Psy. Rev.*, II, 31.

[48] Cf. Titchener, *op. cit.*, 108.

[49] Cf. S. J. Holmes, "Pleasure, Pain, and Intelligence," *Jour. of Compar. Neurology and Psychol.*, XX, 148–49.

But in a world where training must modify instinct, where the cultural and artificial rather than the habitual and "natural" set the standard, in a social and moral world in the best sense, feeling cannot serve as a guide for the preservation of the individual and much less of society.

This principle of the relativity of feeling and of its unreliableness as a guide or measure of values is applicable throughout the present discussion. In a less degree, the same relativity can be predicated of all conscious processes. That no idea, image, or sensory process is always absolutely valid or fixed in content has been pretty well known from the time of Locke.[50] That is to say, no subjectivistic criterion is wholly dependable as a measure of values, and any such criterion is the more dependable the more it is checked up by objective reference, i.e., by sensory experiences and objective controls of as many types as possible. Feeling as the conscious part of mere correlation, i.e., as supplementation and interference of neural processes, is the least able to be so checked up, and is consequently the least reliable of all subjective criteria or evaluations of action in an objective and social world. Thus in the light of a better knowledge of the total biological functioning, the statements of both old and modern psychologists and philosophers to the effect that pleasure is a sign of the health of the organism, of its successful functioning, of the presence of energy, etc.,[51] appear absolutely inadequate. Feeling indicates only certain internal nervous adjustments on the basis of instinctive or habitual disposition and not gross and inclusive bodily or organic adjustments. Such views indicate a closer acquaintance with the hypothetical and simplified conditions of instinctive life or of life regulated by the philosopher's logic than with the more complex determinants of human social life. These are facts which the sociology of the future, if it is to be functional, must apply.

[50] Cf. Locke, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chaps. xxix–xxxii.

[51] Cf. Ribot, Bain, Judd, Titchener, Marshall, etc., above.

III. THE CAUSE OF THE ACT

NATURE OF THE ACT.—THEORIES OF THE CAUSE OF THE ACT.—THE ACTUAL CAUSE OF THE ACT.—FEELING AS CAUSE.—THE CAUSE OF THE ACT AS RELATED TO THE END OF THE ACTIVITY

The problem of this chapter is to determine the relation of feeling to the act. Preliminary to discussing this matter in detail it seems necessary, (1) briefly to analyze the act itself and (2) to review the conclusions of a number of representative writers on the relation of feeling to the act.

Up to the time when Bain formulated the theory of spontaneity in activity,[1] not much distinction had been made in philosophical and psychological discussion between conscious and unconscious activity. It was rather the custom of writers up to that time to ignore all activity except that of which the actor was supposed to be conscious. Their investigations of activity were logical rather than biological and functional.[2] Though Bain was largely influenced in his contribution by the development of biological knowledge, his successors in mental science, with greater opportunity for such investigation, have not made the advance in this line of thinking that might have been expected of them. The distinction between unconscious and conscious activity is still very inadequately if at all applied to ethical and social science, and has not entered effectively even into psychology, which still continues to be largely logical and structural.[3] This limitation of the treatment of the act was a great stumbling-block to the utilitarians and to their predecessors and successors.

[1] *Emotions and Will* (3d ed.), 201. For a recent statement of the theory see Jennings, *Behavior of the Lower Organisms*, 284 ff.

[2] This attitude was probably the result of the old theocratic philosophy which looked upon man as provided either with an infallible and omniscient conscience or with an equally infallible objective revelation which he was supposed to be able in some unexplained way to interpret omnisciently. In other words, the philosophy which posited an omniscient and all-conscious deity also posited an omniscient and all-conscious human being as the deity's correlate or alter.

[3] For further discussion of this point see McDougall, *Physiological Psy.*, 1, 2.

To avoid the limitations imposed by such a conception of activity we may be justified, perhaps, in isolating four different types of activity with reference to the degree of consciousness involved in the conduct. The first is activity from mass impact. The human organism, of course, never reacts exactly like an inanimate object, because its internal capacity for ready adjustment, for breaking shock and controlling the direction of motion, is essentially different. But there are nevertheless a very large number of organic movements which are beyond the immediate powers of adjustment by the individuals —discounting, of course, the nearly constant influence of gravity. This is, socially considered, the least important type of activity and may for the present be ignored. The second is reflexive and instinctive and habitual activity proceeding from stimuli over which the organism is for the most part in control, but in which consciousness does not enter till after the act, if at all, and consequently cannot be a guide to that act. The third is a subdivision of the second, in which activity is instinctively and reflexively initiated, but in which consciousness enters in the midst of the act as a "corrective" to secure more efficient control. The fourth is a type in which the activity is more or less consciously planned and in which the organism consciously seeks stimulus to the activity. It is impossible, however, completely to foresee all the conditions of an act, i.e., to anticipate all the stimuli and to estimate accurately the resistance of the organism to the stimuli. Consequently no previsioned act is ever wholly consciously controlled.[4] The second and third type of activity are by far the most important individually and socially, while the fourth is of secondary importance in the matter of maintaining social adjustment and control, though it must always be appealed to in making radical changes or in projecting social ideals. But the larger part of social activity and social conformity is not on this plane. The fourth is really the conscious part of the third, more or less abstracted and adequately controlled. It is this

[4] Woodworth brings this fact out clearly in "The Cause of a Voluntary Movement," *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology* (Garman Memorial Volume).

particular fourth type of activity with which the utilitarians and other earlier philosophers dealt, and it is to this type also that modern ethicists and many sociologists insist upon confining themselves.[5] Any complete statement of the social process, i.e., of social adjustments, and hence of the conditions of social activity, must rest upon all four types. The very assumption that feeling (as a form of consciousness) alone is the cause of conduct and activity is a negation of all except the last.

From Hobbes to Meakin,[6] the latest apologist for the hedonic criterion in ethics and in social control, the line of emphasis has not essentially changed among the advocates of feeling as the cause of activity.[7] Hobbes held, in his own terminology, that both ideas of activities accompanied by pleasantness and unpleasantness and the feelings themselves are causes of activity.[8] All the other hedonistic psychologists and philosophers explicitly or indirectly emphasize the same relationship between feeling and action.[9] Only a few mention other than conscious

[5] Cf. Dewey and Tufts, *op. cit.;* Judd, *Psy. Rev.* (March, 1910), 78, 80; Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization,* 129–30; Small, *General Sociology,* 184, as examples.

[6] *Function, Feeling, and Conduct* (New York, Putnam, 1910).

[7] In considering the various views of the cause of the act based upon a hedonistic criterion, it is necessary to keep in mind the great diversity of meanings which feeling has had in the history of psychology, and also the fact that it is often very difficult to determine whether the conscious process which any particular author has in mind is sensory, ideational, or feeling proper.

[8] Hobbes says that pleasures and pains of sense move us directly to action, since they are "motions" or "endeavours" which proceed from external objects through the sense organs to the heart and there appear as "appetite" and "aversion" (*Leviathan, loc. cit.,* 42). Other motions "arise from the expectation, that proceeds from the foresight of the end, or consequences of things; whether these things in the sense please or displease." These are pleasures and pains of the mind and likewise impel to action (*ibid.,* 43).

[9] The citations in this and the two following notes are necessarily incomplete. They embrace, however, as large a number of fields of investigation and as large a scope of territory as are possible within the limits of space available, keeping in mind, of course, the fact that the main discussion of this study centers around the English and American ethical and social philosophy. For additional citations in convenient form, see Wright, *op. cit.*

Helvetius goes a step farther than Hobbes and assumes, besides a world of physical forces, one of mental forces in which pleasure and pain are masters

causes of activity. All however agree that no conscious activity can be caused otherwise than by feeling, though all at different times plainly confuse feeling with sensory and ideational processes proper. All alike appear to be ignorant of this distinction, though contemporaries of some of the later writers have pointed it out more or less clearly.

of activity and thought: "[God says to man] Je te mets sous la garde du plaisir et de la douleur: l'un et l'autre veilleront à tes pensées, à tes actions; engenderont tes passions; exciteront tes aversions, tes amités, tes tendresses, tes fureurs; allumeront tes désirs, tes craintes, tes espérances; te dévoileront des vérités; te plongeront dans des erreurs; et, après t'avoir fait enfanter mille systèmes absurdes et différents de morale et de législation, te découvriront un jour les principes simples, au développement desquels est attaché l'ordre et le bonheur du monde moral" (*De l'esprit,* 322). Locke: "That which immediately determines the will . . . . to every voluntary action, is the uneasiness of desire fixed upon some negative (absent) good," as freedom from pain and "enjoyment of pleasure." And that which moves desire is "Happiness, and that alone" (*op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. xxi, secs. 33 and 41). Bentham: "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure.* It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do" (*op. cit.*, chap. i, sec. 1). Also, "Among all the several psychological entities . . . . the main pillars or *foundations* of all the rest—the *matter* of which all the rest are composed— . . . . will be . . . . seen to be, *Pleasures and Pains.*" These are the "springs of action" ("The Springs of Action," *Works* [ed. Bowring], I, 211). Bain: "Some pleasure or pain, near or remote, is essential to every volitional effort, or every change from quiescence to movement, or from one movement to another" (*Emotions and Will* [3d ed.], 350). "Without some antecedent of pleasurable or painful feeling—actual or ideal, primary or derivative—the will cannot be stimulated" (*ibid.*, 354). He defines volition as "the operation of pleasures and pains for stimulating activities for ends" (*ibid.*, 315–16). Movements are at first spontaneous and random (*Senses and Intellect,* 300). Suitable activities are selected and fixed by pleasure, which has become fortuitously connected with them (*Emotions and Will,* 315). Baldwin takes essentially the same view (*Handbook of Psychology; Emotions and Will,* 301–3). He also has an elaborate classification of motives (*ibid.*, 332). Leslie Stephen: "Pain and pleasure are . . . . the determining causes of action . . . . the sole and ultimate causes. . . . . Will is always determined by the actual painfulness or pleasantness of the choice at the moment of choosing" (*Science of Ethics,* 50). The feeling is reflected back from the previsioned act, as it were, and becomes the actual motive force (*ibid.*, 54). He regards feeling as a true psychical force (*ibid.*, 57). Lester F. Ward also regards the feelings, especially after memory has made them into desires (*Psychic Factors of Civilization,* 52), as psychic forces (*Pure Sociology,* 132), and he even terms the science of the operation of these desires "mental physics" or *psychics* (*Psychic Factors of Civilization,* 129). This is a terminology which reminds one somewhat of Hobbes (*op. cit.*, 42) and of Comte in a more general sense (*Positive*

There are two other types of writers—only partially or not at all hedonistic, though for the most part individualistic, in their viewpoint—who deal with the cause of the act. Those of one class regard feeling as one, and only one, of the factors in determining conscious choice.[10]

Philosophy [Martineau's transl.], Bk. VI). Painful and pleasurable sensations, he says further, are respectively the causes of action away from and toward objects (*Psychic Factors of Civilization,* 126). He also declares that desire, which he characterizes as "in its essential nature . . . . a form of pain" (*ibid.,* 54), "is the all-pervading, world-animating principle, the universal *nisus* and pulse of nature, the mainspring of all action, and the life-power of the world" (*ibid.,* 55). Spencer: "The feelings have in common the character that they cause bodily action which is violent in proportion as they are intense" (*Principles of Psy.,* II, 541). "The emotions are the masters, the intellect is the servant. The guidance of our acts through perception and reason has for its end the satisfaction of feelings" ("Feeling vs. Intellect," *Facts and Comments,* 38). L. F. Ward, Bain, and others concur in this view. J. R. Angell: "Some such symbols [as agreeableness and disagreeableness] there must be, if consciousness is to steer successfully among new surroundings and in strange environments" (*Psy.,* 273). S. N. Patton: "There is always an endeavor to increase pleasure and to avoid pain if the animal is conscious of these emotions" (*Theory of Social Forces,* chap. i, sec. 1). Jevons bases his theory entirely upon a calculation of pleasure and pain and declares the object of political economy to be to determine the maximum amount of happiness which can be realized in purchasing the greatest possible amount of pleasure with the least possible amount of pain (*Theory of Political Economy* [3d ed.], 37). Frederick Meakin: "For the ground of choice we are referred, ultimately, to the pleasurable or painful functional act" (*op. cit.,* 37).

[10] Titchener regards attention as the only cause of voluntary action in primitive consciousness, and in his opinion attention was limited to the intrinsically pleasant and unpleasant (*Outlines of Psy.,* 250). With the introduction of *action upon representation,* or with the appearance of memory, other elements than affection came to operate in psychical causation (*ibid.,* 254 ff.). Thorndike declares that "any mental state may serve as a motive. . . . . One of the most artificial doctrines about human nature which has ever acquired prominence is the doctrine that pleasure and pain, felt or imagined, are the only motives to action, that a human being is constantly making a conscious or unconscious calculation of the amount of each which the contemplated act will produce, and that his entire behavior is the result of such a life-long complicated series in sums in addition and subtraction. Pleasure and pain do play a leading rôle in determining action, but the cast of characters includes also percepts, ideas and emotions of all sorts" (*Elements of Psy.,* 284). Lotze: "The pleasure of sense is not only the goal toward which all the activity of living creatures originally moves, but we find that in civilized life also it is the hidden spring of the most various actions" (*op. cit.,* I, 696–97). He adds, however, that conscience is the only absolute guide (*ibid.,* I, 696). Sidgwick recognizes "pleasure" and "pain"

Those of the other type hold that feeling can never be such a cause.[11] The main value of a study of these views consists in the fact that, (1) it indicates the confusion in which all mental, ethical, and social science has been and yet is, in regard to a criterion for the cause of the act; (2) it points out through

as "feelings" which stimulate to actions producing or sustaining the former and removing or averting the latter (*Methods of Ethics*, 42, 43). However, "A man's conscious [!] desire is," he thinks, "more often than not chiefly extra-regarding" (*ibid.*, 51), while impulses occur quite regardless of pleasant or unpleasant results (*ibid.*, 53). Thus Sidgwick holds to a teleological statement of unconscious as well as conscious activities. Martineau holds that if one exercises prudential preference he may act with regard to pleasurable or painful effects, but that the springs of action within us [conscience] are the proper moral guides, and they do not take cognizance of pleasure and pain (*op. cit.*, II, 70).

[11] Between Martineau's view (mentioned in the preceding note), aside from his criterion of conscience, and the views of Sorley, James, Dewey, Butler, and others there is little difference, aside from terminology and a more complete analysis of the act. All these latter writers hold that the idea must be the immediate or actual cause of the act. Sorley: "We must aim not at pleasure *per se* but at objects which we have reason to believe will be accompanied by pleasurable feeling" (*Ethics of Naturalism*, 188). James: "A willed movement is a movement preceded by an idea of itself" (*op. cit.*, II, 580). Ideas of pleasure and pain are among these "motor spurs" (*ibid.*, II, 559). James's use of language is sometimes contradictory, and one could in places make out that he argues that "pleasure and pain" are direct causes. This doubtless results from his constantly confusing feeling with sensation. Höffding: "The impulse is essentially determined by an idea, is a striving after the content of this idea," which, however, may refer to pleasure-giving experience (*op. cit.*, 323). Butler long ago maintained that "all particular appetites and passions are towards *external things themselves*, distinct from the *pleasure arising from them*," and that "there could not be this pleasure, were it not for that prior suitableness between the object and the passion" (Sermon XI). Green takes essentially the same view (*op. cit.*, 168) as does Dewey (Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 270), though the latter adds that "the anticipation of pleasure in its fulfilment may normally intensify the putting forth of energy, may give an extra reinforcement to flagging effort" (*ibid.*, 271). Marshall holds that "pleasure-pain" may serve to fix the useful adjustments and to eradicate the harmful ones (*op. cit.*, 262), though it is by no means an absolute criterion (*ibid.*, 352). McDougall: "Pleasure and pain are not in themselves springs of action, but at the most of undirected movements; they serve rather to modify the instinctive processes, pleasure tending to sustain and prolong any mode of action, pain to cut it short; under their prompting guidance are effected those modifications and adaptations of the instinctive bodily movements" (*Introduction to Social Psychology*, 43). Judd: "It is too abbreviated a form of statement to say in this case that the pleasure of success leads the mind to select the appropriate activity; the fact is rather that the

illustrations that until recently at least, if not still, feeling modes have been regarded by most writers of importance as the only or the chief causes of the consciously chosen act; (3) that those, like Martineau and Lotze, who thought of the act as properly caused in some other way, were prone to substitute some other more or less individualistic criterion, such as conscience, as the cause, as will appear more clearly in chap. iv when the ends of action are discussed. (4) It is apparent also that some of the older writers, like Hobbes, Helvetius, and Bentham, did not take into consideration any causes other than conscious ones; nor has this confusion wholly disappeared at the present time. (5) We have also an indication, though incomplete, of how the prevailing social theory until the most recent times has followed the lead of Bentham, Locke, and Hobbes in accepting a hedonistic psychological basis. An expansion of this statement will also occur in the following chapters.[12]

What then is the actual part which feeling modes play in the causation of the act? To answer this question properly it will be necessary first to determine what part consciousness of any sort plays in such causation. Woodworth denies that imagery of any kind is necessary to setting off even a voluntary act, and

pleasure comes because the selection has been successfully made in a natural way" (*Psy.*, 225). Fite: "The ethical consequence of the functional view is to render it inconceivable that we should choose pleasure as an end, and hence, impossible to set up pleasure as the end to be sought. According to the functional view, the motive power of action is instinct, and it is the object implied in the instinct which constitutes the end. In this system there is no room for the motive of pleasure. Pleasure is simply an abstracted phase of the process of satisfaction—an indication that the object is being attained in the presence of a difficulty. In other words, pleasure is not an active force or function, but a mere phenomenon. The desire for pleasure, if conceivable at all, would be irreconcilable with the desire for the object; for since pleasure exists only while success is deferred, pleasure as such could be prolonged only by sacrificing the object originally sought" ("The Place of Pleasure and Pain in the Functional Psychology," *Psy. Rev.*, X, 643–44).

[12] Also some of the more recent sociologists, who have largely or wholly abandoned the hedonistic criterion, still hold to subjectivistic and individualistic classifications of the springs of action, even though these classifications are for the most part mere ornamenta which their authors do not seek or are unable to apply. (Cf. chap. iv, below, and A. F. Bentley, *The Process of Government*, chap. vii.)

contends that "the complete determinant of a voluntary motor act . . . . is nothing less than the total set of the nervous system at the moment."[13]

It is not necessary here to enter into a discussion as to whether consciousness can be non-imaginal,[14] but it must be admitted that the total cause of any act is more than the conscious part of it. When an idea or image precedes the act, i.e., when the neural pathway or the act runs through the cortex (as it must when there is considerable conflict and impediment to its overt expression), the act is termed voluntary. Because we are not able to determine the total set of the nervous system, we seize upon its most obvious and immediate sign, the percept or image, and call it the cause, though it is really only the sign of the whole act of which it is but a part. If the process of ideation be a long one, i.e., if the process by which an act finally gets overt expression is modified by a great many inhibitions occupying some appreciable extent of time, we term the sub-

[13] "[No] form of sensorial image of the movement or of its outcome need be present in consciousness in the moment just preceding the innervation. Imagery, kinaesthetic, tactile, visual, auditory, may or may not be present at the launching of a voluntary movement; when present, it seems, in many persons, at least, to be incidental rather than essential to the process."—Woodworth, *op. cit.*, 356.

"Where imagery is lacking, peripheral sensations are sometimes present in the field of attention, but after these cases are abstracted, there still remain a goodly share of the whole number [about one-fifth] . . . . in whom no sensorial content could be detected."—*Ibid.*, 376.

"The complete determinant of a voluntary motor act—that which specifies exactly what act it shall be—is nothing less than the total set of the nervous system at the moment. The set is determined partly by factors of long standing, instincts and habits, partly by the sensations of the moment, partly by recent perceptions of the situation and by other thoughts lately present in consciousness; at the moment, however, these factors, though they contribute essentially to the set of the system, are for the most part present in consciousness only as a background or "fringe," if at all, while the attention is occupied by the thought of some particular change to be effected in the situation. The thought may be clothed in sensorial images—rags and tatters, or gorgeous raiment—but these are after all only clothes, and a naked thought [!] can perfectly well perform its function of starting the motor machinery in action and determining the point and object of its application."—*Ibid.*, 391–92.

[14] For such a discussion see the above-mentioned monograph by Woodworth; also Titchener, *The Experimental Psychology of the Thought-Processes* (New York, 1910).

jective process *thinking,* and we speak of the thought as the cause of our activity, while it is only the sign or index of the whole act of which it is a part.

In the same way it has been customary to speak of feeling as the cause of activity, because we knew little or nothing of its neural correlates and because it is a very immediate experience. Feeling, however, is also but a sign of the whole act, and is even farther removed from the general causal process in its completeness than is the idea. As was above pointed out, pleasantness accompanies neural processes which supplement each other or which supplement the more stable, though lower, visceral and vegetative neural processes. Unpleasantness accompanies interference of processes, either of the higher sensory ones with each other or of these with the lower basic sets, when consciousness accompanies such nervous activity. Feeling modes then are resultants of internal neural adjustments or of internal neural interferences, which correlation probably is made in the cortex only when feeling is experienced. It is absurd to speak of these feeling modes as the cause of such neural relations. which go over into overt activity as acts in the common usage of that term, unless we do so in the sense that if there had not been such supplementation and interference or inhibition of processes (resulting at times in such feelings and also in more or less corresponding acts) we should have acted differently.[15] But this is not an efficient and functional explanation of the act. It would be just as absurd also to say that feeling dictates causative ideas or dictates their recall in memory. The idea, like the act, can be accounted for only on the basis of the whole neural set. The feeling mode must be explained in terms of the correlation of parts of that set, of processes, with each other.

However, we can appeal from objective analysis and the experimental method to the evidence of introspection (though this sort of appeal is no longer in the best standing), and we may get a confirmation of the direct or indirect causal nature of feeling. Certainly introspection tells us that we frequently choose activities because we have reason to believe that they will

[15] Cf. Meyer, *Psy. Rev.,* XV, 319.

afford pleasantness and avoid others because they usually give unpleasantness. This of course is all on the assumption that the idea of the thing can cause the act, which was discussed in the paragraph immediately preceding.[16] It is generally held, however, that the feeling itself cannot be representative[17] and thus cannot cause the act in the same way as the idea is supposed to be able to do. It is the idea of the act, which it is believed will result in certain feeling modes, that is supposed to be the cause of the representatively or ideationally caused or accompanied act.[18] Introspection, then, tells us that we do frequently choose future activities with reference to whether they will be pleasant or unpleasant. And it also tells us that we perhaps at least as often choose activities without regard for or despite their previsioned feeling results. The introspective evidence is as valid in the one case as in the other.[19]

Accepting the introspective account and the introspective terminology, what activities may we say, then, are the result of feeling, in the sense that the perceived hedonic consequences of an act influence our choice of action and ends? It becomes clear at once, as Marshall points out,[20] that a large number of unforeseen or stubborn circumstances interrupt the course of our mental and neural action and thus cause dissatisfaction. But allowing for these interruptions, in how far yet can we consciously seek pleasure and find it? The answer appears to be, In so far as we have the technique and ability for molding all objective social and physical processes and transformations to fit our immediate subjective ends and adjustments. That is, if

[16] Cf. also notes 9, 10, and 11 above, this chapter.

[17] Cf. Angell, *Psy.*, 266–67.

[18] Cf. James, *op. cit.*, II, 580; Thorndike, *op. cit.*; also Ribot, *op. cit.*, 190: "A l'origine, le plaisir est un *effet*. . . . . Plus tard, il devient une *cause* d'action."

[19] This type of case where introspection tells us that we choose the pleasant act and avoid the unpleasant is not different from the supposed type of cases, abstracted by the older philosophers, in which pleasure and pain were spoken of as direct causes, except in the amount of time intervening between the stimulus and the response. In the latter type the choice and the feeling seem to be synchronous.

[20] *Op. cit.*, 350–51.

we make the experience of pleasantness and the avoidance of unpleasantness the end of our endeavors, we can realize this end in so far as we can immediately and in the large control our environment. We must begin first to control our ideational and imaginal processes to this end. But this cannot be done most effectively without also controlling our physiological processes in the service of both ideation and feeling. Then, in the third place, we must be able to control our immediate environment in the form of material and social conditions, to which end the more narrowly "social" and financial conditions are to some degree essential. And fourthly, and least of all, we must be able to exert an effective though indirect control over the wider societary environment—at least enough to make sure of our immediate physiological and narrowly "social" adjustments.

This method is employed constantly with more or less success and with varying emphasis upon different details. Eastern voluptuaries and tyrants have tried it and have fairly succeeded —at least so long as they could control their adjustments as described above.[21] Artists of all sorts have traditionally been accustomed to withdraw themselves into an esoteric world in which the chief assets of their happiness appear to be their reveries which go along with their "artistic temperaments," the reverence which the unsophisticated have for them, and non-interference from a world of fact. Indeed it has been asserted repeatedly by artists and litterateurs that genius is a lawless thing.[22] Among the most successful devotees of this general method of securing pleasure and avoiding unpleasant experience, however unconscious the devotees may be of the philosophy of the method, are the women and men of fashion and pleasure.

[21] It has long been a custom of deposed monarchs, politicians, etc., to go into "retirement" and to assemble about them as much of their petty paraphernalia as possible and to piece out the situation by living on their memories. The Roman emperor Diocletian, who could not control his kingdom, took up cabbage raising and evidently would have been happy if he could have persuaded his rival to grow cabbages also.

[22] Modern society appears quite confused as to whether this is the proper statement or whether it should be, Lawlessness is genius. Perhaps there is not enough difference between the two formulae to argue about.

These are especially conspicuous in our modern world, where mechanical technique makes possible the accumulation of vast wealth and numerous accessories of personal satisfaction; but they were not lacking to earlier societies. The elaborate functions and social ceremonies of Rome were second only in the matter of refinement of adjustments to the social whirl and dissipation in modern Paris or any great European or American city.[23] Less striking examples can be found in the men with "hobbies" anywhere, the devotee of a game, the professional gambler, all types of hedonic amateurs, so long as these "hobbies," etc., remain personal penchants. Such satisfaction is necessarily individualistic, and the more one's satisfactions become dependent upon a wider and more objective field of control the less invariably is one likely to be satisfied—at least under the present social order.

But the really social individual, in the broader sense, is not the one who acts with individual reference, that is, with the production of subjective or conscious states as his end. The person who attempts to understand the world and to work for efficient social control and expression is the one who operates with reference to social processes in the wide, whose end is the

[23] The details of the practice by which a modern woman of fashion lives a butterfly life of pleasures are too familiar from the literature of the time to require description here. Her thoughts are not arduous, but she takes the utmost care—by proxy—that there shall be no discord in them. A large part of her time is given to the luxurious care of her body—by others—and the remainder is divided between her clothes and fashionable functions or personal and sensuous gratifications, involving ceaseless change and inconstancy or anarchy of social purpose. Practically all the ordinary gross stimuli, such as light and color effects, sound, touch, taste, and odor, are carefully controlled for her. Customary morality in many cases drops out, especially in the realm of sexual experience, where social conformity would make inroads upon other pleasurable adjustments. Financial adjustments remain so much on the margin of her experience that they rarely come into her consciousness, except at a crisis in her career. The matter of her more narrowly "social" adjustments, the problem of retaining her prestige and of eliminating her "'inferiors," perhaps disturbs her most. Such a picture has a feeble counterpart in the Greek and Roman courtesans (cf. DeCassagnac, *History of the Working Classes,* chap. xvii) and in the harems of the East of today. It is an extreme illustration, but it is not untrue to the facts, and is the nearest approach to perfect uninterrupted self-gratification that the modern and "strenuous" western world can boast.

securing of a co-ordinated or social adjustment to nature or to the whole process of life, in whatever terms he may express his intent or in whatever manner he may act. He attempts to discover the conditions of the most effective social life and then to bring these conditions about and to adjust himself to them. The life and growth of the group, often of the broadest group, not his own individual happiness, not an economy of personal pleasantness and unpleasantness, become his criterion. While the hedonist begins by seeking to control his own mental and bodily processes in the interest of his personal satisfactions, the social individual, the one who has a scientific social criterion of conduct, rather than the socius *de facto*,[24] begins with group and race adjustment. As earlier pointed out, his criterion is social conservation rather than individual gratification. It cannot be said of such an individual either that he seeks pleasure or that he finds it in the largest or most constant measure, but that he is effective or functional in a progressively social world.

This type as such is just emerging. It had its forerunners in all those who caught glimpses of a civic spirit and rebelled against a narrow personal standard. The Stoics, the patriots of all ages, frequently the founders of religions, the advocates of divine right in government, the advocates of the theory of the moral sense and like doctrines, who sought to make authority broader than mere individual whim and pleasure, are examples. But practically all of them remained personal and subjectivistic in their criteria. The self of the individual or of the deity or monarch was the final arbiter. Cases of asceticism or of self-torture of the kind indulged in by St. Simon Stylites were doubtless protests against a hedonistic order but were ineffective because they could not get away from a subjectivistic criterion and fix upon objective social service as a substitute. There was no conception and analysis of society which would permit of this substitution. The nearest approach to the modern type was

[24] All individuals are of course social in the question-begging sense that they exist in a world of people and were born with capacities for adjustment to that world (cf. Mead, *op. cit.*, and Houssay, *Rev. philosophique* [May, 1893], 475), but this does not necessarily signify that they are constructively or progressively social.

the patriot who accepted the traditional spirit of his country or city as the inspiration of his cause. This was a collectivistic rather than an individualistic criterion, though not a scientifically determined criterion. The same collectivistic criterion can, of course, in some measure be attributed also to the absolutism of the priestly and political powers. But the modern socius is distinguished from the earlier in so far as he approaches to a scientific social criterion of conduct.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the truly social individual, because he does not seek pleasure or happiness, never experiences satisfaction.[25] In the first place no one is truly social in an inadequately social world. In an adequately controlled social world the results of seeking to further that control doubtless come more and more to be pleasurable. That is, one's habitual and conscious attitudes, based upon a knowledge of social facts and laws rather than upon mere conformity to the existing social order, regardless of what it may be on a wider view, on the one hand, and not upon self-gratification on the other hand, come to be less and less interrupted and broken down as the world becomes more completely and scientifically rather than whimsically socially controlled. Again, one may choose his activity with regard to the broader ends or more scientifically determined values of the group or social organism as a whole, because he sees in a particular case that such a course will also bring him more personal satisfaction. But, as social life and activities are now organized, at least, such coincidence of the wider and more far-reaching social good and his personal satisfaction does not often occur; and perhaps with man as he is—still largely a creature of early instinctive adjustments to conditions of race survival mainly on the level of the lower co-ordinations and processes—such coincidence can never be made complete.[26] The nearest approach to accomplishing such

[25] The Stoics, Puritans, and other sects and factions appear to have pushed a general truth to the extreme in assuming that because the righteous or social individual cannot always be happy, it should be his constant endeavor never to be so or not to seem so.

[26] "No proposition can be more palpably and egregiously false than the assertion that as far as this world is concerned it is invariably conducive to the

a thing is to control social activity in such a way and to such an extent that the desired habits can replace mere instinct and the fortuitously or wrongly acquired habits now dominant, when these conflict with the desired order. But this is necessarily an unpleasant task. It is further true that the consciousness of always working in a "good, even if hopeless" cause may react pleasurably upon the actor, and this is doubtless in the majority of cases a great sustaining factor. But if it is too much relied upon it is almost certain to turn one into the self-satisfied and dogmatic reformer who himself becomes a hedonist in the place of a social individual or true socius.[27]

In addition to the conclusions drawn in connection with the discussion of the various theories of the cause of the act, further implications of primary importance which should be carried over from the present and preceding chapters for application to the subsequent discussion are: (1) that feeling is a purely individualistic and subjectivistic criterion of evaluation, (2) that feeling can be a cause of activity only when mental states or processes rather than objective social results are made the ends of attention and effort, (3) that pleasurable feeling can become attached to any activity regardless of the social or even individual value of that activity, and hence (4) that the sanction or evaluation of feeling upon conduct is worthless as a criterion of the individual or social utility of that conduct.

[*To be continued*]

happiness of a man to pursue the most virtuous career."—Lecky, *History of European Morals* (New York, 1884), 61. Leslie Stephen takes the same view, though an advocate of the doctrine that all activity is caused by feeling. Cf. *Science of Ethics*, 433.

[27] Cf. Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 303.

THE OPIUM QUESTION

J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A.
Edinburgh, Scotland

In the relations between East and West, opium possesses more than an academic importance, far surpassing the literary value it represents in works like Cottle's *Reminiscences of Coleridge* or De Quincey's *Confessions and Suspiria de Profundis.* Slavery in those relations was not productive of worse misery and death, says Dr. Medhurst, an English physician, than the opium traffic which has paralyzed the noblest efforts to elevate primitive races to a higher standard of life. Alcohol and cholera are scourges not to be compared to opium, says a Dutch missionary.[1] Such statements might be multiplied *ad infinitum,* their common purport that opium is an unmitigated curse, corroborated on high medical authority. The moderate and even the minimum opium-eater is a slave to his stimulant as the moderate alcohol-drinker is not.[2]

Civilization, no unmixed blessing when impelled by that powerful spring of western action, cupidity, has brought down many evils upon the East: the spread of opium among them. The export of opium from British India alone, during the fifty years 1855–1904, amounted to 5,220 million rupees, or, on an average, more than 100 million rupees yearly. The total gain from Indian opium, i.e., the amount paid by China and Eastern Asia for that commodity, above its cost price, during the period 1773–1906, has been estimated at £436,000,000.[3] China and eastern Asia might make a wry face at the transaction; they had to pay and keep quiet. The legislation of the traffic in opium was not from choice, as Li Hung Chang observed, but because

[1] J. L. Zegers, quoting Dr. Borrinais in *Het Opium-Vraagstuk in Nederlandsch Indië.*

[2] *The Lancet,* quoted in *The Truth about Opium-Smoking.*

[3] Charles McMinn, *The Wealth and Progress of India,* paper read at a meeting of the East India Association, Caxton Hall, Westminster, December 1, 1908.

China saw herself constrained to submit to the adverse decision of arms.[4] *Nolens volens,* the Chinese were made to yield. With opium they got the opium vice, and all the ingenuity spent in proving that the supply had come in natural response to the demand could never disprove that the use of the drug had met with very little favor in the Chinese Empire before European trade instincts took the matter up. We know of an edict, issued by the Chinese government in 1729, which prohibits the use of opium and orders the closing of opium dens. Later prohibitive regulations are also on record, e. g., that of March 15, 1839, which reminds the people that their destiny, their life and death are intimately concerned in resisting the temptation thrown across their path by foreigners, who were soundly rated (proclamations of March 18 and 26 of the same year) for introducing opium and defrauding the Chinese out of their property and inflicting injury upon them.[5] Notwithstanding secret pressure, the Chinese government persisted in debarring opium except for medicinal purposes. That attitude would soon have to give way before open pressure.

The sending of opium from Bengal to China was first suggested by a Mr. Watson, in the year 1767, to a council of representatives of the East India Company, held at Calcutta.[6] Not the Chinese government alone, the whole Chinese people showed resistance when the idea was carried out, and the junks, in common speech called "scrambling dragons," which conveyed the obnoxious foreign article along the coast and up the rivers, met with a rather cold, if not hostile, reception. This opposition on the part of the populace, was but slowly overcome. Almost a century later, a mob in the province of Hunan, driving out a missionary, shouted: "You have burned our palace, you have killed our emperor, you sell poison to the people and now you

[4] Alfred S. Dyer, *The Great Plague of Asia.*

[5] James Peggs, late missionary at Cuttack, Orissa, *A Voice from India and China,* in four letters to the Rt. Hon. Lord John Russell, first lord of Her Majesty's Treasury. Extracts from Chinese state papers: "Earlier Prohibitive Regulations against Opium."

[6] N. Allen, M.D., *Essay on the Opium Trade.*

come to teach us virtue!"[7] How opium was eschewed, we learn from trustworthy evidence. Two witnesses may here suffice: Ten or fifteen years ago, no one dared smoke publicly, said Griffith John in his report of a trip to Ko'pu in 1859;[8] opium-smoking is a thing of comparatively recent date, said J. Sadler, speaking in Exeter Hall, March 15, 1882. But the claims of western trade were not to be resisted and if, about 1800, the yearly import of opium into China was under 300 tons, while there are no reliable data that the country itself at the time produced any opium at all, the total annual consumption in China, prior to the reforms of the past three years, was estimated at over 22,000 tons, of which 3,180 tons came from India.[9] When in 1840 the Chinese government, alarmed at the increasing import of opium in Canton, took measures to stop it, western trade interests had already established a habit from which to derive further claims. Those claims, unrecognized, led to the first opium war. And it became even necessary to wage a second opium war, Great Britain and France allied against China, to surmount the scruples of the Chinese government, forced at last to legalize the import of opium by an amplification of the Treaty of Tientsin.

It is pleasant to note that exactly this high-handed abuse of power, and the indignation it awoke, engendered a movement for the suppression of the poppy-culture and the opium-manufacture in both India and China. This movement took a definite shape in the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its first president and Sir Joseph Pease as its first parliamentary leader. From 1874 until now, under the presidency of Sir Matthew Dodsworth, with Mr. Th. C. Taylor as parliamentary leader and Mr. J. C. Alexander as honorary secretary, the society has not ceased to oppose the opium evil. But then, if evils come swiftly on horseback, at

[7] *The Opium Trade between India and China in Some of Its Present Aspects.* Reprinted from the *Colonial Intelligencer* for December, 1869, and May, 1870.

[8] R. Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John, the Story of Fifty Years in China.*

[9] J. G. Alexander, *Letter to the Foreign Ministers of the Countries Participating in the Shanghai Opium Commission.*

the very best they can only be made to return slowly like snails. In the matter of opium, this is not China's fault. On September 20, 1906, the famous Anti-Opium Decree was promulgated. The Chinese throne, anxiously considering how the Chinese nation might be made strong and prosperous, and trying to introduce reforms, ordained: "Let the poison of foreign and native opium be done away with within the period of ten years . . . . !" Article X of the proposals for carrying out this resolution provided for the prohibition of the import of foreign opium, in order to close the sources of supply. There's the rub:

> The prohibition of the growth of opium and of its consumption is a measure of internal policy [continued the text of the proposals] which we are justified in taking without further consideration. But the question of foreign opium, which is imported from other countries, impinges on our foreign relations, and the imperial commands should therefore be sought to direct the Board of Foreign Affairs to make a satisfactory arrangement with the British minister with a view to effecting an annual decrease within the next few years of the import of foreign opium *pari passu* with the decrease of native opium, so that both may be absolutely prohibited by the expiry of the limit of ten years. Besides Indian opium, the drug is also imported from Persia, Annam, and the Dutch Indies in no small quantities. In the case of Treaty Powers, negotiations should similarly be entered into with their representatives in Peking to effect the prohibition of such import, while with non-Treaty Powers we can exercise our own prerogative in strictly forbidding the import.

The Chinese government had taken a step in the right direction, a step so resolute and of such enormous purport that, as the *Times* observed, the strongest of governments might have flinched from it. One of the first consequences meant a dislocation of Chinese finance: the total revenue derived from the drug, estimated at about £6,768,750 yearly,[10] was to be balanced by the development of income from other sources. But the Chinese government did *not* flinch, and several new edicts, following that of September 20, 1906, proved its being in dead earnest, so much so, indeed, that the Treaty Powers had to give way. On July 29, 1907, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. (now

[10] Marshall Broomhall, editorial secretary of the China Inland Mission, "The Present Position of the Anti-Opium Movement," in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record,* January, 1909.

Viscount) Morley, stated, in reply to a question by Mr. H. J. Wilson, that, after consulting the government of India, His Majesty's government had informed the Chinese government: (1) that they accepted in principle the proposal that the import of Indian opium into China should be diminished by one-tenth annually, *pari passu* with an equal decrease in the production of the native drug, up to the year 1910, and would continue to reduce at the same rate the export in 1911 and subsequent years, on proof that China had carried out its share of the arrangement; (2) that they had no objection to a Chinese official being stationed at Calcutta, provided that he should have no powers of interference; (3) that they were prepared to assent to such an enhancement of the customs and *likin* duty on foreign opium as would make its taxation in China equivalent to the taxation actually levied on native opium, differences in relative value and quality being taken into consideration. Steps had been taken to reduce the area under poppy in Bengal, which in the five years preceding 1906–7 averaged 615,000 acres, and in 1907–8 was not to exceed 562,000 acres. In 1907 the number of chests of Bengal opium fixed for sale was originally 4,400 a month. This had been reduced to 4,000 a month and the number for 1908 had been fixed at 3,000 a month. Further reductions would be made in succeeding years if the proposed arrangement with the Chinese government became operative. A white paper stated later that the average export from India to China having been 51,000 chests during the five years 1901–5, the Indian government had undertaken to limit this by one-tenth, or 5,100 a year during the next three years, and to continue a similar reduction after that period, "if during these three years the Chinese government have duly carried out their arrangement for diminishing the production and consumption of opium in China." The Chinese government showed its good will by ordering the Ministry of Finance to issue a receipt in answer to a memorial from the *Chen-wuch'n* (Council of State Affairs), commending the complete cessation of poppy-cultivation within the period of two years throughout the Chinese Empire.[11]

[11] *North China Herald,* April 23, 1908.

That the Chinese government has always been earnest and sincere in resisting the introduction of opium, there can be no doubt; its laws prove this fact and such is the testimony of all disinterested foreigners residing in China.[12] That the Chinese government, opium having been introduced through foreign influence, is now earnest and sincere in its efforts to get rid of it, cannot be denied. A dispatch from the British Minister in China, forwarding a general report by Mr. Leech, councilor to the British Legation at Peking, respecting the opium question,[13] makes it clear in regard to the anti-opium regulations that, on the whole, officials showing sufficient force of character to uphold them are almost sure of support from the people, prompted as the latter are by the force of public opinion, a force formerly unknown in China and of recent growth, but which is well upheld by the native press, the incipient moral education, and the awakening of a national conscience. Sir Alexander Hosie, commercial attaché to the British Legation at Peking, wrote in a report on opium, issued in June, 1908: "It is doubtful whether any question has ever stirred the Chinese Empire so profoundly as that of opium-suppression; it affects all classes . . . . and public opinion, backed by a young, but growing patriotism, is gradually but surely branding opium-smoking as an evil that must be eradicated." Dr. Morrison, correspondent of the *Times* at Peking, aptly used the expression "bad form," in describing the view of the educated Chinese toward opium. The anti-opium movement, inaugurated by the government, has become immensely popular and, to quote also a Chinaman writing on the subject, "is going on steadily."[14] The movement meets with marked success, and the results are obvious throughout the empire; I am very much struck with the real and widespread suppression of the growth of opium, says Mr. Montague Beauchamp.[15] I learned from two different localities that, at the appearance of the proclamation,

[12] N. Allen, M.D., *op. cit.*

[13] Published in *White Book,* "China," No. 2, 1908.

[14] A Chinese Cambridge Man, "Social Transformation in China," in the *Contemporary Review,* December, 1908.

[15] In a letter to the *Times,* October 3, 1908.

cultivators had actually pulled up their poppy crop, says Dr. Connolly.[16] Of all the tokens of change and regeneration that China presents, by far the most affecting and momentous is her declaration of war on opium.[17] A member of the staff of the *Times,* who more recently visited the Far East, writes: "In the province of Shansi, one of the chief poppy-growing provinces of China . . . . an official of the British Legation, sent specially to investigate the present position, was able to report the complete disappearance of the noxious plant." Mr. Leech again remarks that the considerable progress already made by the Chinese government in its attempt at the suppression of the opium habit, produces the impression that it will succeed in this formidable undertaking—if loyally backed by the Treaty Powers, we should like to add. Summing up: the Chinese government stands above reproach in design and execution, unless it be, perhaps, for excess of zeal; there are, e.g., the army orders, which make disregard of the new opium regulations a capital offense: as a matter of fact, both officers and common soldiers appear to have been beheaded for the sin of contumacy in their obstinately "hitting the pipe."

It was not only in China proper that the bad effects of the propagation of the opium habit made themselves grievously felt. Farther south, in Indo-China, the complaints became louder every day. A factor of demoralization and disorder on land, opium caused also disturbances on the high seas. The French officials expressed their conviction that it encouraged piracy, smuggling being a natural result of the operative methods of the opium farm.[18] In Malay lands, the opium habit, with depravity and misery in its train, made alarming progress. Everyone who has had any experience knows that, when the habit seizes the Malay, it will sweep through the community as fire through jungle grass.[19] The effect on Malays is decidedly worse

[16] Speaking at a conference in Ipoh, Salangor.

[17] Britannicus in the *North-American Review,* January, 1909.

[18] De Lanessan, *La colonisation française en Indo-Chine.*

[19] Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, bishop of the Philippine Islands, "American Democracy in the Orient," in the *North-American Review,* September, 1905.

than on the Chinese, because the Malay is naturally indolent, and the smoking of opium makes him more lazy and indolent than he would be otherwise.[20] Their natural indolence is considerably increased (by opium); they (the Malays) appear to decrease physically.[21] I look upon a Straits Malay who takes to opium in any form, as a lost man.[22] For this reason, the sale of opium is forbidden to the Malays in the Straits Settlements, as to the Burmese and certain other native tribes in Burma, though both in the Straits Settlements and in Burma the prohibition seems to be more or less evaded.[23] But, evaded or otherwise, no prohibition of the kind exists in the Dutch East Indies where, on the contrary, when the opium farm was replaced by the government *régie,* territories, previously closed, were opened to the drug, Holland, in her imperious demand for more revenue, reverting to the shortsighted policy of the Dutch East India Company, though now a subtler mode of procedure prevails in distributing the profits. The opium habit in the Dutch East Indies was, and continues to be, an article of western importation. Crawford[24] tells us that tobacco-smoking began in Java about the year 1601; if, therefore, the Javanese used opium before that date, deduces Baud,[25] they must not have smoked but eaten it, of which there is no record. We know, on the other hand, that the introduction of opium in ever-greater quantities, by the Dutch East India Company, was met with decrees of prohibition by the independent or semi-independent princes of Java and other islands: the Susuhunans of Surakarte, the sultans of Bantam, the rajas of Lombok, etc. The common people, under direct government control, with all their submission to authority, and whatever is sanctioned by authority, often showed their aversion to the drug in no less decided a manner; the history of the Praenger Regencies proves this,

[20] Swettenham, quoted by Joshua Rowntree in the *Imperial Drug Trade.*

[21] Clifford, quoted by Joshua Rowntree in the *Imperial Drug Trade.*

[22] O'Brien, quoted by Joshua Rowntree in the *Imperial Drug Trade.*

[23] J. G. Alexander, *op. cit.*

[24] *History of the Indian Archipelago.*

[25] *Proeve van eene Geschiedenis van den Handel en het Verbruik van Opium in Nederlandsch Indië.*

and there have been instances in other parts of the island as well, of opium-smokers committing theft to be sent to jail, the one means of breaking with the habit left to them, and even that of problematic advantage—Dutch East Indian prisons are hardly opium-proof. This universal repugnance and the attitude of the native rulers compare favorably with the action of the Dutch government, whose recently established opium *régie,* supposed to do away with the scandals of the opium farm, has made opium-smoking easier for men and women in all conditions of life; 60 per cent. of the native non-commissioned officers in the Dutch colonial army are reputed to be opium-smokers, and considering that opium is used freely for recruiting purposes, it can be imagined to what a fearful extent the rank and file are addicted to the artificially fostered vice—the present drastic Chinese system, applied to the native battalions of the Dutch, would leave few heads on their respective shoulders.[26]

A second comparison with the action or non-action of the Dutch and other European governments is invited by the rigorous anti-opium policy of Japan. China's curse has been Japan's warning, and a warning heeded, says the report of the Philippine Committee.[27] Already when opening her ports to the commerce of the world, Japan had stipulated, like Korea, that the trade in opium should be entirely prohibited (cf. the relative article in her treaty of 1858 with Great Britain) except for medical requirements, and the prohibition has always been maintained under very severe penalties, which are rigorously enforced. Having taken possession of Formosa, the Japanese government immediately began to wage war on opium, though the revenue derived from it formed one-third of the whole income of the island. Interesting particulars are given by Dr. Yamaguchi in a German medical paper: addiction to the opium habit was treated as a disease to be cured medically, for which purpose hospitals were erected and a medical school founded, the 1,200 old-style

[26] For further particulars concerning the opium policy of the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies, see the writer's article in *The American Journal of Sociology,* July and September, 1907.

[27] Issued by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, Washington, D.C., 1905.

Chinese practitioners being gradually replaced by scientifically trained Japanese physicians. Further details we find in other publications: the prohibition of opium was enforced by practicable ordinances, some of whose objects were, first, to place the opium commodity under government monopoly; second, to restrain non-smokers from acquiring the habit; third, to require the registration of all habitual smokers, who thereafter would be allowed to purchase the drug only upon presentation of a license, this in turn being shielded by legislative rule; fourth, to assist smokers in abandoning the habit; and, finally, to impress upon non-smokers the baneful influence on morals and all progress which infallibly attends the habit. The result surpassed the most sanguine expectations, and it may be fairly expected that within twenty years the new insular possession of Japan will be free of opium-smokers.[28]

Japan having set a good example, the United States of America followed it in the Philippines, with an energy which showed that the New World instinct, always strongly opposed to the foisting of opium on the East by the "civilizing" West, knew how to translate its theory into practice. At the recommendation of the Philippine Opium Commission, already referred to, the American Congress enacted, in March, 1905, the immediate prohibition of the sale and use of opium in the Philippines, except for medical purposes. The traffic in the drug was made a government monopoly; natives who violated any of the laws, regulations, or rules against the use of it, were to be severely punished with fines or imprisonment, or both, and to be disfranchised for repeated offense. The single exception made, referred to the Chinese population of about 70,000, who were allowed a period of three years to break with the habit. A law, adopted by the legislature of the Philippines, October 10, 1907, directed that the Chinese consumers should be registered, that nothing more than their accustomed daily dose of opium should be furnished to them, and that this dose should be reduced each month by 15 per cent., until it was entirely cut off.

[28] K. Midzuno, consul-general of Japan at New York, "Japan's Crusade on the Use of Opium in Formosa," in the *North-American Review*, February, 1910.

On March 1, 1908, the day on which prohibition became universal in the Philippine Islands, there remained only some two-hundred opium-smokers in a hospital at Manila and a few more in provincial hospitals.[29] Though the revenue derived from the sale of opium undoubtedly would be great, the United States of America, having become a colonial power, never hesitated to act upon the conviction that the ultimate loss in the character and energy of the people newly transferred to their care would many times counterbalance such an injurious profit.[30] Not satisfied with eradicating the evil in its own dependencies, the government of the United States went even a step beyond. The articles of the Second Peace Conference at the Hague providing for commissions of inquiry where points of difference arise among the powers, the administration at Washington informed the governments of the countries concerned that it desired to come to a decision as to whether the consequences of the opium trade and opium habit were not such that civilized powers should do what they could to put a stop to them.[31] The reception accorded to the American communication was the best evidence that in the council of nations a question had been broached which could no longer be ignored, and further proposals led to the participation, with the United States, of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, the Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey, Persia, China, Japan, and Siam in the Opium Commission which met at Shanghay, February, 1909.

The proceedings were opened by the Viceroy of Nangking, His Excellency Tuang Fang, since promoted to be Viceroy of Chi-li, within whose jurisdiction Shanghay was then situated and who expressed his hope that a way might be found "to shorten the limit and bring about the abolition of opium at an early date." The Right Rev. Charles H. Brent, bishop of the Episcopal church in the Philippines, chief commissioner for the United States of America, hereupon being unanimously elected president, the commission began their work with examining the

[29] J. G. Alexander, *op. cit.*

[30] *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1904, Part II.

[31] *White Book,* "China," No. 1, 1908.

reports requested by the convening government from the other governments represented "on the various phases of the opium question in the territories and dependences of their respective countries." The report submitted by China found a severe critic in Sir Alexander Hosie, though in concluding his strictures he remarked: "There can be no doubt that fair progress has been made in several provinces. Much still remains to be done; but the Chinese government, whose sincerity is beyond question, have the sympathy of the British delegation, and, I trust, of the commission, in their efforts to eradicate the opium evil from the empire." Sir Alexander Hosie who, among the British delegates, represented the diplomatic service in China, could criticize from personal knowledge of the facts dealt with in the Chinese report, and it is a pity that the other reports, in the absence of equally competent critics, able to distinguish between facts and fancies in each of them severally, passed practically uncensured, notably the one submitted by the Dutch government, which painted the promoting of the opium habit to satisfy the exigencies of a ravenous exchequer in the light of most equitable and salutary colonial policy. Dr. Hamilton Wright, spokesman of the American delegation, concurring in Sir Alexander Hosie's language of sympathy for China's earnest endeavor and extending that sympathy to the financial difficulties connected with the opium question in all participating countries, maintained, nevertheless, that the opium trade, except for necessary uses, "ought not much longer to continue, or there will yet loom between the East and the West a problem that, in its magnitude and potentialities for strife, will outstrip the magnitude and forces of that long-since and happily settled slavery question." The American delegation, to relegate the use of opium to its proper sphere in relieving the really sick instead of its being made to pander to the vices of mankind, proposed seven resolutions: (1) that opium and its derivatives should be confined to legitimate medical use; (2) that no government should, as a matter of principle or necessity, continue to depend upon the production of opium and its derivates; (3) that total prohibition of the manufacture, distribution, and use of smoking opium is the right principle to

be applied to all peoples; (4) that it is the duty of all opium-producing countries to prevent the shipment of opium to countries which prohibit its entry; (5) that strict international agreements are needed to control the trade in morphia; (6) that a concerted effort should be made by each government to assist every other in the solution of its internal opium problem; (7) that the commission record its sense in favor of an international conference for the solution of the opium problem in general.[32] In the discussion which followed, other resolutions were proposed by the other delegations, the two of Dutch origin meeting with the least success, especially the first which began by declaring that "the total eradication of the use of opium within a few years, is to be considered a high, but at present an unattainable ideal," a declaration of *non possumus* characteristic of the Dutch government, heedless of Formosa and the Philippines: Opium is in our colonies one of the principal sources of revenue; doing away with opium would seriously handicap our finances; *ergo,* the eradication of the opium evil is to be considered an unattainable ideal! Hence the passive resistance of the Dutch delegation against improvement, while the British delegation took a more candid stand in emasculating the American proposals by an opposition above board: "To be entirely frank," said Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, "the British delegation is not able to accept the view that opium should be confined simply and solely to medical needs." The first of the British resolutions, in response to the observation of Mr. T'ang Kuo-an, the leading Chinese delegate, that the sentiment of the Chinese people has been stirred as it has "never been stirred before during two thousand odd years of history," threw, however, a sop to sentiment at large, though the great object was frustrated, and became the introductory clause to the resolutions of the Shanghay Commission as finally adopted: (1) That the International Opium Commission recognizes the unswerving sincerity of the government of China in their efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the empire; the increasing

[32] *The Official Report of the Proceedings of the International Opium Commission.*

body of opinion among their own subjects by which those efforts are being supported; and the real, though unequal, progress already made in a task which is one of the greatest magnitude. (2) That in view of the action taken by the government of China in suppressing the practice of opium-smoking, and by other governments to the same end, the International Opium Commission recommends that each delegation concerned move its own government to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of opium-smoking in its own territories and possessions, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned. (3) That the International Opium Commission finds that the use of opium otherwise than for medical purposes is held by almost every participating country to be a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation; and that each country in the administration of its system of regulation purports to be aiming, as opportunity offers, at progressively increasing stringency. In recording these conclusions the International Opium Commission recognizes the wide variations between the conditions prevailing in the different countries, but it would urge on the attention of the governments concerned the desirability of re-examination of their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other countries dealing with the same problem. (4) That the International Opium Commission finds that each government represented has strict laws which are aimed directly or indirectly to prevent the smuggling of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives, and preparations into their respective territories; in the judgment of the International Opium Commission it is also the duty of all countries to adopt reasonable means to prevent at ports of departure the shipment of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives, and preparations, to any country which prohibits the entry of any opium, its alkaloids, derivatives, and preparations. (5) That the International Opium Commission finds that the unrestricted manufacture, sale, and distribution of morphine already constitute a grave danger, and that the morphine habit shows signs of spreading: the International Opium Commission, therefore, desires to urge strongly on all governments that it is highly important that drastic measures should be taken by each

government in its own territories and possessions to control the manufacture, sale, and distribution of this drug, and also of such other derivatives of opium as may appear on scientific inquiry to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill effects. (6) That as the International Opium Commission is not constituted in such a manner as to permit the investigation from a scientific point of view of anti-opium remedies and of the properties and effects of opium and its products, but deems such investigation to be of the highest importance, the International Opium Commission desires that each delegation shall recommend this branch of the subject to its own government for such action as that government may think necessary. (7) That the International Opium Commission strongly urges all governments possessing concessions or settlements in China which have not yet taken effective action toward the closing of opium divans in the said concessions and settlements, to take steps to that end, as soon as they may deem it possible, on the lines already adopted by several governments. (8) That the International Opium Commission recommends strongly that each delegation move its government to enter into negotiations with the Chinese with a view to effective and prompt measures being taken in the various foreign concessions and settlements in China for the prohibition of the trade and manufacture of such anti-opium remedies as contain opium or its derivatives. (9) That the International Opium Commission recommends that each delegation move its government to apply its pharmacy laws to its subjects in the consular districts, concessions, and settlements in China.[33]

Where China looked for complete co-operation from all the civilized powers in her attempt to throttle the opium evil, as Mr. T'ang Kuo-an expressed it, open and secret obstruction prevented the American suggestions from being adopted to their full beneficial extent as a rule for future action. A section of the American press strictured especially the selfish conduct of the British delegation in face of the acknowledged *bona fides* of the Chinese government with its outspoken desire that Great

[33] *The Official Report of the Proceedings of the International Opium Commission.*

Britain should further reduce the already conceded period of ten years for the gradual cessation of the import of Indian opium into China. In connection with this, additional importance attaches to the statement of Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the occasion of the Colonial Office debate, House of Commons, July 27, 1909: "We adhere to our view that it [the opium habit] is a bad thing for a race, and the more you can stop it the better for all concerned; . . . . we will not cease to do our best to assist China to make what reduction she can, and to diminish, as far as possible, and as soon as possible, the consumption of opium in all places where the Colonial Office has rule."

Speaking of the difference in manner between British and Dutch opposition to the energetic mode of procedure suggested by America, the humorous side of the proceedings at Shanghay should not go unnoticed. The gay note was struck by the two resolutions of the Dutch delegation, whose acceptance would have been tantamount to the commission pronouncing the Dutch system of dealing with the opium trade as a model system to be copied by all other countries. The delegates of the other countries, however—*et pour cause!*—did not show the least disposition to endorse the good opinion which the Dutch delegates professed to entertain of the opium *régie* in the Dutch East Indies, and the motion was wisely shelved. As a matter of fact, the opium *régie* has brought there nothing of the good promised and all the evil predicted of it. To begin with, it undid the noble work of Robert Lieve Jasper Baron van der Capellen, the "Abolisher of opium in the Praenger Regencies" as the inscription on his gravestone in the churchyard of the village of Ellecom justly commemorates him. We have already mentioned the reopening of that territory, with Bantam, etc., to the poisonous drug, an act of dreadful weight, which, instead of tending to the eradication of the opium habit, establishes again, notwithstanding a noisy display of colonial ethics, the methods censured by Sir Stamford Raffles, when he took the reins of government in Java from those who, "overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, [allowed] an addition to their finances to outweigh

all regard to the ultimate happiness of the country." The first resolution proposed by the Dutch delegation summarily dealt with, the second, concerning another "unattainable ideal," unattainable because not striven after, was also brushed aside by the commission. It expatiated upon opium-smuggling, to the tune of: Praise us according to our words, not according to our works! When the scandalous abuses of the opium farm made reform absolutely necessary, there could not be any doubt as to the efficiency of the opium *régie,* introduced for the ostensible purpose of clearing the atmosphere charged with bribery and corruption, or that success depended principally upon the power of government to contend against smuggling, without the assistance of the opium-farmers, henceforth neutral if not antagonistic, their capital, formerly invested in the licit, now wholly invested in the illicit, trade. And yet, the government opium police on land and sea remained utterly inadequate, a sham and a delusion, not a standing menace against the clandestine traffic, but a standing joke. A striking illustration of this ridiculous unfitness was furnished by the expressly created native corps of opium rough-riders, who never got their horses: mounted opium-hunters on foot, with big cavalry boots they were not able to walk in, and big cavalry swords they were not trained to handle, but carried like cudgels over their shoulders. Meanwhile, opium follows the Dutch flag on all military expeditions to the exterior possessions, presented to the natives at the point of the bayonet, quite recently in Bali and elsewhere, not otherwise than a century ago on the west coast of Sumatra. We have to recognize, however, that the last speech from the Dutch throne pronounced by the Minister for the Interior at the opening of the States General, September 21, 1909, intimated a desire to check the abuse of opium in the Dutch East Indies, while the new Minister for the Colonies, in a memorandum on the Colonial Budget for 1910, declared himself in favor of an experiment with the licensing system. But no definite measures have been announced and experience teaches that there is a wide gulf between utterances in the Hague and deeds in the colonies. For the moral and physical condition of coming generations, suckled on opium, it must also

be considered of evil augury that the new governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, though in his parliamentary rhetoric an enemy of opium, during his first term of office as Minister for the Colonies, countenanced the propagation of the opium habit by the opening, under the *régie,* of vast areas to the drug, which under the farm had been closed.

Despite her indecision regarding improvement, the Shanghay Commission has settled two things once and for all: the unquestionably noxious character of the opium traffic and the absolute sincerity of the Chinese government.[34] Though it "is in straightened circumstances, it will neither seek to satisfy its hunger nor quench its thirst at the expense of this harmful poison, so that it may rid its people of this great bane."[35] Missionaries in the province of Yunnan, the second in importance of the opium-producing provinces, writes that the cultivation of the poppy is already practically at an end throughout its limits. Mr. Joshua Vale, of the China Inland Mission at Changtu, the capital of the great western province of Sze-chuan which, prior to the decree of 1906, produced far more opium than any other, states that proclamations have been issued to prohibit all poppy-planting this autumn, with threats of dire punishment to anyone who dares to disobey. Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, informs the House of Commons[36] that the reports recently received from the British consular officers in China, tend to show that the Chinese government are both energetic and sincere in their attempt to suppress the cultivation of the poppy in China. Total prohibition within a measurable time is undoubtedly the policy which finds favor at the moment.[37] It is not China which lags behind in honest endeavor, and an instructive parallel may be drawn between her and Holland, whose discrepancy between colonial theory at the Hague and colonial practice in her colonies we have just touched upon.

[34] Mr. Bennett in the House of Commons, Colonial Office debate, July 27, 1909.

[35] Chinese imperial decree of March 15, 1909.

[36] In answer to a question, September 7, 1909.

[37] Sir J. Jorden, British minister at Peking, in a letter, dated October 21, 1909.

In other parts of the world, including the European concessions and settlements in China, the opium question stands at this moment as follows: Consequent to the policy which aims at the extinction of the trade within ten years, the government of British India are steadily curtailing the manufacture of the drug.[38] The situation in Hongkong is that by the end of February, 1910, all the opium divans will be closed.[39] In most of the (other) European concessions in Chinese ports efforts have been made for the suppression of the opium dens.[40] When the Germans went to Shantung, some ten years ago, they found a large part of the province under opium-cultivation; they took the thing into their own hands and gradually reduced the opium revenue from about one-seventh of the total revenue until today it is only about 1 per cent.[41] Of the attitude of Japan, both at home and in Formosa, we have already spoken. In Siam, as in Japan, it has been found that the restriction of opium is of immense importance to the population;[42] the king of Siam has declared that measures will be taken for the administration of the opium monopoly with the object of lessening and eventually entirely suppressing the sale of the drug.[43] In Portuguese Macao and French Indo-China, beginnings are made, or at least promises given of legislation with the same object in view;[44] the governor-general of French Indo-China appointed a Commission with a view to the gradual suppression of the opium habit.[45] With regard to the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, the government is about to set up a state monoply of opium.[46]

[38] *Opium Administration Report* for the year ending October 30, 1908.

[39] Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, replying in the House of Commons, Colonial Office debate, July 27, 1909.

[40] J. G. Alexander, *op. cit.*

[41] Mr. Laidlaw in the House of Commons, Colonial Office debate, July 27, 1909.

[42] Mr. Verney in the House of Commons, Colonial Office debate, July 27, 1909.

[43] Replying to an address of congratulation on the occasion of his birthday, September 24, 1908.

[44] J. G. Alexander, *Letter to the Foreign Ministers of the Countries Participating in the Shanghai Opium Commisssion.*

[45] *L'Europe,* September 27, 1907.

[46] Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons, July 27, 1909.

If the Straits Settlements still lag behind in the anti-opium movement, the enthusiasm in the Federated Malay States is described as "colossal." In Ceylon, the government has spontaneously recognized the necessity of taking measures to restrict the use of opium within the narrowest possible limits;[47] the commission on the question is still sitting in Ceylon, and the present policy, if continued, will lead to suppression.[48] All the self-governing British colonies which contain any considerable Chinese population, have adopted prohibition laws against the sale and use of opium, apart from medical requirements,[49] notwithstanding the considerable decrease in revenue such measures entail. The new government of Persia, emulous of China, has issued stringent regulations restricting the sale of opium, with a view to the ultimate suppression of smoking the drug, which is declared in a proclamation to be responsible for the backward condition of the country.[50]

Though these tidings spell reform, at least on the surface, in promises not always fulfilled and recommendations not always observed, room enough is left for concerted international action, provided the nations of the West are really minded to stamp out, anyway to limit the opium evil, which, if they did not create it directly, they did so much to foster from notions of sordid gain. This consideration apparently moved the government of the United States of America when instructing its delegates to Shanghay, whose last resolution, proposed but defeated, intended to make the commission "record its sense in favor of the principle of an international conference for the solution of the problem." Withdrawn for the moment, the idea has therefore not been given up, and Dr. Hamilton Wright, one of the American delegates to Shanghay, is stated to be engaged on the program for such a conference, whose object will be to arrive at final conclusions; an international conference, in fact, which will

[47] *White Book,* "Ceylon," 1908.

[48] Telegram, read by the Master of Elibank, Under-Secretary of State for India, to a deputation from the Edinburgh Committee for the Suppression of the Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic, December 17, 1909.

[49] J. G. Alexander, *op. cit.*

[50] Reuter telegram, dated Teheran, August 28, 1909.

embody rules, binding on the participating powers, for a positive warfare on opium as an agent of moral and physical degeneration. The new step taken at Washington is in perfect agreement with America's earliest and best traditions of oriental diplomacy. The convention would provide for the suppression of opium within a certain period and the interdiction of the drug as contraband, right of search to be granted to the signatory powers and illicit traffic to be considered an international offense. China has already signified her approbation: the Wai-Wu-Pu strongly favors the proposal, but the approval of its details by the boards of Finance and Internal Affairs is necessary for its formal acceptance.[51] If their protestations of disinterested philanthropy in their mission of civilization are to be taken seriously, the countries which participated in the Shanghay Commission must follow suit. The European nations having colonies or protectorates in the East, cannot evade the duty of keeping pace with China, to quote once more from Mr. Alexander's letter. One need not be an extremist, and may be fully aware of the difficulties involved in the suppression of the opium habit, to object that governments which boast of their paternal care for the primitive races they have subjected, put temptation in the way of unbridled, sometimes artificially depraved, appetites in order to swell their colonial revenues. The longer this abuse continues, the harder, also for financial reasons, the task of opposing it, and the sooner the hand is put to the plow of reform, the better both for rulers and peoples ruled. State monopoly seems a first requisite, with state control of the retail trade; but if the farming system is abandoned only to replace it by a *régie* which strives after propagation instead of suppression of the habit, as in the Dutch East Indies, the new offense will smell not less rank to heaven than the old. With medical treatment, registration of the opium-smokers must be introduced and enforced to limit their number, instead of stimulating the sale by enticing fresh victims to the government opium dens, those ante-chambers of hell, in native parlance, "where demons initiate their chosen into their most

[51] Telegram to the *New York World*, November 8, 1909, from its Peking correspondent.

vicious practice." The clandestine traffic must be stamped out by international arrangement of enduring efficacy; the actual amount of opium consumed in any given country is at present an unknown quantity: the late Mr. W. H. Read, consul-general for the Netherlands at Singapore, once told the writer of this article that e.g., from the Straits Settlements alone, according to trustworthy information, five times as much opium was shipped to Bali Boeleleng and other ports, to be smuggled into the Dutch East Indies, as the sum-total which figured in the government statistics as officially consumed. This was in the days of the opium farm, and with the opium *régie* the smugglers' opportunities have certainly not diminished, whatever the government statistics may show or hide in their elastic accommodation to government fads and fancies.

Above all, if the opium habit is to be eradicated, or even to be limited, the governments concerned will have to face resolutely the financial issue. Hesitation between the goat of reform and the cabbage of profit will continue to spoil the best intentions: *Qui enim vitiis modum apponit, is partem suscepit vitiorum,* or, as Sir Stamford Raffles formulated it, revenue derived from so impure a source debases the receiver as well as the opium-smoker he receives it from, degrading his character and enervating his energy. To what extent, has been well expressed by Pakoe Boewono II (†1749), emperor of Mantaram, who, in his great didactic poem, censures this phase of Western civilization, imposed upon the island of Java by the Dutch:

This is the path which leads to ruin,
Which opens to him who enslaves himself to opium,

From a man in good repute he becomes an outcast,
His enterprises do not prosper and therefore he becomes a thief,

And he is not only miserable in his body,
But misery dwells in his heart,
And misery continues from generation to generation.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, all the governments invited by the administration at Washington to participate in the Opium Conference at the Hague have accepted with the exception, so far, of those of Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. In answer to a question of Mr. Th. Taylor in the

House of Commons, March 10, 1910, whether, seeing that the production of opium in China is being largely restricted, the British government feel inclined to respond to the desire of the Chinese government to shorten the period of nearly eight years during which India is to continue to send opium to China, the Under-Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, answered, in substance, that His Majesty's government is not disposed to disturb the settlement arrived at. Meanwhile, the last remaining opium divans in Hong Kong were closed on February 28. The colonial government of the Straits Settlements is putting itself in a position in which it will be able to exercise considerable control over the traffic in opium. The acting governor of Ceylon anticipated that, with a clause embodying provisions regarding the use of opium by the *vedaralas* (native medical practitioners), the amended Opium Ordinance, which was suspended last year, would be brought into force on July 1.—J. F. S.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF SECTS

JOHN L. GILLIN
The University of Iowa

Like historic Christianity itself, the sects of Christianity owe much to the social conditions of the time and place of their respective origins. They lend themselves to sociological explanation because in large part they were social products. While social changes may throw no light upon the nature of the life-forces which found their expression in the sectarian organizations, certainly the direction which these forces took and the forms they assumed were determined to a large degree by social conditions then current. The organizations, the doctrines as well as the individuals who were members of the sects, bear the stamp of the peculiar social world in which they came into existence.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Historic precedent was one influence which helps to account for them; great personalities have played a part in their development; but beyond the historic precedent and the influence of personal leadership lies the more ultimate question of what part social conditions had in making the precedent subject to imitation at one time rather than at others and in enabling the great man to be a leader of the led and in determining his ideas. These sects are social movements as well as historic and religious. They represent the expression of ideas and ideals forced to birth from the matrix of the social body; ideas and ideals long dormant, perhaps, but now for the first time shaping themselves into definite form and becoming embodied in separate organizations. To change the figure, they are precipitations resulting from social conflicts, tolerations, and imitations; they obey certain laws of sequence; their appearance and decay are dependent upon the social conditions amid which they are set. Our problem

is to explain what social conditions are necessary for their birth, what are the social regularities according to which they grow up, and what causes them to decay; to find, if possible, social causes for their appearance, course of development, and decline. We shall indicate, so far as possible, what are the conditions prevailing among the social classes of the regions of their origin and what bearing these relations have upon the origin and development of sects. The social, political, and religious ideals must be noticed in order to discover what influence they had in this development. The search for the social bases of these ideas will then be in order.

SUGGESTIONS OF A SOLUTION

a) *Unsatisfactory proposal.*—Spencer, in his *Essays* (I:21) expresses the belief that sects are simply differentiations from an original homogeneous social structure. This is in line with his theory that evolution is from the homogeneous, undifferentiated to the heterogeneous, differentiated structure. This may be true, but it throws no light on the causes which in this case lead to this process; it does not answer the question, Under what circumstances will they evolve from the homogeneous, undifferentiated to the heterogeneous, differentiated structure?

b) *Economic, political, and intellectual factors bearing upon the origin of sects.*

1. Without doubt the state of economic advancement has influence on the development of religious sects. When economic society is so little developed that there is no surplus supply of the necessities of life, when all of man's energies must of necessity be devoted to those activities which have to do with the sustaining of life, there will be no sectarianism. Universal poverty, grinding and positive, breeds no dissent. There is no surplus energy to be devoted to such things. Bread, not the things of the spirit, dominates thought and activity in such cases. Religious revolt is characteristic of times when certain individuals have been able to free themselves from the necessity of ceaseless toil, and some part of a population has been able to

better its economic condition to such an extent that it has leisure for display. An aristocracy of leisure appears whose members live from the toil of the lower classes. The latter's conditions, perhaps no worse absolutely than hitherto, are worse relative to the condition of the leisure classes. The difference in economic position, or, at least, in economic opportunity, between the upper and the lower classes, therefore, will produce a condition favorable to opposition and dissent.

Moreover, at just this time of change from a static to a dynamic condition in economic affairs, the conditions favorable to sectarianism appear. If, however, the differences between rich and poor have been of long-continued duration and superiority and inferiority have been sanctioned by age and custom, sects cannot appear until some change in relative conditions is suddenly brought about, or leisure gives time to the lower classes for reflection as to the abstract injustice of their position. Then, if the economic condition of the lower economic classes is very bad, resistance will take the place of passivity. Whether opposition shall result in economic, political, or religious separatism depends on the interest which dominates the age. This, however, is but a proximate explanation.

2. Sects originate also in times of sudden change in the exercise of political power. So long as political conditions remain static, disturbances are not likely to occur. But let political authority be suddenly imposed more stringently than hitherto, and dissent of some sort will probably appear, whether it be in the Age of William the Norman in England, of Richelieu in France, or of Roosevelt in America. The outcome depends on the development of the theory of rights already reached.

This sudden increase of the exercise of political prerogative may be due to a desire for uniformity of belief, thought, and action consequent upon a growing national spirit, as, for example, in the days of the Tudors in England, or of Clay, Webster, and Lincoln in America. On the other hand, there may be no absolute increase of power, but the old authority may become more oppressive owing to an increase in general intelligence and a growth of the ideals of freedom, the latter due to

an increase of educational opportunities, increased discussion among the lower classes, or the borrowing of ideas from another country. For example, the increase of wealth in England immediately following the Industrial Revolution led to much social discontent. This was aggravated by the ideas of the French Revolution which had been introduced into England. Thus, despotism is favorable to the formation of sects in religion as of anarchistic parties in politics. Both are parties of protest; both make little of social organization; both thrive on class consciousness.

Sects originate generally in the lower classes which have been shut out from any part in the socializing process. While their origin is due to a sense of injustice, so far as they are organized they may represent an effort to provide an agency for accomplishing the felt necessity of socialization. This socialization, however, is not yet possible in the wider circle, called the state, for the state is the upper classes. Therefore, this sectarian organization is a society within a society to give scope to the socializing instincts struggling for expression. These classes are not represented in the state as it exists, consequently they organize themselves so as to be able to deal as classes with the upper classes.

3. Of necessity, there is always intellectual unrest before sects can arise. However, the conditions of intellectual unrest are to be found in increase of wealth, growth of political ideas, and social development. The new intellectual spirit was apparent in the days of the Protestant Revolt. The Italian Renaissance had introduced the ferment of new ideas. These had their influence in loosening the hold of the old ideas and creating intellectual unrest. Nevertheless, intellectual unrest was only one phase of the social discontent which was characteristic of the age. The general social dissatisfaction and craving for new ideas was at the bottom of the eagerness with which new intellectual interests were welcomed. The latter then reacted upon the social discontent. This formed the seed-bed in which the intellectual ideals found root.

A case in point is that of the Lollards in England in the fourteenth century. Lollardy in the person of Wyclif had

originated by a combination of several circumstances—great social discontent following the Black Death, with the bettered conditions of the lower classes consequent thereupon, and the jealousy of the growing power of the lower classes by the upper classes, especially by the church, a grave disturbance of social relations, and a great intellectual unrest, stimulated, however, by social discontent. The Renaissance did not come to England until later. As Green points out, Wyclif's chief debt intellectually was to Occam. But his protest was largely social in its origin—against the richness and profligacy of the priests and friars; and an appeal in behalf of the lower, uncared for, and abused under-classes. The selfishness of the English clergy "severed them from the nation at large." Not only did Wyclif protest against them, but "without the ranks of the clergy stood a world of earnest men, who, like 'Piers the Ploughman,' denounced their worldliness and vice, skeptics like Chaucer laughing at the jingling bells of their hunting abbotts, and the brutal and greedy baronage under John of Gaunt, eager to drive the prelates from office and to seize on their wealth."[1]

Change in moral or theological ideas is conducive to the formation of sects. However, this only determines the character of the sect, which will vary in character according as the dominant interest is morality or religion.

c) The fundamental factor in any social account of the origin of sects.—More fundamentally, sects are the result of forces stimulated to activity by a heterogeneity of the population of any social group. This lack of unity in the group results in the development of class consciousness. This class consciousness may be due to the imperfect assimilation of population elements suddenly brought together, as in the period following the Norman Conquest, or as in the early days of America. A common blood tends to produce that likeness in thought, feeling, and purpose in a population which is inimical to sectarianism. But before such amalgamation can take place, if a policy of uniformity of religion is adopted, it leads to protest. Moreover, a common culture in time wipes out the differences which create disunion.

[1] Green, *Short History of the English People*, 237, 238.

But if, before such a culture has done its perfect work, an attempt is made by the authorities to hasten the process by a policy of repression of freedom of thought and a forced change of customs, the gulfs between the social classes appear, the process of socialization is stopped, and the oppressed classes become sectarians. This, because the old customs and traditions die more slowly than political forms. Religion being among the interests which man treats most conservatively, it is but natural that uniformity in religion comes about more slowly than in politics, or purely intellectual affairs. The sectarians are forced to segregate themselves by a consciousness of unlikeness between themselves and their oppressors and are drawn together by a sense of mental and moral kinship. Their meeting together, their discussion among themselves of these points of difference and likeness increases their difference from those oppressing them and cements their own bonds of brotherhood.[2] Persecution has ever been the best means of making certain the growth of the oppressed, provided the persecution was not thoroughgoing extermination. In every case, however, when persecution sets in, there exists social heterogeneity. Likemindedness has not been perfectly developed.

What, then, produces social unlikeness in a population? Generally it comes about either by way of conquest, which brings together people separated from each other by natural frontiers, or by migration. In either case contact of hitherto separated peoples stimulates consciousness of differences and excites conflicts. In the one case the conquerors form a superior class, if numerous, and the conquered become the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. Conquest only accentuates differences, and the conquered cling the more closely to their customs and religion. The conquerors have three methods open to them in dealing with the religion of the conquered. (1) They may exterminate it. This, however, is hardly ever practicable and never has been done completely. (2) They may adopt it wholly or in part. They

[2] "Persecution causes the persecuted to draw together, encourage one another, and associate only with one another. It closes them to the influences of reason and interest that otherwise would work upon them and win them over." —Ross, *Social Psychology*, 303.

seldom do so wholly; generally they adopt part of it and many times the greater part. The conquerors do not exterminate the women and children as a rule; they preserve them and keep them as slaves. The women conservatively keep their religion and their children are taught the mother's religion. Therefore, in the second or third generation the religion of the conquerors is badly corrupted by the religion of the conquered. The barbarian conquerors of Christian Rome were conquered by the Christian religion. The latter had to adapt itself, of course, to the religion of the barbarians, as the Christianity of the later barbarians shows. So when the Catholic church went out in its mission to the barbarians who had not seen Rome, it was compelled to adapt its ceremonial and customs to their practices, and when at a later time Christianity was imposed by Christian princes upon barbarian peoples, as upon the Saxons, for example, the same thing was true. This is shown by the survivals from barbarian religions in Catholic festivals and in ceremonials of later times. (3) The conquerors may leave the conquered to the enjoyment of their religion. This policy is characteristic of modern times, as, for instance, of America and England. In this case, the religions, together with other differences between the conquerors and the conquered, will have free scope and at first will be very pronounced, as was the case in the conquest of India by the British, but in the course of time will gradually fade out entirely with growing social unity, unless the governing class emphasizes its superiority to the governed in other respects. Therefore, it becomes apparent that sectarianism in religion is a phenomenon incident to the mingling of hitherto strange peoples, destined to disappear as the process of socialization goes on.

The mingling of strange peoples presupposes, however, separation. It is dependent upon the physical nature of the country where the meeting occurs. It is evident that migrating peoples generally will not go into a country which is inaccessible or infertile; only those fleeing from enemies retire to such places. Therefore, the physical nature of a country will have much to do with the question as to whether it will produce sects or not. Natural frontiers occur everywhere, more numerous, however,

in some parts of the world than in others. Western Europe was especially suited by physical configuration to provide the segregation necessary to the development of different modes of life, ways of thinking, social customs, etc., which make people unlike, especially in the days when the only means of communication was by courier, and actual personal association was impeded. The fact that strange ways persist even today in certain parts shows how isolation preserves peculiarities. It has done so in all ages and in almost all countries.[3] The isolation may be a consequence of either natural or social barriers to intercommunication. Hence, in an open fertile country, so easily accessible and fertile as to attract immigrants, that dynamic condition of society can develop which is necessary to produce the conflict of religions that breeds sectarianism; or, again, in a geographical unity whose various parts are kept separate by lack of means of communication and association there exist the conditions favorable to the formation of classes of people with different ideas and ideals.

Now, let this isolation be broken up; let these communities long separated and hence much unlike come into communication either through the development of means of transportation or of communication and association, by conquest or by migration; then conflict of ideas, of culture, of costumes, of customs, and of religious beliefs will occur.

Such breaking-up of social insularity occurred in southwestern Germany, in Switzerland, and in the Low Countries in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; their differences in religion became apparent and conflict drew the lines of sect and party. Now when any two or more of these different causes coincide, the phenomena of sectarianism are sure to become very prominent. If only one of these causes is active, these social phenomena will be less numerous and less pronounced or lacking altogether.

The way in which this physical difference operates on society

[3] Harnack (*Expansion of Christianity*, II, 357) says that lack of communication with the rest of the world retarded the historical evolution of the Christian church in central Asia Minor so that, "in its inland parts primitive Christianity survived longer than elsewhere."

is this: These different social elements come together and the resulting social heterogeneity brings out the mental unlikenesses, differences of feeling, of thinking, and of acting about matters that are in the zone of interest. These differences are recognized by the different elements of the population. This recognition makes them more prominent and pronounced. Conflict ensues. The superior classes attempt to coerce the inferior. If the superior class is an official class it tries to bring the lower class to its way of thinking and feeling by force and unless the force is of that severity which leads to extermination the inferior class becomes a sect, resisting the pretensions and the claims of the upper class. This resistance takes many different forms. It is not limited to the question in dispute. Hence we find among sectarians that their opposition to those whom they combat takes lines many and diverse. If the oppression is in the matter of social regulations it does not follow that the concerns on which the sects will resist and take a different line from the oppressors will be simply social. It may lead to economic differences or to a difference in customs or in religion, as the case may be. If the upper class is a learned class and the inferior class unlearned, the superior class will attempt to coerce the inferior by weight of authority, scorn, and ridicule. This will merely stimulate opposition on the part of those coerced. As a result of this coercion the lower classes will revolt against those in authority. In many cases sectarianism has been fostered by the upper classes so acting in economic and social affairs as to create a feeling of difference rather than of sympathy between the two.

An illustration of this principle is to be found in the conditions preceding the Peasants' War in Germany. Serfdom oppressed the people; there was a great social gulf between the owners and the tillers of the soil. The Reformation, which had been accepted by the lower classes as the charter of their liberties, social as well as religious, was divorced from popular sympathies by being delivered into the hands of the princes. When the lower orders of society failed to realize their hopes at the hands of the princes, they appealed to violence. At first Luther sided with the class from which he sprang. But the appeal to violence

alienated him from the popular side. From that moment the Reformation became an aristocratic movement. From that moment sectarianism had a reason for being. It represented more truly than the evangelical churches the interests of the masses.[4] The twelve articles of the peasants contained demands for the correction of abuses mostly of a social nature.

When religion becomes the dominant interest this consciousness of difference between the classes is certain to appear in differences in religion. The history of the Reformation and post-Reformation times is replete with examples. The separatism of those times which resulted in the Anabaptist movement was the result of a consciousness of social differences, long continued but sharpened by the effort of the upper classes to coerce the lower in religious affairs. Testimony is given again and again that the artisan and the peasant classes were those among which the Anabaptist movement originated and where it achieved its greatest successes.[5] The followers of Balthasar Hubmaier in Switzerland "were recruited from the artisan classes"; in Zürich "it required increasingly severe mandates of the authorities to suppress the strong popular movement in favor of the prescribed, unlicensed sect." The Peasants' Revolt in Germany, and also that in England, were by their very names of lower origin. The country parsons and priests were the only ones which joined with the peasants in their demands. The very articles of faith of the Swiss Baptists show that their chief troubles were social. Luther was a peasant, as were Zwingli and Fox. The Anabaptist circles of Germany were recruited from the peasant class. Almost every sect of Protestant Christendom has originated in the lower classes as a protest against what they felt was oppression by the superior classes. That their griefs were largely social is shown by their leaning toward apocalyptic hopes of a kingdom in which their wrongs would be righted; and the seriousness of their oppressions is indicated by the fact that they expected it to come suddenly. Their doctrines apart from this are mostly negative, another indication that they arose out of class consciousness.

[4] *Hibbert Lectures* (1883), 200–201.

[5] Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, III, 64–65.

They protested against wearing rich clothing, an expression of their antipathy toward their rich oppressors. They refused to bear arms and to take the civil oath because the state was in the hands of the class against which they were reacting. The ban of excommunication was enforced to purify the church of its false members, a thing their opponents refused to do. Baptism of infants was condemned because it was the policy of their oppressors. A paid ministry was abominated because the ministers of the great churches belonged to the class they hated.[6]

Religious sects will arise only when religion is the dominant interest. When political interest predominates, political parties will spring up. Or, if the cultural interest is dominant, schools of thought are formed.

This social heterogeneity brings the innovator and the adherents of tradition and custom into conflict. In some matters the upper classes will be the adherents of tradition and custom, and in others the reverse will be true. For example, in the post-Reformation period, when most of our modern sects had their rise, we find that the upper classes were the innovators so far as religious ideas are concerned and the lower classes were the more conservative. Ritschl has pointed out that the Pietistic sects have their roots, so far as ideas go, in the Catholic Middle Ages, and they are essentially conservative. They have made no contribution to religious thought. Luther and his followers, on the other hand, promulgated new ideas. These new ideas

[6] Giddings observes (*Elements of Sociology*, 223–224), " . . . . there is always danger that the governing circle may mistake its own ideas for what is politic, just, or wise in administration for the ideas of the general membership, and so create division and finally disruption.

"Illustrations of these truths may be drawn from every form of social organization. They have been most conspicuously demonstrated in such bodies as trade unions, business corporations, ecclesiastical societies, and political parties. The entire history of the Protestant church could be written from this point of view. It was because the governing hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church failed sufficiently to regard the convictions and the well-being of the entire body of its membership that the Protestant schism began. It was in like manner because the government-established churches, namely the Lutheran in Germany and the Episcopalian in England, failed to study the convictions and interests of their membership that further dissensions arose and the nonconformist bodies came into existence."

the lower classes were not able to comprehend. Hence, their ideas remained those with which they had been familiar. When Luther overthrew legalism in theology and substituted the conception of the free grace of God he was speaking above the experience of the masses and as a rule they were unable to follow him. Protestant though the latter were, they harked back to a pre-Protestant legalism. All they did was to substitute the legalism of apostolic Christianity and of the New Testament for Catholic legalism.

The claim of these sects to go back to apostolic and primitive Christianity and their appeal to the Bible, though perhaps not consciously so, was only an apologetic, or polemical, expedient to secure the assent of the conservative elements of society.[7] And they have done so because, either consciously or unconsciously, they have appreciated the strength of their appeal to tradition, custom, and the old.

The same thing is true of lower stages of development. In the early civilization it has often happened that the old ancestral cults, or even the cults of nature-worship, have been outlawed by the new national religion, but the lower and naturally more conservative classes still have clung to them. As a consequence these old cults, allied to the more conservative instincts of the lower classes, have been pushed into hiding and semi-secrecy with the result that "piety" was synonymous with reverence for the earlier kind of religion—among the classic nations, for ancestor-worship. An example is to be found in the survival of the old idolatries among the lower classes of society in ancient Israel in spite of the supremacy of the new national religion of Jahweh, backed by the prophets. Thus, here again we see the lower classes as the more conservative adherents of tradition and custom in opposition to the upper classes, the promulgators of the new ideas. Again, the evangelical churches, as against the sects, held to the more recently developed ideas, while the sects reverted to the old ideas of brotherhood and fellowship current in apostolic and New Testament times, but

[7] "Sect after sect of Protestants has proclaimed itself a restoration of apostolic Christianity."—Ross, *Social Psychology*, 281.

their opposition to the attitude of the upper classes was produced primarily by a sense of their unlikeness to those classes. They went back to the fellowship, to the ideas, to the practices, and to the form of organization of the primitive church because they felt themselves more like the people who held those ideas than like the people with whom they were in contact who held other ideas.

Another element entering into the rise of a religious sect is the eccentric man. Leaders have ever been indispensable to the formation of parties and sects. The leader gives expression to the felt sense of wrong, injustice, and oppression which his fellows feel but have not yet expressed. When such social conditions obtain, the man who appreciates their meaning first and who is able to give expression to the common sense of difference and who is able to suggest fellowship with another people and with the times and institutions more akin to his class—this man becomes a leader. In taking the leadership he is merely the mouthpiece of those who follow him. Ratzenhofer points out that "the sect only arises when intellectually influential individuals attain to a more or less definite answer to religious questions and elaborate formulas of faith which are enacted through rituals. . . . . The sect is a means of social union and of political purpose."[8] Moreover, as James, speaking of the Protestant sects of the Reformation, observes, the reason why the sectarians follow the leadership of the founder of the sect, although their disregard of leadership in the cult from which they revolt is promoted by both the spirit of the gospel and the isolation of the times, is because the leader of the sect is of the same social class as they themselves and is more intimately known by them.[9] He is the product of the conditions under which he lives and the only difference between him and the people whom he leads is his superior insight, his greater quickness of perception, and the deeper earnestness with which he feels the injustice of the conditions to which they all alike are subject. In such a case as this we have an example of the close relation between genius

[8] *Soziologie, Positive Lehre von den menschlichen Wechselbeziehungen.*

[9] *Varieties of Religion,* 371.

and eccentricity. Unsettled conditions of this sort give prominence alike to the man of genius and the "crank." The social unrest gives the "crank" his opportunity while ofttimes it serves to stimulate his unsocial habits. The very fact that he is out of joint with his time shows his anti-social attitude. He may be ahead of his time or he may be behind it. In the one case he is a Luther; in the other he is the leader of a backward-looking sect. This same social unrest makes the genius and enables his prophetic soul to voice the inarticulate longings of others less gifted than himself. In the time when social unrest is prominent, leadership is at a premium. The unusual man is in demand. The influence of this man in turn exercises a controlling influence in the affairs of the sect. His genius may be able to divert the sect far from its original purpose, or on the other hand, the socializing influences about him may lessen the differences between him and those against whom he is in opposition.

That this manner of accounting for the origin of sects is the correct one is shown by the light it throws upon their doctrines and practices. In the beginning their tenets are negative in their origin. They do *not* swear, do *not* take arms, do *not* wear gaudy clothing or ornaments, do *not* baptize infants, and do *not* have church sacraments. Then gradually they build up a body of positive doctrines and practices which easily can be seen to have been brought into the circle of social consciousness by their opposition to the social class holding the other doctrines.

Again, the conflict of sects, often much alike in their tenets, is explicable by these same principles of social life. Originating or developing in places separated from each other, later on they come into contact. This contact induces conflict, even though they hold much the same views on theological and ecclesiastical questions. This shows once more that this conflict is social rather than religious or theological in nature. Examples are furnished by the acrimonious debates carried on and the antipathy felt for each other by such sects as the Mennonites and Dunkers at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the early history of

their settlement there; and the mutual opposition of the Lutherans and Reformed in Pennsylvania in its early history.

This conflict of sects is an illustration of what Ward calls "social synergy," i.e., unconscious working-together toward a higher social state by assimilation of ideals through conflict.[10] This conflict prepares the way for toleration. Thus, in England under the Tudors, who early pursued the policy of unification of the English people in religion, three lines of thought were moving toward and preparing the way for toleration, viz., the Independents with independent congregations not to be meddled with by a state church; the Quakers with an individual conscience not to be coerced by others; and the Platonists, Latitudinarians, and Unitarians who held reason uppermost, as against tradition. It finally led to the *Agreement of the People* of 1649 in which the position was taken that all sects were to be tolerated. This failed of national adoption by reason of the coalition of the two parties who had never been in favor of toleration, the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians.

What account does this sociological theory give of the lessening hostility of the sects in America in these later years of history?

In the early days one sect fought another with the same energy with which they had once antagonized the established churches in Europe, and only less violently. That, as has been indicated, was due to social heterogeneity. The condition of heresy and anarchy is one of social heterogeneity combined with the exercise of despotic power in the effort to produce uniformity of thought, custom, costume, creed, dogma, fashion, or political form of government. In times of social heterogeneity faith is strong both in those in authority and those oppressed. With the growth of social likeness, and therefore of tolerance, the certainty of faith gives way to general indifference and doubt. Social homogeneity produces social tolerance in every realm; religious differences, as well as all other social variation, tend to disappear, but with this tolerance goes doubt, questioning, and the failure of earnest faith.

[10] *Am. Jour. Soc.*, January, 1908, 440.

While that isolation due to social unlikeness and lack of communication and association produced faith and a sense of brotherhood and a unity within the sect uncommon now, it resulted in a narrowness of sympathy, a limitation of social consciousness which was to be deprecated from the standpoint of the greater social unit, the nation. It developed an intensity of conviction and a fraternity which were good so far as they went and doubtless prepared the way for further socialization. Its limitation was its narrow extent.

With changing social conditions, however, all this has been altered. The isolated communities no longer exist, except in a few parts of the country, like the Kentucky mountains, Amana, and such social communities still shut off from the world by artificial barriers ultimately doomed to fall. The railroad, the telephone, and the mail route have done away with the conditions which fostered peculiar community developments. The mountains have been tunneled, roads have been built, telephones installed, expositions have drawn together people of scattered communities, industry has become a bond of unity. Communication, association, acquaintanceship, have made people more alike, as well as more conscious of their likenesses. Science is dispelling our superstitions, education is making the intellectual heritage of man ours, and a social homogeneity is displacing the former social heterogeneity.

Therefore, whether a society shall have sects or not is determined by the homogeneity of that society in mental and moral traits. This condition, in turn, depends upon the degree to which the process of socialization has gone on. This again is contingent upon the physical configuration, and the natural endowment of the region together with the advances of civilization which there have been reached.

What the future holds in store for the sects is clearly indicated by what has been said. If the past tendency toward assimilation and unity in blood, thought, and activity continues, doubtless we shall see the present tendency of religious sects to unite culminate in the lessening of the number by consolidation of similar sects. More and more the agreements will be empha-

sized, the differences ignored, until the growing social unity shall have found expression in more or less complete ecclesiastical unity.

On the other hand, there are some evidences that, while ethnic unity may come to pass, industrial, economic, and social unity has begun to suffer. Growing wealth has struck lines of cleavage through our population. This is giving us social classes based not on blood, but on money, culture, and social position. There is good reason to suppose that these class distinctions will find their expression in the continuance of certain great ecclesiastical organizations, which represent such social distinctions, and that new ones will be organized to meet the needs of classes not met by the present organizations. The churches of the future will, as in the past, reflect the social conditions of our people. At the meeting of the Sociological Society of America in 1907 the discussion brought out the general agreement among sociologists that the unifying tendency present from the beginning of our American people will be halted along lines herein indicated. Sects there will be so long as there are social classes with a pronounced consciousness of difference and likeness. They will disappear when, and only when, the social homogeneity of our people shall extend not only to blood but to those subtler elements of likeness—thought, feeling, and volition, through community of interest and equality of opportunity.

SOCIOLOGY IN NORMAL SCHOOLS

FREDERICK R. CLOW
State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wis.

The readers of this article should know that the writer is not a professional sociologist. My academic training was in the other social sciences—in economics as a major, and in political science and history as minors. After becoming a teacher in a normal school I took up sociology, first for the help it might give to the other branches, and later to teach it in a tentative way to small classes of selected students. In this way I have come to see some possibilities in it for the training of teachers.

These possibilities will be treated here only with reference to the normal schools, and particularly the state normal schools of the Northwest, since it is with these that the writer is best acquainted. The teachers' colleges in connection with the universities meet this question in quite a different way: if they consider sociology necessary for the would-be teacher, they may require it for entrance or include it in the studies to be selected out of the hundreds already offered in other departments. The normal schools, on the other hand, usually exist apart from other institutions, and receive their students from the high schools or elementary schools in which sociology is not taught. So if they consider sociology necessary, they must include it in their own curricula.

The usual curriculum in these state normal schools requires two years' work of the high-school graduate. The student whose academic attainments are less than those of the high-school graduate enters the "elementary course" of the normal school. The normal student in his senior year is therefore of the same rank as the college sophomore. This curriculum, however, is not universal. Some normal schools have only the elementary course, and on the other side some have a four-year

course for high-school graduates and grant the Bachelor's degree. These variations also are omitted from consideration here. The usual two-year course has for its particular function the training of teachers for the grades in the elementary schools of the cities and villages. This means that the bulk of the students are women. It also means that if they study sociology it is not at all with a view to teaching it but simply to equip them for teaching in general.

For the facts in regard to the existing position of sociology in the normal schools, I first used the article by Mr. Bernard in the issue of this *Journal* for last September. He states in the article that he sent his questionnaire to 129 state normal schools and received replies from 26 which teach sociology. I have found enough more to raise the number to 40, and my returns are still far from complete. Most of these schools are in the north-central and northwestern states. Outside of this region there are three in Massachusetts, and one each in New York, Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, Missouri, Oklahoma, California, and Colorado.

The earliest introduction of sociology into a normal school, as given in the table in Mr. Bernard's article, was at Valley City, N.D. This, however, is an error. Professor J. M. Gillette, now of the University of North Dakota, writes me that he introduced sociology at Valley City in 1903. This gives the priority, as far as present information goes, to Minnesota where "social science" was placed by the state board in 1895 in the curriculum prescribed for all of the state normal schools. The school at Winona announced in its catalogue of that year that the course would "acquaint the student with the principles of social and economic science." The teacher was Manfred J. Holmes. This course in the Minnesota normal schools has rarely been called sociology. Sometimes economics or civics has been given to meet the requirement.

The next introduction was at Milwaukee, Wis. Mr. W. H. Cheever, who has taught sociology there the past twelve years, writes as follows:

President L. D. Harvey discussed in faculty meeting the advisability of establishing a course in sociology in connection with this school. It met with cordial support on the part of every member of the faculty so far as I remember. Mr. Harvey administered the course for about two years. following pretty closely Small and Vincent's text. I sat with the classes a greater part of the time and it grew upon me that there was a great field for teachers in this work.

After Mr. Harvey became state superintendent, the work fell to me. I changed the work in some respects, making it more concrete and connected with it frequent visits to places of social interest in the city. My purpose in doing this was to arouse sympathetic interest in the study of those things which were later to come in the field of economics. I tried also to get our students interested in the social centers, playgrounds, etc., in the city and they have always had a prominent part in connection with those things.

The whole purpose of the work has been to make students observing and thoughtful as to the social conditions surrounding their pupils which influence their work so vitally.

I myself had had no special training in sociology when I began this work, beyond the deep interest that I have always felt in these matters.

The interesting thing about this beginning at Milwaukee is that it grew so naturally out of purely pedagogical interests, and not at all out of an interest in sociology *per se*. Here is President Harvey's own account of it:

Answering your inquiry I have to say that the course in sociology organized in the State Normal School in Milwaukee in 1896 grew out of the feeling that some knowledge of society, its development and its problems, and such an interest as might be developed through this study would be of more use to young men and women going out to teach than some of the other things we were teaching. I have never studied sociology in the university or college, but became interested in the subject, in a way, while teaching economics in the Oshkosh Normal School. The study I gave to it was not the close, critical, and intensive study of the university. I never had that opportunity, but my interest grew out of a rather wide reading, starting with economic subjects and developing into a somewhat wider range. That interest was perhaps heightened by the fact that all my life I had been a reader of newspapers and good periodical literature in an attempt to keep abreast with current thought. It was a difficult problem to work out and was not worked out satisfactorily when I left Milwaukee. One of the difficulties grew out of the fact that at that time the literature available for that class of students and adapted to the time we could give to it was fragmentary. Some of the professors did not think it was worth

while to do anything unless we could give a scientific course in sociology such as the university gave. That seemed to me to be entirely out of the question. We got together such books and such fugitive articles as were available, and took the subject as a sort of reading-course—not a very good plan you will doubtless think, but probably the best we could do under the circumstances. The difficulty was to get a man to handle the subject who knew enough about it, and had interest enough in it to find material and to make the subject interesting to the class. Mr. Cheever handled the work while I was there, and I know he succeeded in getting considerable interest on the part of the students.

I have always believed that there should be such a course in our normal schools. Our students need a little outlook in this field. It will make them better men and women, and put them closer in touch with the social problems of the community in which they live. I had not known of any such work being given anywhere outside the university when I attempted to organize it in Milwaukee.

It is usual in the normal schools to treat sociology as an alternative or supplement to economics. In Michigan two out of the five schools offer sociology. The beginning of sociology in the Illinois normal schools was in 1900, at De Kalb, by John A. H. Keith, who is now president of the school at Oshkosh, Wis. It is also taught at Normal, Carbondale, and Macomb. It was formerly taught at Charleston, but has just been replaced by economics. The teacher, Mr. S. E. Thomas, writes: "Experience seemed to show that a course in economics was more valuable than a course in the more general subject of sociology." Of the eight Wisconsin schools only two, Milwaukee and Oshkosh, teach sociology. All teach economics except Oshkosh which dropped it last year.

The big Iowa school at Cedar Falls was about to introduce sociology last spring when the plan was checked by the death of the teacher, Mr. L. W. Parish, in a railroad accident. In the big Kansas school at Emporia sociology is the last of the seven courses in the department of economics. The new man in charge, Dr. Walter R. Smith, is making it more prominent. "I feel," he writes, "that it forms the very best training for teachers." At Peru, Neb., the larger of the two schools in the state, sociology is an elective. President A. O. Thomas, of the other school at Kearney, after explaining why his school cannot teach

sociology, adds: "We believe the subject is a growing one and vastly important, and it will not be long until it will be taken up more generally as a part of the preparation of teachers." The state superintendent, Mr. E. C. Bishop, writes in a similar strain.

In the northern tier of states from Minnesota to the Pacific coast sociology is more prominent than economics. Since 1905 South Dakota has required either economics or sociology for a life certificate. All four of the normal schools offer sociology, and one offers economics as well, considering the two subjects equally important. Sociology is taught in the two normal schools of North Dakota, the one in Montana, and the three in Washington. In Idaho there are two schools. The one at Albion offers economics and considers it more important than sociology. The school at Lewiston offers both subjects but considers sociology the more important. Sociology is also taught at Monmouth, Ore.

Such are the facts of the case. In passing judgment on them the present writer finds that most of his own ideas have been expressed many times before by others. The need, therefore, is to bring them together into a rather formal arrangement, and I shall not hesitate to repeat some commonplaces.

If sociology is the science of society it purports to be it must have something of value for an understanding of the school. In the first place the school itself is a society. A pupil learns more from his fellow-pupils than from the teacher. He reacts upon his environment as a whole, responding each moment to the dominant stimulus. The teacher is only one source of stimuli, and there are a thousand others. The most the teacher can do is to control the environment so that the stimuli coming from it will be of the right kind. Rousseau's ideal of a teacher with one pupil is rarely realized, and even when it is teacher and pupil are *socii*. The teaching process is always and everywhere a social process.

But the school does not exist by itself. Each pupil in the school is a member of numerous other societies: the family, the group of playmates in the neighborhood, the street gang, the

church, the dancing-class, and so on. The teacher herself belongs to many such groups. These outside associations often obtrude their influences upon the school; the skilful teacher will discover them and either convert them into allies of the school or else count them among the forces which are to be neutralized as far as possible.

The school is also influenced by societies which have an entirely different membership from itself: the coterie of mothers, the woman's club, the trade union, the employees of a neighboring factory, the habitués of a saloon or livery stable. These influences, often secret and unfriendly, need to be detected and reckoned with. Finally, there is the community as a whole, the mass of humanity residing in a given territory—the school district, village, or ward—with its original political bond overlaid by innumerable others, and constituting a plexus of social relations surpassing the power of any mind to trace through all their manifestations. But the community is larger than this local political unit. It extends in successively widening areas to township or city, county, state, and nation. Out of this community the school grows as a differentiated part, a social organ drawing support from the whole and controlled in a large way by it. In this community the children when grown up must find their respective positions for industrial, political, cultural, and recreational activity.

It follows from all of this that the science of the school and of the teaching-process must be a social science. Now sociology attempts to discover the general principles which run through all social institutions; it claims for itself the position of master science in the group of social sciences. Then sociology may become basal to the science of teaching. This is the way the situation appears on its face when approached from a certain direction—that of the sociologist.

To many practical teachers, on the other hand, the situation appears very different. The most general knowledge also seems the most useless, and the high generality of sociology fits it to keep company with metaphysics. Many minds, as every teacher knows, seem unable to handle generalities in any other way than

to learn them by rote. Even the most scientific of us, the psychologists say, think in terms of concrete images more than we ordinarily suppose. The teacher who is a genius *feels* the social situation and instinctively *does* the right thing; even the passably good teacher must have some feeling of that kind. And then a generalized truth is no guide by itself; there must also be apprehension of the particular situation before even the simplest rule can be applied. Teaching is an art to be acquired by practice. Again, the grade teachers have no need of the philosophy and science of education. That is only for principals, supervisors, and superintendents who have to determine policies.

Between these two extreme views every normal school must effect a compromise. For the born teacher the normal school may not be able to do much. Geniuses of all kinds get little direct benefit from schools. The function of the normal school is to make teachers out of the young people who come with capacities of all kinds and degrees. Aside from requiring a knowledge of the branches they may have to teach, the normal school seeks to give them, or develop in them, these three things: (1) a philosophy of education—some conception of the aim and function of the teacher's work; (2) the science of education—an understanding of the materials and forces which the teacher has to handle; and (3) the art of teaching—facility in doing the routine work which the teacher has to do.

Though philosophy of education is not often formally announced among courses of study, there is plenty of evidence that the normal schools believe in it. Every worker in every walk of life down to the humblest toiler in mine or factory has some conception of the aim and function of his work, some mental attitude toward it; and what that attitude is goes far to determine the quality of the product. No schools lay greater emphasis on developing the right attitude than do the normal schools; hear the president of one of them talk for five minutes and the thought will come out. But philosophies nowadays are treated with scant respect unless they are founded on science. Philosophies of education are related to philosophies of society,

and like them should find their foundation in the social sciences. Before we can define the aim of education, or the function of the school, or the duty of the teachers, we must have a theory or conception of society, either expressed or implied; and this should square with the results of all the social sciences which sociology tries to bring together in generalized form.

That the normal schools believe in teaching the science of education appears on a mere glance at their courses of study. Pedagogy and theory of teaching are the titles under which it most often appears. Generalized knowledge in the form of science has been the chief factor in the industrial revolution of the last century and a half. All the arts are now being revolutionized, and the art of teaching is no exception. The normal schools are sifting all that science has discovered about the child and the teaching-process to select that which will help the teachers. Most normal schools also teach history of education so as to enable each student to do some sifting for himself.

The pure science which the normal schools rely on the most as the foundation for their science of education is psychology. They usually require at least a semester of it, and employ their ablest teachers for it. From a scientific point of view it is the backbone of the normal-school curriculum. But psychology is the science of mind, and mind exists only in the individual, while the school is a social institution and teaching is a social process. Though we use such terms as "social mind," "public opinion," "national sentiment," "spirit of the age," and there are real things corresponding to these terms, the terms themselves are figurative; the things they designate are not really mental but only certain phenomena in the behavior of masses of people. The psychologist, it is true, studies the operations of mind under the stimulus of communication from other individuals. But that wave-like progress of communication through a mass of individuals, though based on the operation of individual minds, is a phenomenon of another order; it is a social phenomenon with laws of its own. These laws have been unfolded to our view during the past quarter-century, first by some sociologists on the continent of Europe—Tarde, Le Bon, Gumplowicz, and

Ratzenhofer—and then by the Americans—Ward, Giddings, Ross, Small, Sidis, and Cooley.

The thought of the last seven paragraphs may be summed up in syllogistic form as follows: (1) The normal schools try to give their students a scientific knowledge of the school and the teaching-process to serve as a foundation for the art and philosophy of teaching. (2) The school is a society, and is linked in with other societies in the community; the teaching-process is always a social process. (3) Sociology, the science which treats of social institutions and processes, would serve the purpose of the normal schools as much as the psychology they already teach.

But another link is necessary in this chain of reasoning. As stated above, the conclusion implies a third premise, namely, that sociology really is the science which it purports to be. This is not the place to discuss the denials which have been given to this assumption, first by the economists, then by the historians, and more recently by the political scientists. The present writer will not venture a direct answer. But his experience as a teacher of sociology may throw some light on the question and perhaps be more directly useful for the purposes of this article.

In the first place I find plenty of interest in the subject—perhaps greater than students in another kind of school would show, because normal-school students see that it is the study of the very things they must handle as teachers. Economics is an equally interesting study to boys, but to girls it is not; their experience of industrial life is too limited, and they do not look forward to playing an active part in it. In sociology, on the other hand, outside of the economic and political phases, girls are fully equal to the boys in the richness of their experience and the keenness of their expectations.

Then there is the alleged lack of definiteness in the scope of sociology and of agreement respecting its fundamental principles. Last year, in selecting topics and references, I went through much of the literature of sociology which seemed available for the use of students. The lack of agreement in both these respects was much less than I had expected. In fact the

disagreement was not notably greater in sociology than I had previously found it to be in economics. This experience led me to the conclusion that there is as high a degree of definiteness in the fundamentals of sociology as it is wholesome to have in any growing science. My correspondence with normal-school presidents shows that they do not shy at the scientific character of sociology. They are no more purists in science than in etymology; they do not question the possibility of a science of society any more than they question the legitimacy of the word sociology. They almost unanimously admit the importance of sociology. Their questions are these: (1) Can normal-school students grasp sociology? (2) How can room be made for it in the curriculum?

The literature of sociology, however, is at present imperfectly adapted to school use. There are only half a dozen usable textbooks in existence. Though each possesses some excellent qualities and the later ones show improvement, there are still promising methods of arrangement and presentation for which the equipment does not exist. The good textbook, I suppose, is never made off-hand; it is rather the result of a long evolution, the survivor of many failures. So the school that introduces sociology now should expect to introduce a new textbook every year; the school must also have a teacher who is able to organize the subject without a textbook, and then give him time enough to reorganize it often. It is much the same with the standard works to which the students must be sent for collateral reading. Agreement on a simple but adequate terminology, sloughing off the unnecessary technicalities, development of the successive topics so that each seems to grow naturally and inevitably out of its predecessor and all combine to build up a great central thought—these achievements are yet to come in sociology. They have come in certain parts of it, but the classical treatise which does this for the subject as a whole has not yet appeared. Let us hope, however, that it is now being written. That treatise need not be superior to existing works in scientific character; I have already admitted that there seems to be reasonable agreement among sociologists as to fundamentals.

The need is rather pedagogical and literary, which means that the arrangement and expression must everywhere be clear, free from obscurities, readily understandable—both in its parts and as a whole. Meanwhile any class of young students who are put into sociology must have a skilful pilot, or else they can apply to themselves every day the legend which one of my students inscribed on the cover of her notebook: "We're floundering again!"

The position sociology is ultimately to hold in the normal schools is as yet undetermined. So far the normal schools have only experimented with sociology. In Minnesota where it is required in all the schools the results are not entirely satisfactory, and the schools differ widely among themselves in their method of handling it. Elsewhere its present position as an elective, as an alternative to economics or a supplement to civics, is a good one for testing its possibilities; but as a permanent arrangement it would seem to me anomalous. There is danger that interest in sociology may be on account of its merely sensational features—to peer into the pathological and the curious—as is sometimes the case with elementary physiology; the origins of society have as much food for morbid curiosity as the origins of life. No, I believe sociology will go either one way or the other; we must either throw it out altogether as a dangerous fad, or else give it a place at the center of the curriculum such as psychology now occupies.

This makes the crucial problem the *modus vivendi* to be established with psychology and the curriculum as a whole. Shall psychology be crowded into one-half the time now given to it? Shall the arithmetic, geography, and history make a place for sociology? Shall the pedagogy and practice-teaching be cut down a semester? Shall history of education vacate in favor of sociology? Or finally, shall sociology be given by the psychologist as an addendum to his course, or shall psychology be abolished as a separate study and handled by the sociologist as an introduction to his course? It looks a little as if the choice might be between this last pair of alternatives. If it should there is no doubt that for a time at least the

psychologist will hold the ground. But the sociologist may win in the end. Sociology presupposes psychology (Peace to Professor Sumner's ashes!), while psychology does not presuppose sociology. The disposition of psychologists now is to limit their science to the general principles of psychical life, and leave the numerous applications of those principles to go under other names. Therefore the sociologist may be expected to be the better equipped of the two for the dual rôle. The sudden development of "social psychology" just now is facilitating some such arrangement as this. The books that have appeared under this title, however, are sociology rather than psychology.

My psychological colleague, Dr. Maurice H. Small, disapproves of the foregoing paragraph. The true foundation of education, he says, is neither psychological nor sociological, but biological. The individual springs from a single cell, subject to the law of multiplication and differentiation, and of organization in systematic colonies. This genetic development divides into two parts, the psychological and the sociological. This may all be true, but the normal school must decide whether to have one teacher, or two, or three, to lay this bifurcated foundation.

What kind of sociology will the normal schools teach? In Bernard's article there are returns about methods from twenty schools. The practical method receives large emphasis in nine, moderate in four, small in one, and is not mentioned by six. Theory receives large emphasis in one, moderate in three, small in two, and is excluded in three, while eleven make no mention of it. There are also returns for the psychological, statistical, and historical methods. But none of these returns signify much, for the subject is too intricate to be answered in a single word. Some teachers are known to emphasize observation of neighborhood conditions, to take classes on visits to factories, social settlements, prisons, etc., and the writer has found a little use of that method helpful. One thing, however, is certain. If sociology is to attain the prominent place in the normal-school curriculum which is marked out for it above, it will be as a closely-knit science and not as a course of excursions and stereopticon lectures. Like the psychology taught today it will consist of the maximum of theory, i.e., all that the students

can take in and assimilate, with the minimum of descriptive matter necessary to make the theory go down. The justification for sociology in the normal schools, if there be any at all, is that the principles of society are the foundation of the principles of teaching. The practical applications should be only incidental to the development of the principles, or should be left for the courses in pedagogy.

The idea of some teachers of sociology that students under twenty are lacking in the concrete knowledge of society necessary for the study of theory seems to me to be founded on a misconception. If the teacher will use the knowledge of society which the students have, and not look for what they do not have, he will find sufficient background for his theory.

The outcome of the work of the committee appointed by the American Sociological Society to standardize the beginning course in sociology for the colleges and universities of the country will have a bearing on the position sociology is to take in the normal schools. Many students who graduate at the normal schools subsequently go to the university. Here in Wisconsin, for instance, it is arranged that normal-school graduates may enter the university as juniors. Then if Sociology 1 in the university consists of a general view of the subject, somewhat like Economics 1, normal graduates can have credit for it when they go to the university, but otherwise there would be some trouble about the articulation.

The final outcome will also depend in part on what the high schools do with sociology. Some disposition exists to introduce it there. President Harvey believes in it, and there are some textbooks designed to that end. But the normal schools cannot ask their students to repeat courses which they have already pursued successfully in the high school.

The only word of advice the writer feels like urging is to go slowly. No one can yet say fairly that every normal school must teach sociology in order to be "onto its job." Everything is still in the experimental stage. The outcome cannot now be foreseen. Many adjustments remain to be made before we can proceed with assurance. But developments are under way and it behooves us to watch them.

REVIEWS

The Races of Man and Their Distribution. By A. C. HADDON. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1910. Pp. x+126. $0.50.

The book presents briefly a discussion of the usual physical basis of classification of mankind; a definition of race, people, tribe, and nation; a classification of man by texture of hair; and, at greater length, a discussion of the natural distribution of races and peoples according to areas. A short and suggestive and in general a well-selected bibliography, a glossary, and an index follow the text. There are also ten half-tones of racial types.

Any classification is of value, for the purpose for which it is made, if it is logical and is strictly adhered to by the user. At times a classification is so valuable that it appeals to practically all persons who are attempting to think scientifically in the field of thought classified. Dr. Haddon's classification of the groups of man on the basis of the character of hair is not such a classification, though he says of it: "On the whole, the hair appears to be the most useful character in classifying the main groups of mankind." I doubt the usefulness of this classification to the layman or the student in America, since he may see any day in our cities a white fellow-citizen with "straight hair," another with "wavy hair," and others with "so-called woolly hair." Nor will the layman be greatly enlightened or benefited in his attempted use of this classification when he reads of straight-haired men as "leiotrichous," the wavy-haired as "cymotrichous," and the others as "ulotrichous."

Personally I am glad that Dr. Haddon gave only so short a space to his "Classification of Mankind," and that eight times as much space is taken up with his "Distribution of Races and Peoples According to Areas." After all, the classification of man by the five large geographic areas—which is the one Dr. Haddon really uses—is the one most useful for the layman and for the university instructor of the elementary facts of mankind. The five large geographic areas of the Americas, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Oceania are, for all our purposes, stable and fixed; most read-

ers of such a book have a fairly clear knowledge of these five areas as a basis for the classification of man. Given the geographic basis, it is easy to read, and it is certainly as clear as sunlight to teach, the facts about other groups of men in a given area besides the group which is typical there; and the geographic basis is the only one allowing a clear conception of migrations.

I do not know whether Dr. Haddon's little book was written primarily for the layman or the student, but if it were more voluminous and detailed it would meet the requirements for a university textbook in elementary ethnology better than any other book in the field. Keane's *Ethnology* is too cyclopedic for an elementary class if the instructor adds in lectures constantly accumulating valuable data; his *World's Peoples* brings in a great deal of material about different people which is entirely valueless, but which an elementary student lacks knowledge to allow him to throw out; one-third of Deniker's *Races of Man* is given up to "sociological" data which belong to other courses in a university today if the field of the study of man is well occupied. Dr. Haddon's book is valuable as an ethnological treatise because it "sticks to the text" of ethnic or race characteristics so admirably; however, there are only 102 pages of text. Ethnic maps of the five geographic areas, even folded maps for the sake of size, would have added much to the little book for the student, and certainly would have been greatly appreciated by the layman.

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

La psychologie politique et la défense sociale. Par DR. GUSTAVE LE BON. Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1910. Pp. 379.

The author of *The Crowd* sounds in this book another note of alarm and of warning to his countrymen. The familiar theories of "The Psychology of Peoples," "The Psychology of Socialism," "The Psychology of Education" are reiterated and applied to the conditions of France today. Dr. Le Bon takes a gloomy view of the situation. He sees the rapid spread of state control with its blight of bureaucracy and wasteful inefficiency. Public men coerced by fear and against their own judgments yield to popular clamor. Discipline and order daily grow weaker. A leveling process goes

on rapidly. Mediocrity is exalted while specialized ability and social distinction are objects of envy and hatred. The working-classes, through labor unions and professional syndicates, are becoming dominant. The *bourgeoisie* are timid and lack energy and initiative. The *élite* upon whom the nation must depend for its progress are either cynical, despairing, or indifferent. Education is utterly unequal to the national problem and the teachers are tainted by socialistic doctrines. Legislation dominated by sentimentalism and disregarding all sound principles of psychology and economics is futile and demoralizing. Parliamentary government is unpopular. It is suspected by the working-class which demands direct intervention and feared by the capitalists who dread its devastating influence on business. The state instead of utilizing the great power of religion unnecessarily antagonizes and persecutes the church. Internationalism in many forms is insidiously weakening patriotism, the "social cement" (p. 370). War, the greatest moral disciplinary agency which a national group has at its command, is decried by visionaries who dream of a utopian world-peace.

Much of all this Dr. Le Bon is prepared to endure as necessary even if evil. Parliamentary government will probably persist a long time because it is best fitted for modern society. The influence of public opinion must be reckoned with, but the *élite* must learn "to dike and to canalize the fantasies of the many, as the engineer dikes and canalizes the force of a torrent" (p. 122). The faith of the people must be preserved. "It is a terrible thing for a people to have lost its gods" (p. 359). Discipline and restraint must be insisted upon. "Every civilization involves irksome restraint. . . . . Social bonds created by civilization are maintained only by constant effort" (p. 363). Patriotism which implies the idea of country, an army, a social hierarchy, respect for authority, mental discipline, must be consciously cultivated. "We cannot live except through it [country]; we ought to live for it" (p. 370). The *bourgeoisie* must arouse themselves and organize, as in the Stockholm strike, to curb and limit the dominant influence of the working-class. This demands sacrifices. Luxury and ostentation of wealth must be foregone, self-discipline must be exercised, education made more practical and effective, a sense of social responsibility cultivated. The *élite* must throw off their apathy and courageously take their places as leaders. The hour demands not fatalistic despair but will. "It is not fate that rules the world; it is will" (p. 375). A vigorous

paragraph from Mr. Roosevelt's Sorbonne address is quoted with approval as the very tonic which the French nation needs.

This book has all the virtues and the well-known weaknesses of the author. It is brilliant, incisive, dogmatic, suggestive. It insists on the irrationality, impulsiveness and incompetence of the multitude. It exalts the capable few. But it is one-sided and prejudiced. No view of society which regards the "mores" of the many as merely necessary evils to be endured or minimized can ever supply the faith which must give will-power to leadership. Dr. Le Bon's remedy is as utopian as he deems that of the socialists, if the *élite* are convinced that this political psychology is sound and complete.

G. E. V.

A Comparative Study of the Play Activities of Adult Savages and Civilized Children. An Investigation of the Scientific Basis of Education. By L. Estelle Appleton, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. vii+94. 50 cents.

This monograph constitutes an examination, from the point of view of the play activities, of what has been variously named in sociology, biology, and education the recapitulation or culture-epoch theory. Reports of the play of five widely separated tribes are examined: the Veddahs, Australians, Bushmen, Yahgans, and Eskimos, and these are compared with five different studies of the play of American children. With respect to bodily or somatic characteristics there is no very marked difference between the two groups. Both use movements of the whole body in much of their play and employ a specialized activity of part of the body—the hand, for instance—in part. The author states in her summary, however, that the children use the specialized movements to a greater extent than the savages. In the matter of organization again the same forms appear in the play of the two groups—with one exception. The highest form of organization, in which there are a definitely limited number of players, a differentiation in their functions, and elaborate rules of procedure—as in baseball for instance—is not found among savages. Furthermore there is no permanent organization for the sake of games among the savages. The childrens' plays are on the whole more complex.

The chief difference, however, and one that is very marked, is

found in the mental processes involved in play. The games which consist in motor activity are more complex in the case of the children and therefore involve a higher degree of intellectual activity, but beyond this there are many plays and games in which the intellectual process is the essence. These range all the way from guessing games to chess.

The period of childhood in which the play most nearly corresponds to that of adult savages extends from the years seven to fifteen, but there are many discrepancies. For instance intellectual characteristics not found in savage play occur in the play of younger children. The periods of development phylogenetically do not correspond then to the ontogenetic periods but "a process of differentiation has been going on throughout the cultural period which has profoundly modified not only the final product, i.e., the product found in civilization, but also all the intervening stages" (p. 74). This sentence sums up the author's conclusion, but it itself is not altogether clear. Do the "intervening stages" refer to the stages in ontogenetic development, as the general trend of the argument would indicate, or to the phylogenetic stages as the phrase "product found in civilization" would indicate?

By way of general criticism, it may be said that while the author has made her case that the ontogenetic and phylogenetic parallelism in play is subject to important modification, yet her discussion at points lacks clearness and consistency. For instance, on p. 31 she distinctly describes the "pair" and "double pair" organization as games while in the diagram on p. 33 she describes them as "play rather than games." Again it would have added much to the clearness and value of the discussion if she had included the chart which forms the basis of her description.

FRANK N. FREEMAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Wage-earning Women. By ANNIE MARION MACLEAN, PH.D., Professor of Sociology, Adelphi College. The Citizens Library. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. xv+202. $1.25 net.

This book consists of selected material from a large report made to the National Board of Young Womens' Christian Associations by the author assisted by a field staff of twenty-nine

women and a clerical force. The plan used was to study typical conditions in representative occupations in the various parts of the United States. A somewhat easy-going, though not careless or loose schedule method was used. The chosen fields of inquiry were the paper, shoe, and textile trades in New England; textiles, clothing, paper goods, and department stores in New York City; garment-makers, electrical workers, and saleswomen in Chicago; silk, thread, and pottery workers in New Jersey towns; makers of clothes, buttons, thread, and beer in the Middle West; hop-pickers in Oregon; fruit-workers in California; and workers in the coal-fields in Pennsylvania. Accompanying each of these studies of a locality are generalizations and recommendations as to improvement, all being followed by a chapter on "Uplifting Forces" and another on "Suggestions for Improvement."

It is the opinion of the reviewer that the findings of the study are quite generally valid while the manner of presentation is unusually good for material gathered by the statistical method. On the whole the book is a series of pictures taken of four hundred establishments employing 135,000 women in more than a score of cities—pictures, because the story makes vivid impressions; it is not dull and dry but full of tones and color. Moreover, there is a force and directness that make the story at once interesting and convincing. The book is full of good paragraphs and sentences for quotation, of which the following may show both the message and the manner:

> Unquestionably, the most serious problems that the young girl at home has to face are low wages and the constant jeopardizing of her health by the occupation in which she engages. . . . . The necessity for self-support becomes the dominant force in driving the young girl out to seek employment, and in compelling her to keep her place once she has obtained it. . . . .
>
> The prime function of woman must ever be the perpetuating of the race. If these other activities render her physically or morally unfit for the discharge of this larger social duty, then woe to the generations that not only permit but encourage such wanton prostitution of function. The woman is worth more to society in dollars and cents as the mother of healthy children than as the swiftest labeler of cans. Yet our present industrial practice would indicate a preponderance of value in the latter. Five years of factory work may, and frequently do, render a girl of twenty-one nearly or quite a physical wreck, so far as normal functioning is concerned. She may live thirty or forty years, she may even continue as a wage-earner, but at what a cost!

The recommendations are marked not so much by novelty as by sanity: improved and uniform legislation, the promotion of greater efficiency among employees, reduction of hours and raising of wages, residential clubs on a self-supporting basis, closer co-operation among existing organizations for social betterment, far-reaching studies as to the effects of different occupations on health, and better recreational opportunities. The work has been well done and the findings and recommendations should be extremely valuable. Moreover, the very fact that such a study was made prerequisite to a program of work should save the National Board from any criticism of superficiality or sentimentality, but, best of all, should go a long way toward insuring the best results with as few mistakes as possible.

THOMAS J. RILEY

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS

Where Shall She Live? The Homelessness of the Woman Worker. By MARY HIGGS AND EDWARD E. HAYWARD. London: P. S. King & Son, 1910. 8vo. Pp. viii+216.

This volume contains a great deal of extremely miscellaneous information—a very general chapter by the second of the two collaborators on "The Woman Worker of Today," a very general account of the housing problem with a description of the homes in which sweated women work, an account of the "living-in system" which victimizes the shop assistant, a review of the "housing accommodation available for . . . . girl clerks, typists, etc., and those engaged in the 'professional' occupations," and, finally, a series of chapters dealing with women who are destitute or degraded, unemployed or unemployable, and who have been forced to seek refuge in common lodging-houses or the casual ward of the workhouse. The subtitle of the book is misleading for it is the destitute woman rather than the working woman with whom the writers are chiefly concerned. There are six chapters beginning with chap. iv, "The Workhouse and the Casual Ward for Women," which deal with the classes of women who resort to lodging-houses, many of them vagrant women of the streets, and the kind of accommodation they find there. Different aspects of the common lodging-house are dealt with and lodging-house law is discussed. There are also

chapters dealing with municipal lodging-houses for women and some of the recently established "private lodging-homes."

It is scarcely necessary to add that the book disappoints the reader by failing to give any satisfactory treatment of the housing problem in its relation to the working woman's difficult problem of living on a small and precarious wage. Such a discussion to be fruitful must carefully separate different grades of women workers and all workers must again be separated from the unemployables, the permanently destitute, and the degraded. Only confusion results from an attempt to treat this problem as if it were identical for large and unrelated groups of women who have nothing in common except the fact that they work. Even if the discussion were confined to the group, say, of those employed in industrial occupations and alternative employments, many lines of discrimination would necessarily have to be drawn even within the group.

The present volume will be of interest in cities where the project of a municipal lodging-house for women is engaging attention. There is, as Mrs. Higgs points out, in every city a statum of women just above the workhouse "struggling hard for self-maintenance in which, by every possible means, the community should encourage them." A safe and temporary shelter such as the properly conducted municipal lodging-house supplies will often prevent the irreparable downfall of women who may easily be kept self-respecting and self-supporting. It is this problem to which Mrs. Higgs has primarily devoted herself in her courageous investigations, her writings, and her very practical work in the establishment of some women's lodging-homes in Lancashire. It is to be regretted that this book did not come from her alone and deal with this single problem.

EDITH ABBOTT

On the Inheritance of the Diathesis of Phthisis and Insanity. A statistical study based upon the family history of 1,500 criminals, by CHARLES GORING, M.D., B.Sc. London: Dunlan & Co., 1909. Pp. 28. 3*s*.

This is one of the studies in national deterioration made by the school of Professor Karl Pearson in University College, London. It illustrates the value of utilizing the materials in public institutions of charity and correction for social statistics to supplement

the clinical studies which cannot furnish reliable generalizations. The problem is to discover how far tendencies to tuberculosis and insanity are inherited. The population of prisons is taken because it represents a random selection and because it can be studied under conditions which can be fairly well controlled. The method of investigation and calculation deserves attention. Only certain provisional conclusions of the author can be presented.

Tubercular diathesis is inherited and at the same rate as all other physical characters in man. The prevalence of tuberculosis in the population lies between 8 per cent and 10 per cent. In the class dealt with there is no evidence of marital infection, and the incidence of phthisis in both husband and wife may be due to assortative mating. There is no definite evidence that the correlation between parents and offspring is greater in the poorer classes. The importance of the hereditary factor as opposed to direct contagion is supported by the facts (1) that the prevalence of phthisis among children of infected mothers is not appreciably greater than it is among children of infected fathers; (2) that the prevalence of phthisis among workers exposed to constant infection in a consumption hospital has been found to be not significantly greater than among individuals with the same degree of diathesis in the general population. The insane diathesis is certainly inherited.

C. R. Henderson

Social Insurance, a Program of Social Reform. By Henry Rogers Seager. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 175. $1.00.

Professor Seager has presented in readable style the essential points of the argument for social insurance: the theoretical basis in ethical considerations, the economic interest, and the practicability of tested systems. Much of the volume is devoted to summarizing well-known materials; but the critical examination of the American old-age-pension schemes, of the English compensation law, of methods of unemployment insurance, of sickness insurance deserve special attention. The book is an excellent introduction to the whole theory of social legislation, is sane and adapted to the general understanding.

C. R. Henderson

Genesis, a Manual for the Instruction of Children in Matters Sexual. By B. S. TALMEY, M.D. New York: The Practitioners' Publishing Co., 1910. Pp. 194. $1.50.

Assuming that the medical statements are sound, since the author has had the experience of a specialist in gynecology and pediatrics, we call special attention to the fact that within the compass of one hundred and twenty pages we have graded lessons containing all that any intelligent parent needs to know on the subject. A series of graded lessons is much needed, in which the "apperceptive mass" of infancy and early childhood, middle childhood, later childhood, approach to puberty, early adolescence, and middle adolescence, is made the standard for the materials to be presented. This task seems to be well done, and any adult, if otherwise competent, may be in position to give wise and safe counsel and direction to young persons on this vital subject. It is a pity that it is still necessary to give up about fifty pages to prove that children have a right to know from their responsible elders the most vital facts of existence.

C. R. HENDERSON

Salaire et droit à l'existence. Par J. A. RYAN, traduit par LAZARE COLLIN. Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1910. Pp. 47+355. Fr. 8.

American students already know the work of their Catholic colleague under the title of *The Living Wage;* the historical preface of Professor Brocard, of Nancy, introduces it to French readers and indicates the position of the author in the ranks of the social students of the ancient church. Ashley has insisted that the mediaeval doctrine of "fair price" is not unreasonable or obsolete; Professor Ryan employs it for a practical purpose and demands a readjustment of ideas which will place human beings before property and profits. He is not of that school of economists, increasingly rare, who believe that the supreme power of the universe is jealous of human intervention to raise wages, prevent starvation, and abolish disease.

C. R. HENDERSON

The Transition in Virginia from Colony to Commonwealth. By CHARLES RAMSDELL LINGLEY, PH.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. Vol. XXXVI, No. 2.] New York: Columbia University (Longmans, Green & Co., agents), 1910. Pp. 218. $1.50.

Mr. Lingley has consulted all available sources and has shown good judgment and historical insight. He is not bound fast by any theory of the Revolution in Virginia; but the bulk of his evidence supports the older view that the movement was popular and was supported by an almost solid public opinion. This is opposed to the results of the work of Van Tyne and others in the same field. This question is not, however, so important in the study of the transition in Virginia, as the other, sometimes raised, Why did the aristocratic families of Virginia lend any countenance to a movement which must have foreboded ruin to them? Why did George Mason or the Lees support Patrick Henry in his "mad course"? But Mr. Lingley's thesis does not throw any light upon this subject.

Another point on which new light is much desired is the character of the party which supported Henry and Jefferson and what were the reasons for their support. There must have been sharply defined party alignments in Virginia in 1776. We do not get much assistance in this book on this subject though there was some chance for such an investigation in the chapters which treat of the constitution of 1776 and the revision of the laws.

WM. E. DODD

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Future of Trade-Unionism and Capitalism in a Democracy. By CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 128. $1.00.

This is the publication of two lectures delivered by ex-President Eliot, on the Larwell foundation at Kenyon College. They are characterized by courage and constructive vision, and by some might be thought visionary because of their readiness to overlap existing conditions in pursuit of a better goal. They contain wise and sane suggestions of changes that ought to be brought

about, from which even those may profit who dissent from some of the main contentions.

The central idea is that monopoly is abhorrent to democracy, and that both labor unions and employers' unions are at present striving for monopoly. Both parties have created combinations too strong to be dealt with successfully by any power but that of government, and "what democracy asks of its government is that it regulate inevitable monopolies and prevent any others. Government should allow great corporate combinations only on condition that they submit to publicity, and publicity would be alike advantageous to both capitalists and unionists and also to the public, removing most of the grounds of misunderstanding and conflict, and providing the condition for regularity and stability in both employment and profits.

The monopolistic practices of trade-unions in limiting apprentices, opposing trade education, limiting output, and reducing laborers to a non-competing dead level in their work and their wages are short-sighted as well as wrong, as are also the boycott, and the sympathetic strike.

It is the duty of the unions to allow it, and of the employers to see to it, that experience, fidelity, and efficiency secure for the individual laborer progressively increasing wages and respect from his fellow-men. It would be to the advantage of the employer to take the representatives of the laborers into council in the formulation of shop rules, and both profit and humanity demand that the rules should be such as to secure excellent sanitation, the greatest feasible protection to life and limb, and full provision for hearing complaints and grievances. It is the duty of the captains of industry and organizers of economic opportunity to provide that the ordinary wage-earner be better off at forty than at twenty-one, and have the opportunity gradually to provide for old age or disaster. Toward this provision contributions from the profit-taker are properly due. There should be neither charity nor patronage on the one side nor hostility on the other, but a spirit of frankness and co-operation on either side is the essential condition of the highest advantage of employers, of laborers, and of the public.

E. C. Hayes

University of Illinois

BOOK NOTICES

Hygiene and Morality. By LAVINIA L. DOCK, N.N. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. v+200. $1.25.

This work discusses the venereal diseases, the control of prostitution, and the prevention of venereal diseases. The policy advocated is "abolition" and, as its condition, woman suffrage. The program for immediate practical action is not fully worked out, and some of the difficulties are not faced; but the essential principles of sane dealing with the subject are sound and are sustained by first-rate medical authority. The bibliographies, while by no means complete, are very useful. The experience of the author as a trained nurse gives a note of primary authority to her earnest and noble appeal. C. R. HENDERSON

History of the Great American Fortunes. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 1910. 3 vols. Pp. 296+368+413. $1.50 each.

The first volume deals with conditions in settlement and colonial times and with the great land fortunes. Volumes I and II have to do with the great railroad fortunes. The narrative is written from the standpoint of the socialist bias and is frequently interrupted by mere surmise and assumption. However, there are many facts here not easily obtainable elsewhere, and the book as a whole represents a welcome divergence from the orthodox method of treating great fortunes. It is a very crude attempt in the proper direction.

L. L. B.

Oriental Crime. By H. L. ADAM. London: T. Werner Laurie. Pp. xv+383. $3.

This is a melodramatic, rather than a scientific, account of the people, the crimes, the prisons, and the colony system of India. The description of the colony in the Andaman Islands, to which the Indian criminals sentenced for long terms are sent, is good material for criminology. It contains an account of the savings-banks, the system of self-support, and sanitation in the colony. The author shows great admiration for the superior proficiency, cunning, and daring of the oriental criminal. The book will be dangerous for popular reading on that account. E. H. S.

Euthenics, the Science of Controllable Environment. By MRS. ELLEN H. RICHARDS. Whitcomb and Barrows, 1910. Pp. 162.

The science of eugenics deals with hereditary influences, euthenics with environment and education. While this little volume has many valuable suggestions for the direction of public action the most helpful part of it, perhaps, is the table of analysis of agencies and methods of promoting public health, an excellent outline for study and for presentation to a general audience.

C. R. HENDERSON

A Practical Program of Procedural Reform. By ROSCOE POUND. Being the subject for discussion at the annual meeting of the Illinois Bar Association at Hotel La Salle, June 23, 1910. Pp. 32.

This is an admirably concise and illuminating discussion of a much-needed reform. The point of view of Professor Pound is clearly stated in the follow-

ing quotation from pp. 2 and 3: "A swing of the pendulum toward liberality at this time is but a part of a general movement in all departments of mental activity away from the purely formal, away from hard-and-fast notions, away from traditional categories which our fathers supposed were impressed upon the nature of things for all time. This movement is remaking the natural and physical sciences, is rewriting history, is recasting political theories, is making over economic theory, and, under the name of sociology, is changing our attitude toward all problems of social life. It is inevitable that jurisprudence, and ultimately the law itself, be affected profoundly. For whatever its validity in other fields, pragmatism must be the philosophy of the lawyer. What are its results? How does it work? and What does it work? must be the questions he puts to every theory and distinction and dogma and category."

V. E. H.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The students of working-men's insurance will be glad to know that Dr. Zacher has published in the *Reichs-Arbeitsblatt* for July, 1910, a corrected edition of his table of the present condition of working-men's insurance in the different states of Europe: *Die Arbeiterversicherung in Europa nach dem gegenwärtigen Stande der Gesetzgebung in den verschiedenen Staaten.* Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag.

Crime and the Treatment of the Criminal. By C. S. POTTS. Bulletin of the University of Texas, May, 1910. Austin, Texas. Pp. 86.

A fair, intelligent, candid description of the conditions of prisons in Texas, and a noble, practical, and correct statement of the essential principles of improvement.

C. R. HENDERSON

Strikes: When to Strike—How to Strike. By OSCAR T. CRACHY. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. vi+202. $1.25.

This work is an inquiry into "what is moral and ought to be legal," in strikes. It is a superficial treatment of the subject, useful to the undiscriminating popular reader rather than to the student of labor problems.

F. F.

The Christian Ministry and the Social Order. Lectures delivered in the course in pastoral functions at Yale Divinity School, 1908–9. Edited by CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. Yale University Press, 1909. Pp. 7+303.

These lectures serve as an indication of the new spirit of social service in the churches. They are suggestive and stimulating, but in no sense a systematic and complete treatment of the great subjects touched—the trade union, rural communities, mental healing, and the international movement.

C. R. H.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Théories sociologiques de Masaryk.—Society is not an organism, but an organization of organizations. The starting-point is positivism, but not that of Comte. A philosophy immediately connected with practical life forms a basis for sociology. The moral is the love of one's neighbor, which love is conscious of itself and realizes itself through a good action. This moving principle of love must be positive, energetic, devoid of hate and sentimentality. That type of religion which is explained by reason, not "religious alcoholism," and which realizes itself in charitable action is the remedy for "la maladie du siècle," i.e., for pessimism and discontentment.—A. Blaha, *Revue internationale de sociologie,* Mai, 1910. E. S. B.

Problems Connected with the Administration of Justice.—The true function of the courts is in the exercise of the proper restraints upon radical and unwholesome tendencies. The jurist should have sympathy with any movement that has for its purpose the upbuilding of his fellow-man. A great problem consists in creating respect for law. We must make its restraints felt by the most powerful individual or corporation as well as by the humblest citizen.—J. P. Elkins, *Annals American Academy,* July, 1910. E. S. B.

The Jewish Community.—What is the explanation of the survival of the racial and national traits of a people buffeted about and broken up into countless fragments through endless wanderings and through cycles of persecution? Two forces may be mentioned in reply: (1) internal, the attachment to a religion whose innumerable prescriptions controlled the daily life and necessitated close congregation: (2) external, the oppression which compelled the Jews to live in isolated communities in the land of dispersion.—I. Cohen, *Sociological Review,* July, 1910. E. S. B.

Is Punishment a Crime?—Punishment is moral surgery. It should be used as a surgeon uses his knife. Punishments that degrade are unjust, they are mere acts of brutal vengeance, they do not purify the offender, they befoul him. The painless extinction of those who never should have been born is one thing, the legalized atrocity which goes by the name of capital punishment is another and absolutely indefensible.—C. J. Whitby, *Hibbert Journal,* July, 1910. E. S. B.

The Future of the Human Race.—The rational method of social reform consists, not in the destruction, but in the prevention of the unfit. Recent studies of the phenomena of variation and heredity indicate that even in the case of the human race, it is possible to get rid of many undesirable qualities, to combine others which are desirable and to maintain indefinitely that which has been once secured, that is to say, it is possible to have a race of people, none of whom have a hereditary taint, all of whom have a certain hereditary quality. The ideal is old; but what is new is the practical knowledge of how this may be brought about.—T. D. A. Cockerell, *Popular Science Monthly,* July, 1910. E. S. B.

Reformation of Women—Modern Methods of Dealing with Offenders.—The two classes of offenders are: (1) those who are weak because of some congenital defect, (2) those who have failed through lack of training—for whom environment is responsible. But three states in the union are fulfilling their obligations

toward these women. Two points are fundamental in establishing reformatories for women: (1) location in the country, (2) building on the cottage plan. Also, there is necessary a classification and separation of offenders, and a proper parole system with a truly indeterminate sentence.—Katherine Davis, *Annals American Academy*, July, 1910. E. S. B.

Liberty—Equality—Fraternity.—The weakness of socialism lies in the remoteness of its program as a whole from anything that is possible, its tendency to rely upon machinery and to lend indiscriminate support to anything that bears the slightest resemblance to its ideal. The chief hope of social progress rests rather upon the spread of knowledge of the conditions and ideals of different classes—upon social education. Here sociology finds its place and presses upon the conservative the question whether he has been converted to the defects of our civilization and asks the socialist if he distinguishes between liberty as the power to do what we like and liberty as the power of carrying out purposes that in some degree reflect the fullness of human life. Further, sociology must show a mode of living and a way of commanding material circumstances in the interest of an enlarging conception of life.—J. B. Muirhead, *Sociological Review*, July, 1910. E. S. B.

What the Working-Men Want.—Much of socialism is only democracy getting its second wind. Our skilled workmen are dependent upon access to machinery capitalistically owned. But industrial dependence and political independence cannot live together. We are losers when we permit any class to lack freedom through industrial helplessness and only completely gainers when all classes work together for the spread of material benefits and the highest social betterment.—P. S. Grant, *North American Review*, August, 1910. E. S. B.

La justice et le crime.—Criminals are considered heroes and their advocates share the glory. A preliminary examination is given by the judge of instruction. The president of the court of assises has no longer the right to sum up the evidence, but may still interrogate the prisoner. French judges, though poorly paid, are incorruptible, but subject to political influence.

The advocate-general is the public prosecutor. The accused are interrogated and then the witnesses are called. The accused should say little and cry much. The decision is largely influenced by the final plea, which is emotional and allows the prisoner's advocate to display his eloquence to the jury. The public, especially the friends of the accused, are excitable and express their opinion of the verdict. The trial is like a theatrical performance.—Henri Robert, *Revue politique et parlementaire*, May, 1910. D. I. P.

De l'intolérance comme phénomène social.—In periods of dogmatic belief there is intolerance, in periods of doubt there is tolerance. Intolerance often represents interest at base, but interest must be supplemented by belief. Pity does not prevent intolerance, but prevents the last excesses of it. Tolerance is preferable as a psychological state, but a certain amount of intolerance is necessary as a sociological force. If a governing body is tolerant, this is taken as a sign of weakness and the opposition combines against it and overthrows it. There has been political, religious, economic, social, and race intolerance, the intolerance of man to woman and of parents to children. Intolerance causes the father to prescribe occupations for the son, and the mother to select his wife.—Rasoul de la Grasserie, *Revue internationale de sociologie*, February, 1910. D. I. P.

Der gegenwärtige Stand der Alkoholfrage.—The International Anti-Alcohol Congresses of the past twenty-five years have witnessed a victory of Anglo-Saxon abstinence over continental moderation and the transition from a crusade for the rescuing of the individual drunkard to a scientific and social campaign against alcohol in its most widespread and complex relations. The trend of

recent inquiry is to the position that alcohol is, on the whole, a poison, prejudicial to life, socially injurious, and that it predisposes the individual, and weakens his resistance, to tuberculosis. Industrially, the liquor traffic (1) injures the labor market because of the relative low returns to labor in proportion to the high profits of capital; (2) is the foremost cause of poverty and crime; (3) disorganizes so many other industries; (4) injures the physical and mental elasticity of the workmen, and heavily burdens the household budget. National economy, industrial efficiency, and social welfare necessitate state action in this field. —Dr. A. Elster, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik,* April, 1910.

E. W. B.

L'Année sociologique has inaugurated a new policy of publication. Beginning with the present (XI) volume, it will appear once every three years only, and the original studies formerly published along with the reviews will be published separately under the title of *Collection des travaux de l'année sociologique.* A number of these separate studies have already appeared.

The Journal of Race Development is the title of a new quarterly publication started in July at Clark University. The editors are Dr. George H. Blakeslee and President G. Stanley Hall. Its contributing editors are David P. Barrows, Franz Boas, William L. Chamberlain, William Curtis Farabee, A. F. Griffiths, Frank H. Hankins, J. W. Jenks, George Heber Jones, George Trumbull Ladd, Payson J. Treat, and Frederick W. Williams. Its purpose is to serve "as a forum for the discussion of the problems which relate to the progress of races and states generally considered backward in their standards of civilization."

The Bulletin of the Department of Labor for the State of New York for June contains much valuable material on present labor conditions, as well as court decisions, notes on labor laws, texts of labor laws, etc.

The Moral Education League (6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.) is sending out a detailed syllabus of moral and civic instruction and a good working bibliography in connection with its *Quarterly.* The League states as its object: "To urge the introduction of systematic Moral and Civic Instruction into all schools, and to make the formation of character the chief aim in education." Professor J. S. Mackenzie is president of the league, and the long list of vice-presidents contains such names as Lord Avebury, C. Lloyd Morgan, J. H. Muirhead, etc.

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CHICAGO'S HOUSING PROBLEM: FAMILIES IN FURNISHED ROOMS[1]

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE AND EDITH ABBOTT
The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

In each of the three sections into which Chicago is divided by the Chicago River, there has grown up a district in which family life has been transferred from normal homes to a wasteful existence in furnished rooms. In each case, as is entirely natural, this district lies between the portion devoted to business or manufacturing on the one side and the usual residential section on the other. The peculiarity of the areas under discussion is that here, for reasonably long periods and with fairly permanent arrangements, families live in cramped quarters where they rent by weekly payments not only the room or rooms in which they live, but even the furniture they use. In these districts, which have been invaded by business or industry but in which large numbers of people still live, are found the commodious homes of an earlier period. The probable course of development of the neighborhood is too uncertain to admit of reconstruction at once and they are therefore put, in their original form, to the most profitable use which, for the time, suggests

[1] This is the second article in a series dealing with housing conditions in Chicago. The first article "Housing of Non-Family Groups of Working Men" appeared in the September number of this journal. The present study is based upon a report on this subject by Jessie F. Bell and Caro B. MacArthur, research students, 1909–10.

itself. The rooms are too large to admit of their separate enjoyment by individuals, and they are, therefore, let to family groups. Only the very poor, or those who are less than ordinarily competent, will consent to live in this manner, and for such there seem peculiar advantages in renting by the week a furnished room which will make possible the most transient and irresponsible kind of family life. These people live under conditions of crowding and lack of privacy obviously demoralizing, and fail to secure any of the self-esteem or educative restraining effect which comes from handling their own property or embodying their earnings and taste in the objects by which they are surrounded. Many families which apply to the charitable agencies of the city for assistance come from such homes. The application for relief is the last step in a downfall which began when they either sold their furniture, or stored it to move into smaller quarters. They were soon unable to pay the storage charges and they became permanently fixed in furnished rooms, living from hand to mouth, with no resources to fall back upon.

Booth mentions among the causes which give rise to a housing problem the use of houses "by families of a class for which they were not designed and are not suited."[2] In Chicago, there are now large sections of the city in which houses intended for families of one type have been taken over by families of another, and serious evils have arisen through the attempted adaptation of houses which were, in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, the dwellings of well-to-do and dignified families, to the present uses of families that are unfortunate, incompetent, poverty-stricken, and often degraded.

While it is not possible to set exact boundaries to any of these rooming-house districts, the territory occupied may be roughly

[2] *Life and Labour of the People of London*, final vol., 158. Mr. Booth's comment is, "For such homes a well-thought-out scheme of adaptation is essential, the santitary and other difficulties being great. Moreover, the scheme ought to be of general application, as suited to the needs of the neighborhood . . . . and it is only by a successful alteration, so that the houses may be made into healthy and convenient homes for whatsoever class of occupancy may be in view that the evils of non-adaptation and mal-adaptation may be obviated" (pp. 165–66). See also the discussion by Mrs. Bosanquet in the *Economic Journal*, XIII, 412.

Map by Estelle B. Hunter, Research Student, 1908–9, 1909–10

MAP SHOWING (BY HATCHED LINES) THE LOCATION OF DISTRICTS IN WHICH LARGE NUMBERS OF "LIGHT-HOUSEKEEPING" ROOMS ARE FOUND

The red lines show the districts in which vice is segregated and tolerated on the south and west sides.

defined. For although many houses and even a large portion of some streets within the limits indicated may be used for normal residence life, yet the district as a whole is largely given over to furnished rooms. That on the North Side, which is the smallest of the three, lies between Division Street and the river on the north and south, Wells Street on the west, and Rush Street on the east. This district is steadily pushing north, and in that portion near Chicago Avenue, there are now a good many "rooms" and "light-housekeeping" signs to be seen. Few of the furnished rooms for families are found, however, anywhere except within the boundaries given. North Clark Street, which is sometimes, and probably with some justice, called the "toughest street in Chicago," gives an undesirable distinction to this North Side district.

On the South Side, the furnished rooming-house district lies between Sixteenth Street on the north and Thirty-third Street on the south, Prairie Avenue on the east, and Clark Street on the west. On Sixteenth Street and on Wabash Avenue northward toward Eldredge Court the most dilapidated houses and the poorest families in the district are found. In this section the "light housekeeper" is gradually pushing farther and farther toward the south, but the northern end remains much poorer than the southern. Sharp contrasts are found in this South Side district. Dingy, black dwellings with dirty back yards, rickety sheds, and junk heaps are not far from Prairie Avenue which is one of the most beautiful and fashionable residence streets in the city.

The West Side "furnished-rooms" district is not only larger than the other two, but its houses are older and have had longer and more "checkered" histories. It is more interesting, too, for a study of this kind since it contains a larger proportion of families, and the number of applicants for charity is probably greater than in either of the other two. Moreover, while on the West Side vice is openly tolerated in one section of the district, there is no segregated territory given over to its commercialized forms such as is found on the South Side, and the rooming district is more sharply defined than on the North Side. It may

be said roughly to extend from Harrison Street on the south to Washington Boulevard on the north, and from Halsted Street on the east to Ashland Boulevard on the west. There are, however, many houses just outside the limits set by these boundaries. In this section the north-and-south streets are less important than those going east and west, with of course the single exception of Halsted Street which serves as a kind of lurid boundary line, making a constant appeal to those who live either east or west of it. Here are the great West Side theaters, the big, showy saloons, dance halls, "nickel shows," hotels, peddler's carts, the rush of "through cars," and the ever-present possibility of excitement furnished by the city street on which life and business begin early and seemingly never cease. Traffic is greater on the east-and-west streets and the houses are in general better than those on the north-and-south streets. On Washington Boulevard, for example, most of the buildings are either large stone-front blocks, extending sometimes half the way from one street to another, or old and rather elegant residences, with imposing French windows, porches with iron railings, yards, and carriage sheds. Some of the houses are left much as they were in their better days, while others are patched and made over grotesquely. On the other hand, there are few houses which were homes of comfort in the past to be found on the north-and-south streets. Of these streets, Morgan and Sangamon perhaps rank first in dingy, unrelieved poverty; Peoria and Green streets which are parallel are also dingy and forlorn, but here vice is mixed with poverty.

Madison is the great east-and-west street of the West Side. Passing as it does through the heart of the "furnished-rooms" district, it is more inviting even than Halsted Street to the people who live there. East of Halsted Street toward the river is the territory which is given over to miserable, unemployed men. Here are the cheap lodging-houses and restaurants, the labor agencies, and the army recruiting stations which are all alike the resort of the shiftless "casual." Many of these idle and unfortunate men drift into the "furnished-rooms" territory and encourage the cheap theaters, saloons, and more vicious forms

of amusement that flourish there. West of Halsted, Madison Street is apparently given over to business or commercialized amusements, for the cheap theater and the saloon, the low hotel and the restaurant also flourish there. The buildings there are high, and many of the stores are in three- and four-story buildings in which there are apartments above the first floor. On the parallel streets, south of Madison—Monroe, Adams, VanBuren, and Harrison—stores were numerous in the eastern part near Halsted Street, but westward toward Ashland Boulevard, they decrease in number. There are many types of houses here—frame cottages raised on brick basements, brick blocks built for tenement use, and the old-fashioned residences which have degenerated into furnished rooming-houses. Well over toward Ashland Boulevard are the bona fide apartment houses, more ambitious but scarcely less monotonous than the tenement houses farther east. This commercialization of the old and dignified, the unrelieved monotony of the tenement block, the dilapidated houses of some of the north-and-south streets, and, more than all, the fact that this whole district is known to be honeycombed with vice, makes it extremely depressing.

The problem of furnished rooms has long been connected with the city problems of vice and immorality. Booth points out that in the "city wilderness" the furnished room, especially when let by the day as well as by the week, affords a convenient meeting-place for people of loose habits, and there can be no doubt that furnished rooms in this country are often put to the lowest uses. Very near, often indeed adjoining, the houses which are used by men and women of immoral character are houses in which the rooms furnished with housekeeping necessities are let to poor families. On the South Side a large section from Seventeenth to Twenty-fourth Street, and from State Street to the river, is segregated and devoted to the purposes of organized and commercialized vice. On the West Side from the river to Curtis Street, and between Lake and VanBuren streets is another section of tolerated vice, a considerable part of which, as the map on the opposite page shows, is included in the furnished-rooms district. Because this toleration does not amount

to thorough segregation as on the South Side, respectability and vice in its worst forms live side by side.[3]

We are not concerned here with the furnished rooming-house in so far as it provides cheap lodgings for single men and women, or with the question of the degeneration of the rooming-house into a place of vice. The purpose of this study is rather a discussion of the problems growing out of the fact that in all of these districts large numbers of families with children also make their home in furnished rooms. Perhaps the most interesting questions that arise are (1) the sanitary condition of households readjusted from their original purpose in the manner described; (2) the probable degradation of the family through the lack of privacy and dignity and the general irresponsibility of their mode of life; and (3) the inevitable familiarity with vice.

Attention has already been called to the fact that what is now the furnished-rooms district on the West Side was once a fashionable neighborhood. On the corner of Adams and Aberdeen streets is the old Schuettler residence, a large, rambling brick house still surrounded by a wide "lawn." This and the once handsome gray-stone residence on the adjoining lot were for some years given over to "light housekeeping," but the

[3] When an attempt at reform was recently being made as a result of an exposure of conditions in the West Side district, the daily papers published orders from the chief of police which were meant to effect an improvement of conditions. The following extracts from these orders illustrate the demoralizing influences to which the families within the district referred to are subjected:

"1. Permit no soliciting, either on the streets, in doorways, from windows, or in saloons.

"2. Permit no signs, lights, colors, or other devices to be anywhere displayed indicative of the character of the premises, occupied as a house of ill repute. . . . .

"4. No person between the ages of three and eighteen years will be permitted in the district, or to enter the premises, under any circumstances, messenger and delivery boys included. . . . .

"8. There shall be no swinging doors or double doors, and doors at all times to be closed.

"9. The establishment of disorderly houses shall not be permitted outside of certain districts, and under no conditions shall they be established within two blocks of a school, church, hospital, or any public institution.

"10. There shall be no disorderly house on any street having a street car line."—*Chicago Tribune,* October 11, 1909.

difficulty of heating the spacious rooms with their high ceilings was very great, and the Schuettler house was evidently so ill adapted to the needs of poor families seeking "furnished rooms," that it has more recently degenerated into the "Palace Boarding Stable." A few blocks further north a Scandinavian landlady, who told us of tenants "full to the eyes" and her drastic methods of dealing with them, occupied a house which was once the home of the Crane family. Another house near by, also taken over for furnished rooms, is one in which the widow of Abraham Lincoln is said to have made her home for some years. In these houses the high ceilings, walnut stairways, hardwood floors, marble fireplaces, large rooms connected through double doors, are evidences of their luxurious past. In front of the marble fireplace one finds today an airtight cooking and heating stove, with the stovepipe fitted into the old fireplace chimney. The "double doors" are now permanently closed, and since there are no closets in the room, clothes are hung against them, concealed sometimes by curtains. Not only the old marble fireplace but sometimes old pieces of furniture are left. In a fine old house on Washington Boulevard, in an attic apartment in which the paper was hanging in great pieces from the ceiling, and the stove stood propped on bricks, a large oil painting, an unmistakable relic of former prosperity, was hanging on the wall. In a basement apartment on Peoria Street, where the floors were warped and the furniture cheap and dilapidated, the Polish tenants were using the heavy old walnut bureau which obviously belonged to the early history of the house.

It is unnecessary to point out that these old-fashioned houses can never be properly adapted to tenement use. A single room is often as large as an apartment of two or three rooms in an ordinary tenement, but if this room is made into several, some of them will be windowless. The result is the one-room apartment.[4] Attempts to remodel such houses are sometimes found,

[4] Sixty-one light-housekeeping apartments, occupied by families, were visited; of these, twenty-seven were one-room apartments and twenty-eight two-room apartments; only three apartments had three rooms, one had four rooms, and in two cases no report was made as to the number.

but the remodeling is not part of a carefully planned scheme to make the house a suitable or convenient living-place for the new class of tenants. It consists instead of some makeshift alterations, which will turn the large rooms into smaller ones and make possible a larger monthly rental. In one house on South Peoria Street, part of a large hall has been made into an additional room, leaving for a hall a totally dark passage twenty inches wide. Through this hall one of the tenant families has the only access to its room, and two other families are obliged to use it to get water from the sink, which is in a dark corner at the end of the passage.

Although the rooms are large and ceilings high, there is very often an insufficient amount of air. In 15 per cent of the sixty-six sleeping rooms visited, there was a violation of the legal requirement of 400 cubic feet of air for adults, and 200 for children.[5] The rooms, however, were usually light. In only 5 per cent of all the rooms visited was the window space not equal to 10 per cent of the floor space.

The plumbing in these houses is sure to be very defective. The ordinance governing new tenements, that is, tenements erected since 1901, requires one water-closet for every apartment of more than two rooms, and one water-closet for every two apartments when the apartments consist of one or two rooms.[6] But the requirement for old houses, that is, those erected before 1901, providing merely that accommodations shall be adequate,[7] is singularly indefinite and, therefore, quite unenforce-

[5] Tolman, Municipal Code, sec. 420: "No room in any tenement house shall be so occupied that the allowance of air to each person living or sleeping in such room shall at any time be less than 400 cubic feet for each such person more than twelve years old, and 200 cubic feet for each such person of the age of twelve years or under."

[6] *Ibid.*, sec. 434: "In every new tenement house there shall be a separate water-closet in a separate compartment within each apartment, accessible to each apartment, without passing through any other apartment, provided that where there are apartments consisting of only one or two rooms there shall be at least one water-closet for every two apartments."

[7] *Ibid.*, sec. 1225: "Every person who shall be the owner, lessee, or keeper or manager of any tenement, boarding-house, lodging-house, or manufactory shall provide or cause to be provided for the accommodation thereof and for

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A TYPE OF RESIDENCE ON THE WEST SIDE

Used for many years as a furnished rooming-house

able. The condition, therefore, which prevails in most of these houses—a single water-closet for the entire house, however large the number of tenant families, is not illegal because the houses were not built under the new law. These water-closets are, however, almost invariably filthy or in bad repair, or both. The landlord is, of course, not always responsible for this condition, for when there is one water-closet, and that one unlocked, in a public hall, in a house containing half a dozen families and often as many single roomers besides, there is every opportunity for abuse as well as neglect. In one house the water-closet was out of repair because one tenant had emptied her garbage into it. The caretaker's only comment was, "You can't watch them all the time, you know." Only eight of the thirty-seven closets examined were reported clean, nineteen were dirty, ten were filthy, and sixteen were out of repair. It is to be expected that along with such limited toilet accommodations will be found a correspondingly limited water supply.[8] All of the tenants in a single house, therefore, are likewise dependent upon a single sink for the water used for cooking, washing, and all other household purposes. As is to be expected, the conditions of these sinks in general is as bad as that of the closets.

the use of the tenants, lodgers, boarders, and workers therein, adequate privies, urinals, and water-closets, and the same shall be so adequately ventilated, and shall at all times be kept in such cleanly and wholesome condition as not to be offensive or be dangerous or detrimental to health."

[8] Thirteen remodeled houses were visited and eleven of these had only a single water-closet, which was either in the public hall or the yard, for the use of the entire house. To understand what a difficult problem is involved it must be remembered that these are "light-housekeeping" rooms, and that water is needed for cooking and other household purposes. In three cases, this one sink which furnished the whole water supply of the house and the one water-closet were used by five families, numbering in one house more than forty persons. It must of course be remembered that plumbing accommodations are often very inadequate, not only in remodeled houses but in those built for tenement purposes. The A——— Building, for example, a well-known furnished rooming-house on the West Side, is a house containing twenty-eight furnished housekeeping apartments, and was, of course, built for a tenement, and not for the use of a single family. Here each family has two rooms, but although there is a sink in each apartment the water-closets are in the halls and there are only six for twenty-eight apartments. In the winter when the investigators visited the house, they were all filthy, frozen, and vermin infested.

When there is only one sink for several families, someone is quite sure to use it, not only for dishwater, but for general refuse. The effect on the standards of cleanliness provided by this absence of all facilities for decent living needs no comment.

Dark halls are another bad feature in houses used for furnished rooms. Of twenty-eight houses visited the halls of only four were light. Some were so dark that one groped to find the way. These dark stairways in crowded houses not only involve well-known moral dangers, more especially since there is a constant danger of tenants of bad character, but they are almost invariably dirty and unsanitary. They suggest also the possible danger of fire since most of the houses are old buildings, and many of them frame. It should be explained that there is a stove in nearly every room and in a large number of cases both gasoline and coal stoves were found in the same room. Such conditions in a house used by people of irregular habits make the danger from fire a serious one.

The great evil of the furnished rooming-house, however, is not that of inadequate or filthy sanitary arrangements, dark halls, or danger from fire, but the degradation that comes from living in a one-room tenement, with broken, dilapidated furniture, without responsibility or a sense of ownership. Parlor, bedroom, clothes-closet, dining-room, kitchen, pantry, even coal shed are here combined in one room where the cooking, eating, sleeping, washing, and all of the family life goes on.

The furniture which is found in "light-housekeeping" rooms is uniformly old and dilapidated, for the newly purchased is cheap and poor in quality, and soon goes to pieces. In many cases where a landlady first "goes into the business" she makes her own old furniture, bought many years ago when she was first married, go as far as possible toward furnishing the house. Some second-hand furniture is bought and added to it perhaps, but very little that is new ever goes into furnished rooms. Each apartment is usually supplied with a stove, a bed, a table, two chairs, a bureau, and a few dishes, two plates, two cups and saucers, and a few cooking utensils. Carpets are very rare, but occasionally there is a rug. Curtains for-

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A TENEMENT ON THE WEST SIDE

Containing twenty-eight families in furnished rooms

tunately are also rare. The bedding which is always "furnished" is one of the most repulsive features of the room, for it is handed on uncleansed from tenant to tenant. Clean towels, sheets, and pillow cases are supposed to be furnished weekly to each tenant, and when this is done they are washed at a steam laundry and are reasonably clean. But only too often one finds sheets that are as dirty as the rest of the bedding. When tenants have "nothing of their own," the house is inevitably cheerless, and when the home is only a single room in which all the processes of living are carried on, it is necessarily disorderly and confused. In all families with hand-to-mouth methods, coal is bought by the basket or bushel, and little food is ever carried over from one meal to the next; but in "light-housekeeping" apartments such fuel and provisions as are on hand will probably be kept in the same room in which the family sleep.

The business of maintaining or running a furnished rooming-house is sometimes a very profitable one, conducted by women who are thoroughly respectable and make every effort to keep their houses decent. This is, of course, extremely difficult since they cannot require references. For this reason families with children are often preferred, although children "damage the furniture so much," because children offer some guaranty of respectability and some hope of permanence in the arrangements made. The plan of organization varies. In some cases the landlord or landlady owns or leases the house, lives on the premises, and acts as janitor as well as manager. In other cases a single individual, who is a kind of furnished-rooms landlord, maintains several houses of this kind, employing a caretaker at a fixed wage who acts as landlady or janitress for all the establishments.

When the landlady lives on the premises and uses the common toilet facilities, she tries to maintain a fairly high standard of decency and of cleanliness. But when the care of the halls, closets, and sinks is left to a caretaker who is responsible for several houses and can give only a little of her time each day to any one of them, the place becomes indescribably dirty. A

further difficulty when one landlord has several establishments is that persons too disreputable to be endured for any length of time by one set of tenants are shifted to another house and then moved again when necessary. In one of these houses, two different tenants told of making such vigorous complaints about a man and woman who had been on a drunken debauch in a room on the floor above that they were to be put out. It developed, however, that this eviction only meant that they were to be moved on to one of the other houses which the same landlord owned, and when they became unendurable there, they would be moved again. They would be kept indefinitely, however, so long as they paid their rent.

The standard of decency set by the landladies must necessarily be a very shifting one. A woman who has had a good deal of experience demands that her tenants shall not drink because "it does not look well to see cans of beer coming into the house." Another, whose husband had died and left her a thousand dollars, at once spent most of it in getting herself established in the furnished-rooms business. But she found it so unprofitable that within a year she would have been glad to sell out even for a hundred dollars. She had found it very easy to get disorderly tenants and very hard to get any other kind. She could not get references and was "pretty nearly always fooled by her intuition." She was formerly a chambermaid in a hotel and was anxious to "sell out" and go back to it. Her case is typical of a large number of women who have made a miserable failure out of "furnished rooms." The business is, of course, precarious. Although a certain amount of risk is avoided by requiring payment in advance, this requirement cannot always be enforced against tenants already admitted, and careless habits of using household goods are inevitably aggravated by the consciousness that they belong to another person. Tenants of this type are sometimes spiteful, and wilful abuse on the part of a few leads the landlady to suspect them all. One landlady kept in the basement a supply of old furniture, and when a family with children moved in, or a couple who drank, she took out her good furniture and brought up the old.

More interesting, however, than the sanitary problems within the house or the management of "furnished rooms" as a business is the problem of family life under these conditions. It is clear that the presence of families in furnished rooming-houses must be a question of serious interest to the charitable organizations of the city. In the West Side District of the United Charities, a very large proportion of the families relieved are from the furnished-rooms section, and the same thing is true, though in perhaps a lesser degree, in the other districts which have furnished-rooms sections.[9] These families are almost invariably American or Irish, and although a few representatives of other nationalities will be found, their numbers are small in proportion.[10] A study in a single district of the case records for the "furnished-room" families who had become applicants for relief showed an almost unvarying sequence of events. The family through misfortune, however caused, had been obliged to give up their home. In most cases a failure to pay rent had been followed by eviction. They had "stored" their furniture, and then by paying a dollar and a half or two dollars a week they had got a furnished room equipped for "light housekeeping" as a temporary home. But once having gone down it was easier for the family to go on paying the small weekly sum demanded by the "furnished-rooms" landlady than to get enough money together to take the furniture out of storage and pay a monthly rent in advance as they must do to get into a small apartment of their own again. In many cases the storage was soon greater than the value of the "stored" furniture, and the family had then no way of escape from furnished rooms except by saving enough to make a first payment on some new furniture.

[9] Unfortunately the case records have not been so kept that it is always clear whether the family was occupying furnished rooms or not. The testimony of the superintendents, however, was most emphatic on this point. Special acknowledgment may be made here of the kindness of Miss Amelia Sears, superintendent of the West Side District office, who not only gave generously of her time, but from time to time allowed the investigators to use her office.

[10] Out of 62 families, the nationality of whose head was recorded, 31 were Americans, 11 Irish, 7 German, 2 Canadian, 2 English, 2 Polish, 3 Swedish, 1 French, 1 Norwegian, 2 Italian.

In one case a husband and wife with their three children were living in two rooms meagerly furnished "for light housekeeping" in a basement on Sangamon Street. When the last baby was expected they were in great discouragement, for the man who was a teamster had not had regular work for a year. Before the woman went to the hospital they had stored their furniture and given up their home, as they supposed, temporarily; but the furniture was soon "lost in storage," and they had settled down to a careless hand-to-mouth existence without giving a thought to a troubled future of responsibility with furniture of their own and a month's rent due in advance. In another case the charity visitor found a woman who had applied for relief living with her two children in two very small and miserably furnished rooms in a rear building. The husband was a baker who drank. He had been out of work for four months, and they had sold the furniture and moved into furnished rooms. He had been in Indianapolis for two months looking for work and the family had had "county aid." The woman, who had been working hard to support herself and the children, was sick and discouraged, and had only applied for relief when the landlord threatened eviction. After the district visitor had moved the family out of furnished rooms into a small apartment, where they were buying some furniture again and trying to get re-established, the man reappeared. Within a year his unsteady habits had demoralized them and he retreated to a country town in Illinois from which he wrote, "I could not stay in Chicago; the landlord was after me, and so was the furniture people; so I started out to do something." The woman was then expecting her third baby, and, touched by her forlorn condition, the "furniture man" agreed to wait. But her difficulties were not over, for her Greek landlord continued his threats and her fear of him was so great that she suddenly gave up the struggle and sold the furniture, saying she felt she would be safe if she could only get back into furnished rooms for a time.

In another case, a family with two children were found in a second-floor front room on Washington Boulevard for which

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A ONE-ROOM FURNISHED APARTMENT

Occupied by a woman and five children

they were paying $2.25 a week. Although the man had tuberculosis, the whole family slept in one bed. He had been unable to work, and the woman who "worked when she could" and sometimes earned seven or eight dollars a week, had worn herself out and become a heavy drinker. She still has the reputation of being a good worker, but she "gets discouraged" and then drinks. They originally "lost their home" three years ago because the furniture was seized to settle a grocery bill, and they have been going the rounds of furnished rooms ever since. The woman's habits have made them unwelcome tenants, and they were turned out by their last landlady.

Tuberculosis in furnished rooms is one of their serious dangers, and many other cases similar to the last one might be given. A woman and her five children were found in a single fourth-floor room reached by a very dark stairway in a house on Washington Boulevard. The room was extremely dirty and the children very much neglected. The man who had an advanced case of tuberculosis had deserted his family for a second time, and the woman who had incipient tuberculosis was not able to work much. She had sold the furniture, taken a furnished room, and locked the children in during the days when she went out to work. She had made no application for relief, and the condition of the home and children was discovered only by chance. In another case, a family whose furniture had gone for a grocery bill had moved into a single furnished room with their two children and, although the man had tuberculosis, they all slept in one bed.

In one family which was under the care of the United Charities at various times for a period of five years, there was, before the first application for help, a history of illness, irregular work and some drinking on the part of the man. The woman had placed the five children in the Home for the Friendless, stored the furniture, and had then moved with her husband into a furnished room. Her plan was to go out doing housework until they had saved enough money for a month's rent and were ready to "start again." The United Charities record was, "We find ourselves unable to get them to put forth any effort." In

six months they wanted the children and immediately removed them from the Home for the Friendless, but they refused to make an effort to "get their things together," and took the children with them into furnished rooms. The landlady complained because they "broke up the furniture" and made them move into two other furnished rooms in a rear cottage. In two months the United Charities again made an effort to move the family, but the man had decided that he was going to die soon and that there was therefore no need of "putting forth any effort." The landlady wanted to evict them because they were so dirty. Although they finally got their furniture back, the woman developed tuberculosis and was obliged to go to the County Infirmary at Dunning. The children were again sent to the Home for the Friendless, and this time the furniture was sold and the man left to shift for himself. After a few months he was tired of it and the woman was tired of Dunning, and the two took the children away once more and were found by a district visitor in a rear house in "three miserable, furnished rooms" which were "in a filthy condition." The man had given up dying and was working as a carpenter, earning good wages but giving little to the family. The woman who was in an advanced stage of tuberculosis was being cared for by the Tuberculosis Institute. The children were indescribably neglected, and were finally brought into the Juvenile Court with the father.

In more than half of the cases, drink seems to be the explanation of the family's descent into life "in furnished rooms," and once there, such a life is undoubtedly a constant incentive to drink and other spendthrift, dissolute habits, and we have one of the old vicious circles so familiar to the charity worker. In the case of one family living in a large building given over to furnished rooms in the southern end of the district, a woman who had four children said that because of her husband's drinking habits they were safer living in furnished rooms. Her husband would never save enough to pay the landlord at the end of the month, but he would pay the $2.50 each week when he knew he would be promptly locked out if he failed. Both this woman and her husband had "good family connections" and

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A ONE-ROCM APARTMENT IN A FURNISHED ROOMING HOUSE ON THE WEST SIDE

Eight families now live in this house which was originally occupied by a single family

very nice children, and it is encouraging to report that on a second visit to the family it was learned that a cousin had given the man steady work with the agreement that part of his wages were to be "kept back" until there was money enough to get the furniture out of storage. In the same house was another family with three very young children who had been brought to their misfortune because the man gambled. In another case a man with his wife and five children were found living in a single furnished room with an area of 60 square feet. Drink had been the cause of their misfortunes, and the wife thought if they stored their furniture and went into furnished rooms for a time "things might be easier." On the contrary, as she explained to a charity visitor, "he only drank harder in furnished rooms and went steadily down." In a "light-housekeeping" building on the South Side a husband and wife who were both drinking, unreliable people were living in a single room with seven children. The children were singularly attractive and the parents found it very profitable to send them out begging. The United Charities had made persistent efforts to rehabilitate the family in order to save the children; but although they had been taken out of furnished rooms and re-established in a home of their own several times, they always "went back" whenever it seemed easiest to do so.

In addition to these fairly typical cases of families who through illness, irregular employment, drink, or other bad habits, have "lost their homes" and fallen into the hand-to-mouth existence in furnished rooms, there are a large number of miscellaneous ones. A woman who cleaned offices at night said that she liked living in furnished rooms so that her four children might be near other people in the evening when she was away. Some young married women are reluctant to give up earning money of their own, and prefer their old occupations outside the home to isolated, monotonous, unaccustomed work inside the home. One woman who has been married less than a year said she wanted to work because she hated "sitting round home" all the time. A husband and wife who together "did a turn" in the "nickel theaters" found it a conveniently easy and economical method of

life. A single room entails slight responsibility, and, if equipped for light housekeeping is thought to bear some resemblance to a home. There are, too, many cases in which the woman's slovenly habits, lack of housewifely thrift, as well as of adequate education and training for the responsibilities of married life, are obviously at fault. In general it may be said that uncertainty of employment and irregular habits on the part of the husband interact with bad management on the part of the wife to promote a most disorderly manner of living, obviously demoralizing for the children in the family.

From the point of view of the rent paid, living in furnished rooms is an expensive way of living for poor people. The table given below shows the number of rooms occupied, together with the weekly rental. Only nine of the thirty-six families occupy-

No. of Rooms Occupied	Number of Families Who Paid a Weekly Rental of									
	$1.00	$1.25	$1.50	$1.75	$2.00	$2.25	$2.50	$2.75	$3.00	Total
1 room ..	1	1	4	3	10	5	7	0	5	36
2 rooms..	0	0	0	1	4	2	14	1	3	25
3 rooms..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
4 rooms..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total..	1	1	4	4	14	7	21	1	11	64

ing one room paid less than $2.00 a week, while in the same neighborhood an apartment of three or possibly even four rooms may be had for $8.00 or $10.00 a month. And it must be remembered that most of these families, when they first move into furnished rooms, are not only paying a high rent in proportion to the number of rooms but they are paying storage on their furniture at the same time.[11]

For some unexplained reason, rents are higher in the summer than in winter. In one house, rooms that are rented for

[11] It is interesting to note that families pay higher rents relatively than do single "roomers" in the same house. For example, a room for which a family would be obliged to pay $2.00 a week would be let to a man alone for $1.00, although the landlady would also be responsible for the care of the room in the latter case. This is only a further indication of the fact that families are charged high rents for the privilege of "light housekeeping."

$3.00 a week in summer are offered for $2.00 in the winter. No one seems to be able to give a satisfactory reason for this—one landlady merely said, "You can't get more in winter."

It has already been pointed out that no attempt will be made in the present study to discuss the problem of furnished rooms in so far as they accommodate men and women who wish to live irregularly, and who find it easy to lose their identity in furnished rooms and maintain irregular household establishments. The presence of such people is, however, an important factor contributing to the demoralization of families who give up normal home life for furnished rooms. Charity visitors both on the West and the South sides furnished examples of cases in which young girls in respectable families had gone wrong because the families had been unfortunate enough to have disreputable neighbors in the furnished rooming-house in which they lived, and had not discovered the danger until it was too late.

The purpose of the present study has been to set forth one of the less conspicuous aspects of the housing problem in Chicago, and one that is believed to be important because of its singularly demoralizing effect on family life. It should be pointed out that this is something more than a local problem. In nearly every large city there are sections similar to those described in Chicago in which domestic life is driven out by business or industry or both, and during the period of transition, the houses which were once dignified and comfortable homes are crudely adapted for the use of the poor. Doubtless in many communities, the problem described in this study assumes as serious aspects as in Chicago.[12] With reference to the treatment of such property by the city nothing can be added to the conservative and yet far-seeing statement of Mr. Booth.[13] While, however, a suitable scheme of adaptation is being elaborated, certain obvious requirements in administration may be noted. Reasonably frequent disinfections should be required without special evidence of contagion having spread in these sections. The municipal

[12] See, e.g., Dinwiddie, *Housing Conditions in Philadelphia*, 23: "The filthiest living rooms were found in the furnished room houses." See also p. 19.

[13] Cited above in note 2.

ordinance[14] requiring adequate toilet facilities should be made more definite. It may be too soon to look for a municipal ordinance which shall outlaw the one-room tenement for families with children, but in so far as the one-room tenement involves a violation of the ordinance requiring a minimum cubic air space in rooms used for living and sleeping purposes, a rigid enforcement of the ordinance may be demanded. It has already been pointed out that 15 per cent of the sleeping-rooms were illegally crowded, and nowhere is this overcrowding so harmful as in cases where a single room is used for all household purposes. The frequent inspection of such establishments for the purpose of enforcing this and the following sections in the health code should be rendered possible by an adequate appropriation and a larger staff of inspectors.

In addition to an enforcement of these ordinances, further improvement could be effected by more intelligent and far-seeing action on the part of the police department. There seems no reason why a territory still recognized as a residence district, though inhabited mostly by the families of the poor, should not be purged of the vicious element with which it is tainted.[15] But whether or not such a scheme of adaptation as suggested by Mr. Booth can be agreed upon, or a reasonable standard of decency, cleanliness, and sanitation enforced by the city, or the disorderly elements expelled by the police, it is clear that any charitable agency attempts the impossible if it attempts the rehabilitation of a family without making a removal from furnished rooms an inexorable condition of assistance.

[14] Tolman's Municipal Code, sec. 1225.

[15] And this means, of course, without transferring them to any other similar residence neighborhood. A request that the business invasion of the West Side be facilitated by the expulsion of these disorderly elements has been lodged with the mayor. (See the *Record-Herald,* October 8, 1910, containing a demand to this effect, signed by business firms.) This request is, however, accompanied informally by the following naïve and shocking statement by a representative of one of the petitioning firms: "The district north of West ——— Street and between the river and North ——— Avenue is ideal for a heavier manufacturing district. *employing only men,* practically, and there are *plenty of obscure* streets near it that *would permit of segregation there of the vicious* elements."—*Daily News.* October 7, 1910. The italics are ours, as is the comment that these "obscure streets" are now inhabited by a respectable tenement population, chiefly immigrants, of course.

THE TRANSITION TO AN OBJECTIVE STANDARD OF SOCIAL CONTROL

LESTER LEE BERNARD
The University of Chicago

IV. THEORIES OF THE END OF ACTIVITY

INTRODUCTION.—FROM HOBBES TO ROUSSEAU.—(1) SELF-GRATIFICATION AS END.—(2) FEELING HARMONIZED WITH CONTROL.—(3) THE TRANSITION TO EMPHASIS UPON SOCIAL CONTROL.—(4) THE NEO-UTILITARIANS OR SOCIAL ETHICISTS.—(5) OTHER SUBJECTIVISTIC THEORIES.—(6) THE TRANSITION TO SOCIOLOGY

It is the task of this chapter to enter into an account of typical views of the end of activity, tracing the line of development, so far as space will allow, through the various types of subjectivistic criteria in ethical and social writing to the present transition to a functional and objective sociology. The writers here treated, together with the views they represent, can be classified most conveniently under six heads. First are the frankly hedonistic theorists and agitators who regard pleasure, happiness, self-gratification as the legitimate end of all activity and abhor social control accordingly. This type may be illustrated by William Morris and Nietzsche. Closely related to these theorists in origin and growing up parallel and in close connection with them is another class of men who urge the same end of activity, but who do not conceive of the end as in any way opposed to legitimate and effective social control, but rather as an aid to it. Fourier and Bentham may be used to illustrate this type. Under the pressure of criticism Mill and Spencer and their contemporaries came to modify the bases of their doctrine of pleasure or happiness as the end; and their views furnish the material for the third division. After Mill and Spencer, and even contemporary with them, came a group of writers who may be called neo-utilitarians or social ethicists for lack of better terms. They make prominent the idea of

reference to social control, but set up pleasure as the end or good, frequently displaying a poorly reconciled opposition between social morality and hedonic self-realization. These writers constitute the fourth division. In the fifth division are classed the various subjectivistic theories centering about some other criterion than the "seeking of pleasure" and the "avoidance of pain," or at least implying such real or pseudo-facts as conscience, the moral sense, inner harmony, reason, self-realization, maximum activity, as the final objects of reference in activity. The final group of theorists is made up of the transitional sociologists, that is, those thinkers on social questions who were born into the old artificial subjectivism, but who are making the transition to a functional sociology. The line of transition through these types of theory will appear in the development of the chapter.

Hobbes, the father of modern English psychology and empirical philosophy, was also the unwitting progenitor of the modern democratic movement. On the one hand he started the analysis of mind in specific and concrete, almost objective, terms, which was carried on by Locke, Hume, Helvetius, Hartley, the Scottish school, and has lately appeared in the experimental psychology and realistic and pragmatic philosophy. On the other hand he gave a fruitful impulse to the discussion of the origin of authority in social control, which coming down through Locke, Helvetius,[1] Rousseau, Bentham, Fourier, Schiller, Babœuf, Weitling, Bakunin, and others, has permeated all the modern political and social discussion, though the content of the discussion has changed much in the transition. Hobbes stated the thesis that man renounced the state of nature which was also a state of freedom and of war, and accepted civilized life[2] con-

[1] Helvetius almost reproduces Hobbes (without citing him) in some parts of his writings, especially on the genesis of the social contract, his theory of feeling as a means of control, etc. (*op. cit.*, 322 ff.). I am convinced that a further study of Helvetius and his connections will show that he had a much wider influence in spreading the doctrines of Hobbes and his immediate successors than is now generally recognized.

[2] The term *civilized peoples,* in the sense of socially or state controlled peoples appears in Helvetius (*op. cit.*, 292, 325) *policées peuples,* and in the German at a little later date as *polizierte Völker* (Professor Small has found the

tractually as a means of escaping pain and suffering and of adding to his satisfactions.[3] The hedonic motive which Hobbes put forth has furnished the basis of practically all later theories, and has not until very recently been modified.[4] Locke made the first significant transition toward a theory of democracy on the new basis when he made the contract two-sided,[5] while Rousseau went even farther in modifying the terms of the contract so as to make it wholly an expression of the popular will and dependent on nothing else.[6] At this point Hobbes's germinal idea had blossomed into the green fruit of democracy, and we need not at this point trace the connection farther.

Rousseau, however, reversed one of the principles of Hobbes in giving form to the theory that man made a mistake in coming out of the state of nature, which according to Rousseau was not a state of war as Hobbes had described it, but a state of peace, happiness, and innocence.[7] True to the poetic tradition [8]

usage in Büsch, *op. cit.*), in each case used in the same sense, of people under coercive or compulsory control as a means to civilization. The same idea occurs again, though in much modified form, in the French school of sociologists in connection with the theory of the social organism (see below).

[3] *Leviathan, loc. cit.*, chaps. xiii–xiv.

[4] The scattered adherents of a theocratic doctrine of the origin of social control would, of course, accept the hedonic statement of the origin of social control with reservations or reject it entirely (Paley combines the idea of revelation and the pleasure and pain motive—the "fear of hell"—in control. Cf. *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, Bk. I, chap. vi; Bk. II, chaps vi–viii; also Martineau, *op. cit.*, II, 234. Sidgwick classes Paley as a utilitarian because of this attitude. Cf. *Hist. of Ethics* (3d ed.), 238 ff. Mill strongly resents this characterization. Cf. "Professor Sidgwick's Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge" in *Dissertations and Discussions* (Boston, 1868), I, 150. But the theocratic theorists are negligible. The dominant line of development of the theory of social control has been, of course, in modern times from the contract theory of Hobbes down to the completest evolutionary and naturalistic statement of the theory of the present.

[5] Cf. Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*, Bk. II, chap. viii.

[6] Cf. *The Social Contract* (transl. Harrington), Bk. I, chaps. vi–vii; Bk. IV, chap. i.

[7] Cf. *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, especially the Preface. Morellet (*Le code de la nature*, 1755) expresses about the same view, in a more crude way.

[8] Rousseau was not, of course, a scientist, but a popularizer and a sentimentalist.

he had his golden age in the past. As the formulator of this view Rousseau became the father of modern philosophic anarchism. With the best of evidence the nihilistic doctrines of Bakunin, which have both directly and indirectly so strongly influenced modern pseudo-social and literary writing, and hence popular thinking, have been traced back to him.[9] Socialism also as a part of the general modern democratic movement owes much to Rousseau.[10] It is to the more anarchistic and to the socialistic variants which are traceable to Rousseau that the first group of examples in this chapter belongs, while the other groups, with a partial exception for the second, come for the most part within the limits of the more conventional movement of democracy.

I. William Morris takes happiness and democratic gratification to be the criterion of the end of life and action,[11] and for its attainment all social revolution or change must occur.[12] Government stands in the way of the attainment of this end.[13] He rebels even at the idea of a coercive public opinion,[14] and holds that pleasure from the satisfaction of natural desires is the proper guide to conduct.[15] Crime does not require punishment, for "In a society where there is no punishment to evade, no law to

[9] Cf. Graham, *Socialism New and Old,* 67–68. Ibsen confesses to inspiration from Bakunin, and G. B. Shaw asserts his discipleship to Ibsen. Cf. *The Quintessence of Ibsenism.*

[10] Graham, *op. cit.,* 59 ff.

[11] *News from Nowhere* (Boston, 1890), 80.

[12] *Ibid.,* 128.

[13] *Ibid.,* 104. Also: "It would be possible for us to contend with and rob each other, but it would be harder for us than refraining from strife and robbery. That is, in short, the foundation of our life and happiness."—*Ibid.,* 110.

[14] *Ibid.,* 82.

[15] In describing how the old order failed, Old Hammond said: "[Most crimes] were the result of the laws of private property, which forbade the satisfaction of their natural desires to all but a privileged few, and of the general visible coercion which came of those laws. . . . . Again, many violent acts came from the artificial perversion of the sexual passions, which caused over-weening jealousy and the like miseries [also based on the man-made idea of woman as property]. That idea has of course vanished with private property, as well as certain follies about the "ruin" of women for following their natural desires in an illegal way, which was, of course, a convention caused by the laws of private property."—*Ibid.,* 112.

triumph over, remorse will certainly follow transgression." [16] His ideal of life is a non-coercive communism where the love of work will be a sufficient bond.[17] His ideal of "real learning" is "knowledge cultivated for its own sake—the Art of Knowledge, in short." [18]

Nietzsche in a way returns to the basic principle of Hobbes, in declaring that the focus of all activities and ends is in a desire to escape suffering, "in a longing for *stupefaction of pain through emotion.*" [19] This suffering is age-long, generally recognizable in the *feeling of guilt* which has its origin in "a bit of animal psychology—no more." [20] The relief from this unpleasant feeling is the exercise of the instinct of the *will to power.*[21] The ascetic priesthood have always studied to repress this "instinct" and to deepen the feeling of guilt, thus robbing mankind of happiness.[22] Modern science is the ally of the priesthood in this theft of happiness.[23] The only hope for humanity is in breaking away from both, in exalting the egoistic *blond beast,* and then the hobgoblin "morality will die." He looks for this transformation within the next two hundred years.[24]

[16] *Ibid.,* 114.

[17] *Ibid.,* 127. Also: ". . . . Those more enlightened men who were then [under the old order] called Socialists, although they well knew, and even stated in public, that the only reasonable condition of society was that of pure communism (such as you now see around you), yet shrunk from what seemed to them the barren task of preaching the realization of a happy dream."—*Ibid.,* 145.

[18] *Ibid.,* 97.

[19] *A Genealogy of Morals* (transl. Hausmann, New York, 1897), 176. Plato, Leibniz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, all regarded pleasure as cessation of pain or discomfort, as does Nietzsche here. Cf. Wright, *op. cit.,* VI, 72–91.

[20] *Ibid.,* 196. Elsewhere he explains the origin of this "feeling" differently: "The feeling of guilt . . . . and of personal obligation has . . . . its origin in the oldest and most primitive personal relationship which ever existed—the relationship between buyer and seller, creditor and debtor."—*Ibid,* 82–83.

[21] *Ibid.,* 188 ff. Technically, Nietzsche does not make feeling or happiness the end of action, but substitutes the criterion of *will to power.* But since he understands by pleasure a feeling of increased power and by pain a feeling of diminished power, his criterion resolves itself finally into a simple hedonistic subjectivistic statement of the end of activity. (Cf. *Werke,* XIII, 254, 271 ff.; XV, 323, 331 ff.)

[22] *Genealogy of Morals,* 190 ff. [23] *Ibid.,* 214–15. [24] *Ibid.,* 225.

II. Charles Fourier was in large measure the prototype of theorists like William Morris and was a follower of Rousseau and Helvetius, especially in so far as the doctrine that pleasure is the end of action is concerned. However, he believed in a form of social control, meager in scope though the control was to be. For him the law of happiness is to social science what the law of gravitation is to physics.[25] He held that the instincts and impulses are naturally good and that the way to happiness is to follow them.[26] Therefore it is necessary to study these impulses or attractions coming from nature instead of the artificial duties recommended by the philosophers.[27] He recognizes that to follow the lead of our sensuous appetites (to which he mainly refers)[28] may get us into trouble, but that is only because our social organization is such as it is, and with the proper social reorganization this disturbance would be removed. Hence the

[25] Cf. *Théorie des quatre mouvements,* 107 (2d ed., *Œuvres,* Paris, 1846). Compare Helvetius, *op. cit.,* 322; also Lester F. Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization,* 55, 94, and *Dynamic Sociology,* I, 486–87.

[26] "L'attraction passionnée est l'impulsion donnée par la nature antérieurement à la réflexion, et persistante malgré l'opposition de la raison, du devoir, du préjuge, etc."—*Nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, Œuv.* (2d ed.), 47.

"Le monde savante est tout imbu d'une doctrine appelée MORALE, qui est mortelle ennemie de l'attraction passionnée. La morale enseigne à l'homme à être en guerre avec lui-même, résister à ses passions, les réprimer, croire que Dieu n'a pas su organiser sagement nos âmes, nos passions; qu'il avait besoin des leçons de Platon et Sénèque pour apprendre à distribuer les caractères et les instincts. Imbu de ces préjugés sur l'impéritie de Dieu, le monde savant était inhabile au calcul des impulsions naturelles ou attractions passionnées, que la morale proscrit et relégue au rang des vices."—*Ibid.,* 125 (quoted from Gide, *Charles Fourier: Œuvres choisies,* 11).

"Les passions qu'on croit ennemies de la concorde ne tendent qu'à cette unité dont nous les jugeons si eloignées."—Gide, *op. cit.,* 12.

[27] "Tous ces caprices philosophiques, appelés *des devoirs,* n'ont aucun rapport avec la nature; le devoir vient des hommes, l'attraction vient de Dieu; or, si l'on veut connaître les vues de Dieu, il faut étudier l'attraction, la nature seule, sans aucune acception du devoir qui varie dans chaque siècle, tandis que la nature des passions a été et restera invariable chez tous les peuples."—*Théorie des quatre mouvements,* 107 (from Gide, *op. cit.,* 10). Compare on the matter of duty G. B. Shaw, *Quintessence of Ibsenism* (New York, 1904), 44–45.

[28] See his classifications, *Nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire* (*Œuvres, loc. cit.*), 47 ff.

necessity for instituting the system of the phalanstery.[29] One of the incidents of the change in social control which he urges is that women should be sexually free at the age of eighteen.[30] The wide influence of Fourier after his death is well known. In 1841 Considérant lectured at Dijon,[31] on the prospects of Fourierism and "there was loud and prolonged applause among an enthusiastic audience." [32]

Bentham was much less radical and visionary than Fourier. His line of theoretical descent is direct from Hobbes down through Locke and Hume, both of whom held to the theory that the seeking of pleasure and the avoidance of pain constitute the ends of activity.[33] From them also he got his empirical philosophy and largely his practical bent of mind which led him to seek to apply his principles in common-sense legislation, or rather to seek a philosophy of motivation to justify and explain his practical measures. He desired exactness. Though less influenced by continental than by English thought, he and Fourier held much the same views about happiness.[34] Though Bentham regards "pleasure and pain" as constituting the sole motives of life,[35] he recognizes that they need some social control, some selection and direction, and in this he advances beyond

[29] *Ibid.*, 99 ff. See also Gide, *op. cit.*, 13.

[30] Cf. *Théorie des quatre mouvements, loc. cit.*, 197.

[31] The Academy of Dijon had given Rousseau a prize in 1750.

[32] Kaufmann, *Utopias*, 82.

[33] Cf. Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, chap. xx; and Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, Bk. II, Part III, sec. 3.

[34] Fourier says of Bentham: "Je n'ai vu qu'un écrivain civilisé qui ait un peu approché de la définition du vrai bonheur; c'est M. Bentham, exigé des réalitiés et non des illusions: tout les autres sont si loin du but, qu'ils ne sont pas dignes de critique."—*Nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, loc. cit.*, 348.

[35] "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think. . . . . The *principle of utility* (*greatest happiness* or *greatest felicity*) recognizes this subjection, and assumes it for the foundation of that system, the object of which is to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and law." —*Prin. of Morals and Legislation*, 1.

Fourier and his type of thinkers.[36] As a guide to such selection he makes an elaborate classification of pleasures and pains on the ultimate basis of intensity of feeling,[37] and later of the different degrees of susceptibility of different people.[38] Aside from his hedonistic doctrine he takes a fairly objective and scientific view of the causation and social value of the act.[39] His theory of feeling is for him only a method; his object is social control and betterment.

III. The significant additions made to the theory of utilitarianism by John Stuart Mill[40] are (1) that he develops the concept of quality in happiness,[41] by which term he understands pleasure and the absence of pain;[42] (2) that he emphasizes less the negative side of avoidance of suffering, thus giving the impression of a higher conception to his theory; (3) that he conceives the happiness which is desirable to be not that of the individual alone, but primarily that of society or of the greatest number;[43] and (4) that he justifies this wider reference of the principle of happiness on the grounds of an acquired conscience

[36] "Pleasures, then, and the avoidance of pains are the *ends* which the legislator has in view. It behoves him, therefore, to understand their *value*. Pleasures and pains are the *instruments* he has to work with; it behoves him, therefore, to understand their force, which is again, in another point of view, their value."—*Ibid.*, 16.

[37] *Ibid.*, 16 ff. [38] *Ibid.*, 21 ff. [39] *Ibid.*, 35.

[40] The justification for making a separate division for Mill and Spencer as representatives of a tendency of thought may be doubted. They have their place because they represent a radical transition in social and ethical theory. Both had encyclopedic minds, such as transitional periods require of their leaders. Mill's, because of his training, was a mirror for all the information and theory of the past toward which he always turned sympathetically. Even his arguments for the emancipation of women and for greater liberty are platonic on the one hand and Eighteenth Century on the other. Spencer's training in natural science and his wealth of ill-digested, but modern, social facts on the other hand, led him to look resolutely to the future and frequently to deny his obvious indebtedness to the past, to formally espouse the doctrine of evolution which he endeavored to apply to ethics and sociology, arriving however in the main only at classification. Both were in fact utilitarians; the one an apologist for the utilitarian theories on old logical grounds, and the other unconsciously giving them a new lease of life through the application of biological and sociological arguments and analogies.

[41] *Utilitarianism* (11th ed.), 11 ff.

[42] *Ibid.*, 9. [43] *Ibid.*, 16, 24.

and the development of the social feelings of mankind.[44] It is in these additions that we find him preparing the way for the socio-ethicists and neo-utilitarians to be considered in the next section.

Spencer maintained that the utilitarian criterion, greatest happiness, either for the individual or for the group, is unmeasurable,[45] and asserts that happiness, the legitimate end of action, must be sought indirectly by fulfilling the social conditions of (1) equal justice, (2) negative beneficence, (3) positive beneficence, and (4) pursuance of individual happiness or pleasure.[46] His main contribution, however, is that he modified the original utilitarian principle, making society the constant term in adjustment and the individual the relative.[47] In this practical negation of his happiness standard he gives a distinct impetus to an objective and social as opposed to an individualistic criterion. In his *Principles of Ethics,* however, he reaffirms this hedonic criterion,[48] and finally brings in sympathy—or sympathetic gratification—to harmonize the opposition between social control and hedonic self-gratification or realization.[49] To support his theory

[44] *Ibid.*, 25, 41.

[45] *Social Statics* (American ed.), 8 ff.

[46] *Ibid.*, 33 ff.

[47] "The social state is a necessity. The conditions to the greatest happiness under the state are fixed. Our characters are the only things not fixed. They, then, must be moulded into fitness for the conditions. And all moral teaching and discipline must have for its object to hasten this process."—*Ibid.*, 35. It would not be impossible however to put a similar construction upon the teachings of Bentham and other utilitarian writers, especially if they had possessed an adequate conception of the essentially unitary nature of society—which they did not.

[48] " . . . . No school can avoid taking for the ultimate moral aim a desirable state of feeling called by whatever name—gratification, enjoyment, happiness. Pleasure somewhere, at some time, to some being or beings, is an inexpugnable element of the conception. It is as much a necessary form of moral intuition as space is a necessary form of intellectual intuition."—*Op. cit.* (American ed.), I, 46.

[49] *Ibid.*, I, 255. This method of extending the conception of the content of pleasurable experience had also been practiced at a much earlier date by those moralists who sought in the feelings a criterion of evaluation of activities which would relieve them of the necessity of reference to religious or political absolutism as criteria, and who were at the same time unable to conceive of an

he resuscitates the principle that pleasantness and unpleasantness accompany useful and harmful actions respectively,[50] but clothes the statement in evolutionary language.[51] To this he adds the principle that pleasure can be made to accompany any activity not inconsistent with the maintenance of life,[52] and concludes that sympathy and altruism will ultimately be made pleasurable by society, hence happiness or pleasure will be the effective as well as the natural guide.[53] He emphasizes the view that the emotions or feelings (used by him indifferently) "are the masters, the intellect the servant,"[54] a principle later made so much of by Lester F. Ward. In Spencer we see, distinctly, signs of the future as well as of the past. Through him utilitarianism ceased to be merely logical and became "evolutionary," thus getting a new lease on life. Spencer marks the second stage in an acute transition of which Mill was the first stage.

IV. Contemporary with and subsequent to Spencer, a new school of ethicists arose, which may be called the social school, and which has acted as a sort of link between the old utilitarianism and other types of subjectivism on the one hand and the rising school of sociology on the other. In fact, Spencer himself belongs to this school, and was in no small sense its founder, as he has been to a considerable extent a contributor to most recent related disciplines. The guiding principle of this whole school may be found in Leslie Stephen as well as another, when he traces morality back to social conditions.[55] And he

objective social criterion. Cf. Hartley, "Of the Six Classes of Intellectual Pleasures and Pains," *Observations on Man* (4th ed.), Part I, chap. iv. See also Wright, *op cit.*, 31 ff.

[50] Cf. chap. iii, above.

[51] Cf. *Principles of Ethics*, I, 79; and *Prin. of Psy.*, I, sec. 124, 279, 280 ff.

[52] *Prin. of Ethics*, I, 186. [53] *Ibid.*, I, 302.

[54] "Feeling versus intellect" in *Facts and Comments* (American ed.), 38, 43.

[55] "Morality . . . . is a product of the social factor; the individual is moralized through his identification with the social organism [cf. Spencer and the modern French organicists]; the conditions, therefore, of the security of morality are the conditions of the persistence of society; and if we ask from the scientific point of view what these conditions are, we can only reply by stating that the race is dependent upon the environment; by tracing, so far as we are able, the conditions under which it has been developed, and trying to foresee the future from the past."—*Science of Ethics*, 454.

does this despite the fact that he holds to the Benthamite doctrine that "conduct . . . . is determined by feeling," even by present feeling and not by mere representation.[56] Like Spencer he assumes the agreement of social and of individual welfare, of life and happiness, but finds the assumption difficult to reconcile with the facts;[57] so, like Spencer again, he bridges the chasm by the introduction of altruism and sympathy.[58]

According to Green also "the true good is, and in its earliest form was, a social good," in which self and others are not to be distinguished.[59] This good is not a succession of pleasures but of objects which, when realized, contribute equally to the satisfaction of the "permanent self" and of society.[60] Though of a different intellectual derivation, he is, however, strongly influenced by the prevailing utilitarian ideas, and his disagreement with the utilitarians on the subject of feeling appears more imagined than real.[61] Sidgwick, however, finds two ends or goods, "Happiness and Perfection or Excellence of human nature—meaning here by 'excellence' not primarily superiority to others, but a partial realization of, or approximation to, an ideal type of human perfection."[62] In a criticism of Spencer,

[56] *Ibid.*, 42, 47. He is closer to Bentham on this point even than Mill is. He says: "Pain and pleasure are the sole and ultimate causes [of activity]." —*Ibid.*, 50.

[57] *Ibid.*, 432.

[58] "Therefore it may be, or rather plainly is, necessary for a man to acquire certain instincts [*sic*], among them the altruistic instincts, which fit him for the general conditions of life, though in particular cases they may cause him to be more miserable than if he were without them."—*Ibid.*, 433.

[59] Cf. *Prolegomena to Ethics*, sec. 232.

[60] *Ibid.*, secs. 234 ff.

[61] "According to our theory the human perfection identified with ultimate good *is* a 'state of desirable consciousness,' though not simply a state of pleasure; and pleasure is anticipated in the attainment of the desired end, though it is not the end desired."—*Ibid.* (explanatory analysis), sec. 364. Again: "According to Mr. Sidgwick's theory, on the other hand, desirable consciousness is the same as pleasure, and his Universalistic Hedonism (differing from the older Utilitarianism) seems to rest on the position that reason pronounces ultimate good to be desirable consciousness or pleasure, and, further, universal pleasure."—*Ibid.*, sec. 365. The difference here seems to be merely formal. All this is essentially the same old subjectivistic philosophy in which the emphasis was always upon mental states instead of upon objective results.

[62] *Methods of Ethics*, 9.

however, he appears to reduce the two ends to one.[63] H. Rashdall, a student of both Green and Sidgwick, takes an eclectic position, adopting the happiness end of the latter,[64] and making the combined social and intuitional reference of the former the criterion for selection among impulses contending for satisfaction.[65]

Two contemporary social ethicists, who may be classed as neo-utilitarians, are Frederick Meakin and Professor Dewey. Meakin takes very frankly the view that pleasure or the idea of experience which is pleasurable is the sole motive in conscious choice.[66] From this view he makes a quick transition to the idea of the essentially social nature of morality,[67] and bridges the chasm with the social instinct [*sic*] which "pervades all our instincts," but which he cannot quite conceive of as innate.[68] This contradiction throws him back upon a long discussion of the question, "Does morality demand of the individual uncompensated [in the sense of unpleasurable feeling] sacrifice?"[69] The possession of a candid mind leads him ultimately to take refuge in religious values and something more than temporal reward to avoid an affirmative answer.[70] Except for this final refuge his theory does not differ essentially from that of Spencer or Stephen.

Dewey on the other hand stands with Green in denying that pleasure can be the cause of an act,[71] and distinguishes happiness from pleasure, making the former a social matter rather than individual.[72] But social interests are something

[63] He says: "We both agree that the greatest happiness of the aggregate of persons affected by actions is the ultimate end."—*Ethics of Green, Spencer, and Martineau*, 278.

[64] *Theory of Good and Evil*, II, 60; I, 100.

[65] *Ibid.*, I, 100, 180.

[66] *Op. cit.*, 90 and chap. x. Meakin may be taken as the most consistent modern exponent of utilitarian theory.

[67] *Ibid.*, chaps. xi and xiv.

[68] *Ibid.*, 131.

[69] *Ibid.*, chaps. xxiii ff.

[70] *Ibid.*, chap. xxviii.

[71] Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 269–71.

[72] "The genuinely moral person . . . . will find his happiness or satisfaction in the promotion of these [associational] activities irrespective of the particular pains or pleasures that accrue."—*Ibid.*, 298.

broader than sympathy, which he regards as "a genuine natural instinct," and by means of which he finds himself unable to reconcile the contradiction which had troubled earlier writers.[73] "What is required is a *blending,* a *fusing* of the sympathetic tendencies with the other impulsive and habitual traits of the self."[74] With "sympathy transformed into a habitual standpoint" the self becomes moral,[75] and the persons who have most of this are happiest, or at least have the "best" happiness.[76] He assumes that all men love happiness in the sense that they wish to realize their desires,[77] and he also assumes the identity of "true" individual happiness with the social happiness as the condition of their realizing their desires for happiness.[78] On this basis he enters in conclusion a plea for a voluntary democracy.[79] Thus Dewey also stands on practically the same ground as do Spencer, Stephen, and Meakin, and like them diverges only formally from John Stuart Mill.

V. Contemporary with the various writers mentioned here were also a number of other writers who held to various other

[73] *Ibid.* See also secs. 3 and 4, this chapter.

[74] *Ibid.*, 299.

[75] *Ibid.*, 300. Is this different from the "good will" of Kant?

[76] "To those in whom it [the moral interest] is the supreme interest it brings supreme or final happiness. It is not preferred because it is the greater happiness, but in being preferred as expressing the only kind of self which the agent fundamentally wishes himself to be, it constitutes a kind of happiness with which others cannot be compared. It is unique, final, invaluable."—*Ibid.*, 301. Also: "Regard for their final happiness (i.e., for a happiness whose *quality* is such that it cannot be *externally* added to or subtracted from) demands that these others shall find the controlling objects of preference, resolution, and endeavor in the things that are worth while."—*Ibid.*, 302–3.

In the first of the above excerpts, Dewey appears to be confused between "most" and "best", as well as to have given up the individualistic test of pragmatism. In the second, he leaves us to guess what are the things "worth while," nor does he tell us who selects them. If the individual selects them, they never agree for different people, and if some social authority selects them the admission of this fact disrupts his autonomous theory of ethics and of democracy.

[77] *Ibid.*, 274.

[78] *Ibid.*, 301–2. This second assumption is the one which gave Spencer, Stephen, and others so much difficulty.

[79] "There is no way to escape or evade this law of happiness, that it resides in the exercise of the active capacities of a voluntary agent; and hence no way to escape or evade the law of a common happiness, that it must reside in the congruous exercise of the voluntary activities of all concerned."—*Ibid.*, 304.

subjectivistic criteria than that of feeling, though in various instances they accepted feeling as the force impelling to action.[80] All of these doctrines are essentially intuitionalistic rather than empirical. (1) Perhaps the most generally accepted of all of them has been that of *reason* as an underived criterion, and to this principle in some of its forms Kant, Green, Cudworth, Clark, Calderwood,[81] and others were adherents. (2) *Conscience* or the innate *moral sense* was accepted as criterion by such men as Hume, Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Butler, Lecky, Lotze, Martineau, and Westermarck.[82] (3) Closely allied to this is the *harmony* view of S. H. Hodgson,[83] Fichte, and others. (4) A similar theory is the *self-realization* doctrine of Paulsen, Mackenzie,[84] Bradley, W. G. Sumner, and which is held to in some form and degree by a large number of social and ethical writers. (5) Another view which has had some acceptance is the "moral principle of maximum activity" emphasized by Simmel,[85] Nietzsche, and others. This view, which makes mere action the end, has had a considerable vogue in recent polite literature especially of the type of Browning.

VI. It is necessary, finally, to relate the beginnings of functional sociology to the general line of development which has been under consideration. Sociology as a theoretical discipline has so far been largely classificational, placing major emphasis

[80] Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, 43 ff.

[81] "Reason itself supplies the principles of rectitude, which cannot be reached by induction from experience, as all rules of expediency are."—*Philos. Rev.* (July, 1896), 338.

[82] "That the moral concepts are ultimately based on emotions either of indignation or approval, is a fact which a certain school of thinkers have in vain attempted to deny. . . . . Men pronounced certain acts to be good or bad on account of the emotions those acts [instinctively] aroused in their minds, just as they called sunshine warm or ice cold on account of certain sensations which they experienced, and as they named a thing pleasant or painful because they felt pleasure or pain."—*Origin and Development of Moral Ideas,* I, 4.

[83] "Volitions, therefore, when judged practically, are judged by the anticipated harmony or discord which they tend to produce in the character of the agent."—*Metaphysic of Experience,* 66.

[84] "If we have any rational end at all it must consist in some kind of realization of our nature as a whole."—*Introd. to Social Philosophy,* 255.

[85] *Einleitung in die Moralwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1892), Bd. I, S. 388.

upon the so-called psychical "social forces." Hobbes, it was seen,[86] had a classification of the "appetites" and "aversions" and various supplementary mental subdivisions, which may be termed social, as well as individual, forces. Fourier made an elaborate though crude classification of the passions or "social forces" to which he desired to give free play in solving the problems of society.[87] Spencer devoted most of his attention to collecting and classifying real or pseudo facts about primitive society, and very little to a theory of the application of those facts to present social problems. That he was not unmindful of the practical demand, however, is shown by his classification of the criteria for action in *Social Statics,* referred to above.[88] His final criterion, however, reduces itself to happiness, or satisfaction of the emotions or feelings, as end, in which arrangement the intellect plays the rôle of "servant."

Lester F. Ward's first book, *Dynamic Sociology,* was practically an amplification of this ultimate criterion of Spencer, with a great deal of emphasis upon the efficiency of the "servant." [89] The views of both Spencer and Ward, as well as of other earlier writers, as to the nature of the "social forces" or conscious ends of social activity are thus seen to be subjectivistic and individualistic, quite in keeping with the spirit of their times and of the philosophy from which they learned. According to Ward, "The problem of social science is to point out in what way the most complete and universal satisfaction of human desires can be attained, and this is one with the prob-

[86] Cf. above, chap iii; also *Leviathan, loc. cit.,* 41 ff.

[87] Cf. chap. iv, sec. 11. [88] Chap. iv, sec. 3.

[89] In this book Ward classifies the social forces as follows: A. Happiness, the ultimate end of connation; B. Progress; C. Dynamic Action; D. Dynamic Opinion; E. Knowledge; F. Education, the initial means of securing the ultimate end. Cf. *Dynamic Sociology,* II, 108–9. In his latest work he rearranges this classification somewhat, but the idea is essentially the same. The later classification is: I. Physical Forces (function bodily)—1. Ontogenetic Forces—(1) positive, attractive (seeking pleasure); (2) negative, protective (avoiding pain); 2. Phylogenetic Forces—(1) direct, sexual; (2) indirect, consanguineal. II. Spiritual Forces (function psychic)—1. Sociogenetic Forces—(1) moral (seeking the safe and good); (2) aesthetic (seeking the beautiful); (3) intellectual (seeking the useful and true).—*Pure Sociology,* 261.

lem of the greatest happiness."[90] He appraises happiness in terms of the number and rank of the wants satisfied. His definition and placing of sociology show clearly his intellectual "inheritance" from Comte and even from Hobbes.[91]

Winiarski has gone to the metaphysically ridiculous in attempting to establish an identity between biologic energy and feeling consciousness, thus reducing "egoism" and "altruism" to actual social forces, akin to the physical forces, which will enable us to formulate an exact science of sociology.[92] He quotes liberally from English and American and other writers closely connected with the movement outlined here.[93]

Ross, in formulating his own classification of the "social forces,"[94] makes a semi-apology for differing somewhat from Ward.[95] He, like the other classificationists of this group, is

[90] *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, 74. Again: "The problem of dynamic sociology is the *organization of happiness*."—*Dynamic Sociology*, II, 156.

[91] "Considering activities as motions, the forces producing those motions are the desires, and we have a science which may be called mental physics or *psychics*. It constitutes the dynamic department of psychology and may also be called the dynamics of mind. . . . .

"1. The object of Nature is Function; 2. The object of Man is Happiness; 3. The object of Society is Action. . . . .

"Treating human action as social motion, the forces producing this motion are the desires, and we have a science which may be called social physics. It constitutes the dynamic department of sociology or *dynamic sociology* in the primary sense of that term, the department which treats of the social forces."—*Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 129, 130. Compare Hobbes, *op. cit.*, 41 ff., and Comte, *Positive Philosophy, loc. cit.*, Bk. VI.

[92] "L'égoisme et l'altruisme sont les deux manifestations élémentaires de l'énergie biologique, comme l'attraction et la répulsion le sont de l'énergie cosmique. . . . . L'énergie biologique est dirigée dans chaque individu et dans chaque groupe d'individus par la tendance au maximum de plaisir ou de bonheur possible."—*Rev. philosophique*, XLV, 352–53. Winiarski, even more than Ward, is reactionary and is included here merely as illustrative of a type which tends to survive.

[93] His chief inspiration appears to have come from Edgeworth's mathematical applications to social subjects. Cf. *ibid.*, 353.

[94] In outline, the classification is: I. Natural Desires—(*a*) appetitive, (*b*) hedonic, (*c*) egotic, (*d*) affective, (*e*) recreative; II. Cultural Desires—(*f*) religious, (*g*) ethical, (*h*) aesthetic, (*i*) intellectual. Cf. *Foundations of Sociology*, 169.

[95] *Ibid.*, 167.

convinced that "the cornerstone of sociology must be a sound doctrine of the social forces,"[96] which he, like the others, regards as essentially and ultimately psychic.[97] He distinguishes *desires* and *interests* as referring to conscious or individual and to social activities respectively,[98] certainly a step in the right direction. One among the many writers who do not see this difference is Stuckenberg,[99] whose classification of the "social forces" does not otherwise differ greatly from that of Ross.

Ratzenhofer also has failed to make this elementary distinction and consequently classifies the various motives and desires under terms which are purely abstractions.[100] His view of the expansion of the more general from the more special interests is not unlike the metaphysical derivation of the later writer Winiarski mentioned above.[101]

In Small's classification of the "social forces" the "interests" are also in effect abstractions or forms,[102] but beneath these forms lurk the original "social forces," the concrete conscious desires and impulses. Even here, where the form of the classification has a social reference, the content is lodged in the individual consciousness as the source of activities.[103] In other words, one of the most objective of all these classifications of

[96] *Ibid.*, 181. [97] *Ibid.*, 160–61. [98] *Ibid.*, 168.

[99] Stuckenberg's classification is: I. Fundamental, (1) economic, (2) political; II. Constitutional, (3) egotic, (4) appetitive, (5) affectional, (6) recreative; III. Cultural, (7) aesthetic, (8) ethical, (9) religious, (10) intellectual. Cf. *Sociology*, I, 207.

[100] He classifies under the term *interests* as follows: (1) race, (2) physiological, (3) egotic, (4) social, (5) transcendental (*Sociologische Erkentniss*, S. 54 *passim*).

[101] *Op. cit., Rev Philosophique*, xlv, 363 ff.

[102] The terms in the classification are: Health, Wealth, Sociability, Knowledge, Beauty, Rightness. Cf. *General Sociology*, 198. He defines the interest: "In general, *an interest is an unsatisfied capacity corresponding to an unrealized condition, and it is predisposition to such rearrangement as would tend to realize the indicated condition*. . . . . Human interests, then, are the ultimate terms of calculation in sociology. *The whole life-process, so far as we know it, whether viewed in its individual or in its social phase, is at last the process of developing, adjusting, and satisfying interests.*"—*Ibid.*, 433–34.

[103] ". . . . These interests . . . . are the motors of all individual and social action."—*Ibid.*, 435.

the "social forces" does not get away from final subjectivistic reference. Like the others, it is finally subjectivistic and individualistic.[104] "In the beginning," he says, "were interests,"[105] implying that these internal impulses and desires are the fundamental and original facts in social life. Almost immediately, however, he introduces the factors of physical and social environment into the situation and mentions them in advance of the interests;[106] and a little farther on he appears to forget the matter of subjective social forces altogether in urging a concrete analysis and classification of the whole social process.[107] The explanation is, of course, that he is divided between two systems or methods of sociology, the logical subjectivistic-individualistic, coming over from his contact with the earlier social and ethical theorists like Mill, Green, Spencer, and Ward, and an objective method derived from his actual observation of and paticipation in the social process. The problem of harmonizing the two methods does not present itself as urgent, for it has been the custom of the subjective classificationists, their classifications once achieved and proven logically satisfactory, to pigeon-hole them and to appeal to objective common-sense methods when they had really practical work to do.[108]

It is perhaps significant that an economist of great reputa-

[104] In a public lecture before the University of Chicago, May 13, 1910, Professor Small declared that "human valuations are the efficient social forces." He further stated that the valuations of men are to be compared with gravity in the physical world, though they cannot be measured as accurately as the latter, because they shift centers.

[105] *General Sociology,* 196.

[106] "All men, however, from the most savage to the most highly civilized, act as they do act, first, because of variations in the circumstances of their environment, both physical and social; second, because of variations and permutations of their six elementary interests."—*Ibid.,* 197–98.

[107] "Positive knowledge of the social process must depend upon the use of methods which avoid both of these vices [limited induction and the *a priori* method]. It is necessary, on the one hand, to analyze concrete conditions. It is necessary, on the other hand, to interpret each and every concrete condition by locating it perfectly in the whole social process."—*Ibid., 226.*

[108] De Greef also has a classification of social elements or forces (cf. *Introduction à la Sociologie,* II, 15), a classification, though based upon an abstraction, which avoids some of the worst errors of subjectivism.

tion, who welcomes the psychological method for economics[109] and whose intellectual connections with the modern development of the demand for democratic satisfaction is well known,[110] should also put forth a "theory of motivation" or classification of the subjective "social forces" as the prime movers to action.[111] It is perhaps not less significant that he further concludes that the egoistic forces or motives can operate legitimately only when modified, suffused, and controlled by the ethical or non-egoistic motive,[112] which of course is nothing more than social control in some form or other. In this view Wagner does not differ essentially from Mill and the various other socio-ethical writers who took their cue from Mill and his contemporaries.[113]

McDougall has professedly abandoned the metaphysical and logical methods of formulating a classification of the "social forces,"[114] and has constructed a theory of instincts and corresponding emotions with derivative sentiments to serve as the natural or genetic basis of a social theory or social psychology.[115] No other problem, except that of actually analyzing all the factors in the social situation, is of equal importance with determining the original equipment of social or human beings. But that McDougall has failed in doing this, that he has made his instincts predominantly out of acquired activities, can scarcely be denied; so that practically his classification is scarcely an

[109] Wagner, *Grundlegung der politischen Oekonomie,* 3 Aufl., I Bd., S. 15.

[110] *Ibid.,* S. 38 ff. Also, *Rede über die sociale Frage.*

[111] *Ibid.,* 87.

[112] *Ibid.,* 119.

[113] For a characterization of the hedonistic economists see Gide et Rist, *Historie des doctrines économiques depuis les Physiocrats jusqu'e nos jours,* 592 ff. Of a similar type of thinking, in general, is Giddings' fourfold classification of the subjective elements of goodness as criteria for conduct of life. He says, "The ideal good is the rational happiness that is compounded of virtue and pleasure, of integrity and the continuing expansion of life [self-realization]." —*Principles of Sociology,* 407. Also S. N. Patten's theory of the evolution from a pain economy to a pleasure economy belongs to the same general type of theory. Cf. *Theory of Social Forces.*

[114] *Introd. to Social Psychology,* 15.

[115] A less complete classification of this type was put forth by H. R. Marshall in 1894. Cf. *Pleasure, Pain, and Aesthetics,* chap. ii.

advance upon the older subjectivistic logical classifications. All alike are subjectivistic, stopping with consciousness, real or imaginary, and covering up the real and objective sources of stimulation to activity.[116]

Thus has been traced in outline in this chapter the development of social and ethical theory from Hobbes to the present time. Hobbes started the discussion both as to the origins of activity and as to the basis of the control of that activity, in the individual and the group. It appears that the answer to the former question has not greatly varied in the dominant line of theory to the present day, though recently there is a sign of change consequent upon a better analysis of nervous activity and conscious processes. The latter problem was treated and answered in various ways by such writers as Locke, Rousseau, and others mentioned above. Through Rousseau the theory of authority or control went over into three related schools, that of the radical democracy, the modern individualistic socialism, and philosophic anarchism. The straight line of development of this idea, however, was rather through Locke, Hume, and Bentham and the latter's school of jurists, as was detailed above, with a measure of influence, however, from the various other schools, as for instance in the case of eighteenth-century French influence upon Mill. This has been the most effective and practical line of development, and hence the one to engage our attention here. This line of theory, like the others, has been uniformly subjectivistic. Until recently it was hedonistic, even among our earlier functional sociologists, such as Spencer and Ward. But even with Spencer and Ward there is a perceptible movement away from the old hedonistic criteria.[117] Their subsidiary classifications, or the addition of other elements as secondary to the plainly hedonic, were beginnings of a movement away from both the hedonic and the otherwise subjectivistic criteria.

[116] Cf. also Williams, "Outline of a Theory of Social Motives," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XV, 741.

[117] Ward is, in a sense, a reactionary in that (as pointed out above) he developed to its limits Spencer's hedonistic criterion. But his emphasis upon the social value of knowledge entitles him to a place in the transition.

It was the admission of other social forces into the classifications which had begun to appear with a further analysis of social life. Ross discounts the hedonic element and Small drops it entirely in his non-hierarchical classification, and the content becomes predominantly objective. But the application which they demand for these classifications is still primarily subjectivistic. It has been difficult in the early stages of a social science to depart from the models of the old subjectivistic and individualistic philosophy.

However, the old philosophy will not suffice for the foundations of a new functional sociology. Consequently the answers to Hobbes's two questions must be in other terms. We can no longer attribute the cause of the act or intrust the regulation of social control to the individual's consciousness primarily, but we must trace both back finally to the social and physical environment. To develop this point more fully will be the purpose of the next chapter.

V. THEORIES OF THE END OF ACTIVITY—CRITICISM

(1) CRITICISM OF THE VIEWS DISCUSSED IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER.—(2) CHIEF OBJECTIONS TO THE HAPPINESS CRITERION.—(3) ERROR OF THE CLASSIFICATIONISTS

In the previous chapter the line of development in social and ethical theory was sketched briefly and the close connection between modern neo-utilitarian ethics and the rising functional sociology was pointed out. It was found that, while latterly the trend has been away from the hedonistic criterion of happiness, the criterion of the end of action with these theorists is still a subjective one, i.e., it makes the individual and his mental processes, his individual choice, the determinant of what his conduct shall be in a social world. The purpose of the present chapter is (1) to criticize briefly the various views discussed in some detail in the previous chapter, (2) to summarize the chief and most weighty objections to the happiness criterion, and (3) to indicate the essential error of the sub-

jectivistic classifications which play so large a part in the theory of modern sociology.

I. Morris and Nietzsche were taken as types of the branch of social theory which subjects all forms of social control to the test of individual gratification, the latter as representative of the anarchistic view of the naturalness of society, formulated most effectively in modern times by Rousseau, and the former as representative of the more individualistic and dominant socialism, also largely traceable to the pronouncements of Rousseau. Whether happiness could be realized in the absence of control, as they assume it could, is not a primary question here. It is the task of this study to point out the anti-social implications of the happiness criterion of activity or conduct. Both the men mentioned here conceive of social control as incompatible with happiness, and happiness is their end. Morris' assumption that remorse will of itself take care of transgression [of the happiness of others?] is naïve and is contradicted both by psychological analysis of the human instinctive and emotional equipment and by all our knowledge of ordinary life. Remorse is itself the creature of social control. Equally unjustified is his assumption that people naturally like to work, at least at things of social value.[1] His idea of education is likewise esoteric and unpractical, as was his theory of industry as a whole. Nietzsche also lacks a practical and scientific knowledge of the original or innate equipment of individuals, as is shown in particular by his use of the term "instinct," which he applies to practically any habitual tendency to activity. His account of reactive movements is metaphysical and untrue

[1] The so-called "instinct of workmanship" (cf. Veblen, "The Instinct of Workmanship and the Irksomeness of Labor," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, IV, 187), which some of our pseudo-sociological writers have made so much of, merely represents a tendency of the organism to be active. It guarantees nothing as to the object or objects of that activity. Prize-fighting, professional gambling, tramping are, from an individualistic standpoint, as effective methods of correlating these tendencies to activity as any other. To get useful social results there must be social control, and often coercive control, certainly resulting in different activity effects from those Morris considered valuable.

to fact in the extreme.[2] The evolutionary value of morality is entirely lost to him.[3]

The same lack of information regarding matters of human nature and social facts comes out also in connection with the happiness criterion and the nonsensical "analyse de l'attraction passionée" of Fourier.[4]

Bentham, on the other hand, had a practical and relatively social end.[5] He hoped to secure democratic satisfaction, i.e., the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and he assumed that individual happiness, which he regarded as identical with pleasure, is also social happiness. In other words, he could conceive of no social end as apart from the happiness or pleasure of individuals. He avoided the problem of the individual and social detriment of some pleasures by assuming a highly sophisticated calculation of present and future values or utilities of pleasures (all of which he regarded as being of the same quality) quite regardless of the unconscious nature of most of our activity,[6] and of the fact that retribution does not always fall logically upon the delinquent, and further that the chief factor in playing the game of getting the maximum

[2] He characterizes the contradiction between the psychological and his own interpretations as follows: ". . . . The difference is fundamental: in the one case [that of the view attributed to the psychologists] the guarding against further injury is intended; in the other [his] the object is to *narcotise* some torturing, secret pain which grows intolerable, by means of a violent emotion of any kind, and to remove it, for the moment at least, from consciousness."—*Genealogy of Morals*, 176. Compare Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 55. This view is hopelessly sophisticated and intellectualistic and even the view which he attributes to the psychologists is more intellectualistic than the logical psychologists themselves hold.

[3] He received his training in classical archaeology and the classical languages and was accordingly a *littérateur*, very much as was Rousseau.

[4] Cf. *Nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire*, 47 ff. A typical statement of his is: "L'état sociétaire, en donnant à chaque le plus vaste dévelloppement, l'essor en tous degrés est assuré d'en voir naître des gages de concorde générale, et des ralliements entre les classes les plus antipathiques, riches et pauvres, testateurs et héritiers," etc.—*Ibid.*, 333.

[5] Cf. introductory chapter.

[6] Cf. reference to Thorndike, chap. iii, note 10, above.

pleasure is one of shifting upon others the consequences of destructive activity.

Mill's introduction of the idea of quality in feeling or happiness and his substitution of the happiness of society for that of the individual as the ultimate criterion, have been generally admitted to be a practical negation of the happiness standard;[7] because the measure of quality is ultimately social and objective, and a distinction between the happiness of the individual and that of society has meaning only when it is recognized that there is an antithesis between individual gratification and social life. The introduction of a social "instinct," or of acquired social feeling, to remove the contradiction between individual and social happiness is in itself an admission of the primary efficiency of social control over individual preference in determining activity or conduct.

The same fundamental criticism may be made of Spencer and of the other neo-utilitarians whose views were analyzed from this standpoint in section iv of the previous chapter. Their views differ essentially only in the form of statement, which has been growing less logical and more evolutionary. Spencer assumes the biological and racial identity of the pleasurable and the useful, of the unpleasant and the harmful, an assumption which a slight experience in life negates, both in its application to the individual and to the race.[8] Dewey makes a distinction between pleasure and happiness, which is unjustified both by common usage and by his own treatment. He also admits that the "greater" happiness will not follow from moral (social) activity, but claims that happiness from such a source is the best.[9] He does not answer the question, "Whose best?" which would get him into difficulty. That it is not the individual's best is evidenced, first, by the fact that it is chosen as a result of some degree of social coercion or control, as a means

[7] Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, 227; Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*, p. 89; Green, *op. cit.*, 168 ff.; Martineau, *op. cit.*, II, 110; Bradley, *Ethical Studies*, 106 ff.; Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 36; Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 279–80.

[8] Cf. Sidgwick, *Ethics of Green, Spencer, and Martineau*, 162 ff.; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 352.

[9] Cf. Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 301.

to adjustment *to* a situation, and, second, that it is not the "greater happiness." The admission that it is society's best would be the same old implied confession that social good or survival and not individual happiness is the ultimate working criterion. The assumption by Dewey and others that the happiness of the individual is identical with that of the group, when the end of action is a social one, is based upon two other assumptions, (1) that the democratically free individual[10] can know all the social values and uses of an activity, and (2) that if he did know all the social values and uses he would frequently choose to his own disadvantage (from the standpoint of feeling), since we cannot truthfully assume that the world is a perfect harmony of forces and interests, i.e., that there is no necessity for indivdual adjustment.[11] The former assumption is an impossibility; the other an improbability. Only a social organization in some degree compulsory has ever assured social welfare and survival, and it is not likely that any other can.

This same fundamental confusion, it was seen, went over also into the theories of the early sociologists like Spencer, Ward, and their followers.

The secondary group of writers mentioned in section v of the preceding chapter were introduced for the purpose of illustrating the contention that the subjectivistic criterion is not alone limited to the setting-up of happiness as the end of activity. When such criteria as reason, conscience, harmony, self-realization, or maximum activity are used, in actual practice or living the individual must go back of these criteria and find some more ultimate criterion, in self-gratification or pleasure, conformity to custom, the will of the deity, political authority, public opinion, or finally the most complete scientific knowledge of social phenomena or processes possible. It may be a mixture of all these; but there is no assurance that it will not be the first, i.e., the individual's pleasure. When it becomes the last—as it rarely, if ever, does—it ceases to be individualistic and becomes constructively social. Among the non-hedonistic writers men-

[10] Cf. *ibid.*, 301, 303–4.

[11] Cf. Lecky, *op. cit.*, 61; Stephen, *op. cit.*, 433.

tioned above, however, it was and could be only individualistic, because they had neither the conception of an objective social analysis for purposes of control, nor did they have the means for making such an analysis and for formulating a system of social control on such a basis. Thus subjectivism in any form, as a criterion, depends upon a failure to comprehend the organizing, compelling, and final nature of the life of the social process or organism—the continued and compulsory existence of the group as a social unity. This failure was also found to exist in large measure, at least on the side of theory, among the sociologists. The reason for this will be discussed more fully in section iii of this chapter and in the following chapter.

II. The main reasons why happiness or pleasure cannot be considered the legitimate or efficient end of activity, either by the individual or by groups of individuals, may be summarized as follows:

Many sources of individual and social pleasure are abnormal, i.e., hurtful individually and socially. The drink habit, prostitution, the "fashions" are striking examples of such hurtful pleasures. Any kind of an activity, regardless of its social or individual values, may become pleasurable.[12] In some types of sexual perversion murder is essential to the completest individual satisfaction.[13]

All candid utilitarians and neo-utilitarians have fallen back upon the social or moral as the ultimate guide in life and society,[14] and have failed to bridge satisfactorily the chasm between the two criteria of pleasure or happiness and the socially useful or moral.

The instincts are not social. There is no "social instinct." Instincts are inherited reactions, i.e., inherited neural connections in the lower or subcortical parts of the nervous system,[15] which serve to adjust the individual to the most elementary

[12] Cf. chap. ii.

[13] Cf. Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (English transl., New York, 1906), 526–7.

[14] Cf. chap. iv, secs. iii and iv.

[15] Cf. Herrick (*Science*, XXXI, 10) on the plasticity of the cortical processes.

situations in his environment. Anything so complex as a conscious social adjustment must be brought about by a *learned* reaction. Hence "instinct" cannot be used to reconcile the disagreement between the happiness and the social-morality criteria.

Sympathy is instinctive only in the sense that imitation is instinctive—that there are tendencies in all individuals with a uniform or similar neural equipment to react to the same things in much the same way, whether the stimulus is received simultaneously from an object equally disconnected from two or more persons or is received in series, i.e., is received by one through another. Such "sympathetic" or "imitative" reactions may also be acquired as habits. But the "sympathy" which takes care of a *new social situation* is a matter of reflection.[16] Likewise the concept "instinctive sympathy" is inadequate to reconcile the disagreement between these conflicting criteria.

The argument that the happiness criterion is efficient if we consider sufficiently the consequences of our choices (granting that such consideration is possible) breaks down because acts are not logically retributive and because no one lives long enough to reap all the consequences of his acts. In a static society in which all the members were "charter" members with an infinite lease of life and infinite knowledge, the retributive test might be efficient.

Nor can we make the qualitative distinction effective as a guide, because the "more useful acts" or "better" happiness, individually and socially considered, are so because the present or contrasted activity, though not necessarily unpleasant, is out of social adjustment. Readjustment means the breaking-down of neural co-ordinations or internal adjustments and hence is an unpleasant process.[17] All progress, individual and social, involves more or less immediate suffering to those concerned. The happy individuals and the happy groups are, to use an old saw, those whose annals are brief.

But even in a hypothetically static group the individual could not unreservedly follow the dictates of happiness or pleasure. Education, if it trains in actual and functional social adjust-

[16] Cf. chap. iii. [17] Cf. chap. ii.

ments, necessarily involves unpleasant internal adjustments and habit acquirements.[18] There are those who claim the contrary but they have not made good their claim.

The same objection holds against the view that happiness or pleasure can guide one to socially effective functioning in a democracy. There is everywhere an objective social world to which adjustments (often unpleasant personally) must be made.

Adjustment to physical and vital conditions is the first necessity of social as well as of individual life. Mental states or conscious processes come in only as a means to these adjustments, either directly or remotely. If the conscious processes are made ends in themselves and consequently become opposed to individual and social survival-adjustments, the end becomes abnormal.[19]

Society as it now exists, and as it must always exist if it remains cultural, is largely based upon the self-sacrifice of the individuals to the future. Society is made possible by an accumulation of unconsumed utilities, and any individual who would consume all the resources available without replacing them in equal or greater amounts is regarded with disapprobation and considered a parasite or criminal.

The fact that feeling is relative to its object led Spencer to believe that "instinctive" and acquired sympathy could be made pleasurable, and hence that pleasure could be made an efficient guide to action. But social sympathy is only a method, and hence involves internal disruptions and readjustments for the sake of external adjustments, and when effective, i.e., when it leads to control of the situation in the interest of another, when it is not wholly subjective, and thus merely the feeling accompaniment of a realized or potential reaction similar to that of the fellow socius stimulated as pointed out above—it is likely to result in the more unpleasantness and inconvenience the more experienced.

It may be urged that in an ultimate perfect state of society there will not have to be unpleasant adjustments, and that the

[18] Cf. chap. iii.

[19] *Ibid.*

pleasant and the socially useful activities tend to merge.[20] But this is presupposing an ultimate statical condition which the facts of individual and social life do not justify us in assuming. Life must always be a continual adjustment, though the more we secure a scientific control of the physical and social environment the less radical and unpleasant adjustments are likely to be.

III. When it is remembered how ideas grow up, it is not surprising that the first attempts at a functional sociology—a sociology beginning to deal with the concrete problems of social control or social functioning—should still follow after the old subjectivistic—both democratic hedonistic and ethical individualistic—writers on psychology and ethics, and thus should be in large measure classificational rather than actually functional. When Fourier made his famous and absurd classification he suffered from an almost total poverty of actual social facts. It was not till after Spencer and the ethnologists, the practical social workers, statisticians, etc., had got together a large mass of data that anything but an a priori sociology was possible. But the mere presence of facts does not solve a problem. The problem must be stated and the facts bearing on it must be focussed. The very fact that the mind attacks a problem means, usually, that an adjustment to the situation is being made in a round-about way. Only familiarity with a situation makes direct action possible. The early sociologists neither understood their problem clearly, nor, as a consequence, were they able to relate their facts correctly. As a result they sought a *method*—a method which would at once state their problem and solve it. Influenced by tradition and by their own training, they began by culling from the a priori and subjectivistic conclusions of the previous psychological and ethical writers, and these cullings they made into classifications of the so-called "social forces," with which they believed themselves able to explain all social phenomena. The origin and types of these classifications were illustrated in the preceding chapter.[21]

[20] Cf. Meakin, *op. cit.*, chap. xxvii.

[21] There were, of course, some early attempts at explaining social phenomena on a more or less objective basis, made by such men as Buckle and other

The constant aim of the most accurate, complete, and objective classifications of the "social forces"—and few classifications have been any of these adequately so far—is to point out: (1) how the individual acts or behaves, the organs he uses and how he uses them when stimulated in known or unknown ways, and (2) how a group acts or behaves, the types of control which are exercised over individual activities or behaviors, in known or unknown ways. In the individual these may be instinctive or acquired (habitual) behaviors; in the group they may have grown up unconsciously through custom, or they may have been consciously legislated into existence, or taken on through pressure of public opinion, or as a result of scientific investigation.

Those of the former type have been called "social forces" and traced back to the individual consciousness and lodged there by the subjectivistic classificationists, because the individual is usually conscious of his socially most conspicuous acts and when he is not thus conscious, consciousness is logically inferred or assumed.[22] Thus a crude sociology stops at the sacred precincts of consciousness, and there in the *forms* of consciousness ends its search for the "social forces." It is only recently that we have come to think of consciousness as other than ultimate, as caused and as merely a factor in adjustment.

With the same subjective emphasis and understanding, the social behaviors have also by analogy been called "social forces," when they were abstracted from the homogeneous social situation and were observed to be carried on through or by individuals. The distinction here was not at first clear, as appeared in the preceding chapter, where "desires" and "interests" were seen to be constantly confused in the classifications. Mere forms of activity though they are, there is more reason for terming the latter type of behaviors "social forces" than the

anthropogeographers and "economic" interpretationists. But their interpretations broke down because of insufficient data as well as because of the unwarranted assumption of certain impossible mental or subjective consequences following from environmental influences.

[22] This assumption of the conscious nature of all activities is necessary to any doctrine of thoroughgoing hedonism or subjectivism, as has been indicated earlier in this study.

former, because they inevitably go behind the individual consciousness to some extent and at least co-ordinate loosely the most general types of social processes or activities.

The most accurate possible classifications of the kinds instanced in the preceding chapter, if assumed to be essential at all, mark only the most elementary stage in the analysis of social phenomena, in the statement and solution of social problems. Our social sciences, as distinct from pure technologies, have so far, however, dealt chiefly with such classifications. For a long time economics was practically a logic of the hypothetical interplay of whatever subjective "forces" the theorist might feel himself inclined or compelled to recognize. Though German economists of the practical school have in large degree rescued this science from its former subjectivistic trend, English and American economic writers are as yet by no means convinced. To show that sociology and ethics have been and are handicapped in a similar manner was the primary purpose of the preceeding chapter.

As we pass from an introspective to an experimental and biological psychology, and thus come to analyze the conditions of consciousness and to see how it functions in mediating adjustments to our social and physical environments, we go back of the mere forms of consciousness in our study of social causation and control. Under such conditions, our search for "social forces" undertakes to account objectively for the functioning processes, (1) of the individual and (2) of the group. In social practice we entered this stage when we ceased treating disease on the demonistic basis or attempting to cure national ills by public prayer. But that the scientific spirit has by no means mastered us as yet is evidenced by the fact that in our criminological practice we do not ordinarily seek to reform or "cure" the offender so much as to retaliate in an unprofitable manner. Likewise our ethics is still written on this subjectivistic and retaliative basis of limiting morality to the scope of consciousness or intention.[23]

[23] Cf. Introduction.

The subjective "social forces" of these classificationists are only forms of consciousness by which the subject recognizes more or less efficiently the presence of personal activities, of stimuli-response processes; while their more objective "social forces" are only abstractions by which we symbolize and present to ourselves more or less perfectly the objective social processes. They are not forces; at the most they are partial indices of social "forces" or processes. Nor have they constant equivalents; for conscious processes and our statements of social processes have at different times different activity equivalents. They are qualitative rather than quantitative indices. They merely invite to always further analysis and re-analysis of the objective social situation; and it is on the basis of these analyses that all our problems are to be comprehended and effectively solved. When a situation is once adequately analyzed, when the forces lying back of the forms of consciousness or the abstracted and generalized types of social and individual activity, are understood, the method of the solution of the problem is simply that of the application of common sense. The only mystery there is about the treatment of social problems is that which we make by being content to stop with the forms of consciousness in our analysis. We talk about the riddle of personality as an impregnable barrier to an adequate understanding of social conditions, because we are attempting to work out a logic of forces and activities from the kaleidoscopic presentations of our conscious processes.

The problem, then, before sociologists is to push farther back the analysis of objective phenomena. Sociology cannot retain the solipsistic character of a solipsistic discipline and attain to the efficiency of a true science. As psychology retreats from its introspective analysis of the solipsistic self, and as ethics gives up mere intention as the criterion of morality, so sociology must turn from a subjectivistic classification of "social forces" and study the functioning of objective social processes as they operate in individuals and groups. It is even fitting that the "science of society" should lead the movement and make the demand upon related sciences for new

materials and a new method. Already much practical work has been done among sociologists, economists, and political scientists. History, however, is still largely subjectivistic, giving its attention in the main to what is reputed to have been in the minds of certain men in certain abstracted situations.

To recapitulate, the prevailing tendency in social theory and practice almost since the time of Hobbes has been toward democratic gratification. As opposed to the view and practice which it supplanted, that of aristocratic gratification, it is an obvious improvement. But we are now beginning to see that this tendency is only a stage in social and ethical development, and that as an ideal it is inadequate for our needs. The substitute which we seek for it in turn is democratic social conservation. The question arises, How may we attain it? Obviously only by changing our measure of values from the subjectivistic individual criterion where it now rests to the social criterion of the good and development of society as a whole, the survival and growth of the largest unified group, based upon the completest possible scientific and objective analysis of the conditions of social activity in the individual and the group. The history of the development of this conception and the exposition of the method by which it must be realized is the subject of the next chapter.

THE INFLUENCE OF NEWSPAPER PRESENTATIONS UPON THE GROWTH OF CRIME AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY

FRANCES FENTON
The University of Chicago

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

(1) STATEMENT OF PROBLEM; (2) EXPLANATION OF STANDPOINT; (3) PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

1. The present study is an attempt to investigate the question, How and to what extent do newspaper presentations of crime and other anti-social activities influence the growth of crime and other types of anti-social activity? That is, do people get the idea of, or the impulse to, committing criminal and other anti-social acts from the reading of such acts or similar acts in the newspapers? It is not necessary at this point to define criminal acts any further than to say that, although they vary somewhat in different states and at different times, penal codes adequately define them as "an act or omission to act forbidden by law and punishable upon conviction." The expression, "other anti-social acts" refers to activities not technically criminal, but perhaps immoral in character, and detrimental to group life, which have not yet, and may never, become incorporated in penal codes.

It is not possible, of course, to make a catalogue of these acts here. The following definitions of the term *anti-social* will make its meaning, as here used, clearer. *The Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia,* quoting Giddings,[1] defines *anti-social* as, "Specifically in sociology, pertaining to a class of persons devoid of normal social instincts and showing criminal tendencies," and also, *anti-sociality* as "A quality, act, or habit of an individual, class, or group which is antagonistic to social feeling, habit, or interest. Extreme anti-sociality is crimi-

[1] *Principles of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1896), 72.

nality."[2] In a later chapter the relations as above suggested of anti-social to technically criminal acts will be discussed, and what is meant by "news of crime and other anti-social activities" will be worked out in detail.

The causal relationship implied in the question proposed above, "Do people get the idea of, or the impulse to, committing criminal and other anti-social acts from the reading of such acts or similar acts in the newspapers?" is intended to include in general all the influences of newspapers upon anti-social activity, both conscious and unconscious on the part of the person so influenced, and more specifically those influences coming from the general-news section, to a consideration of which this study is mainly limited.[3] That is, it includes (1) cases of so-called pure suggestion in which the person affected is unaware, in part or wholly, of the part the newspaper account has had in influencing his activity; (2) cases in which the person consciously models his act upon a similar act related or described in the newspaper; and (3) cases in which newspaper accounts have had an influence in the gradual building-up of standards, ideals, images, which are partial, even if only remote, causes of anti-social activity.

The aspect of the newspaper question here dealt with has been distinctly limited to the problem as above stated, and to the attempt to get actual evidence for or against the assumption made so generally today, that the newspaper has an influence, through suggestion, upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity. Many other phases of newspaper influence as a social factor of immense importance need scientific investigation. But in this particular study no attempt is made to deal with them, nor is any attempt here made to discover what is the chief difficulty with the newspaper, nor the causes of the difficulty or difficulties.

Various aspects of the newspaper problems have been receiving a large share of attention recently in the magazines. There

[2] The definition of *anti-sociality* quoted by the dictionary is taken from the *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, XIII, 586. It is a serious defect in Bliss's *Encyclopaedia of Social Reform* that it contains no definition of *anti-social* or *anti-sociality*.

[3] Cf. Chap. iv.

is a widespread conviction that something is wrong with the newspaper, but a great variety of opinion as to what the core of the trouble is. The newspaper is charged with being "commercial," "sensational," "dishonest," "trivial," "impertinent," "vulgar," "suggestive," etc. Theodore Roosevelt (quoted by J. E. Rogers in *The American Newspaper,* Pref., p. ix) has said that newspapers "habitually and continually and as a matter of business practice every form of mendacity known to man, from the suppression of the truth and the suggestion of the false to the lie direct." Some writers bring all of these indictments mentioned above against the newspaper, while others limit their charges against it to some one of them, such as that it does not give the news, that it is commercially dishonest, etc.[4]

Professor Ross has recently written:

> Most of the criticism launched at our daily newspapers hits the wrong party. Granted they sensationalize vice and crime, "play up" trivialities, exploit the private affairs of prominent people, embroider facts, and offend good taste with screech, blare, and color. But all this may be only the means of meeting the demand of "giving the public what it wants." The newspaper cannot be expected to remain dignified and serious now that it caters to the common millions, instead of, as formerly, to the professional and business classes. To interest errand-boy and factory girl and raw immigrant, it had to become spicy, amusing, emotional, and chromatic. For these, blame then, the American people.
>
> There is *just one* [italics here are mine] deadly, damning count against the daily newspaper as it is coming to be, namely, *It does not give the news.* For all its pretensions, many a daily newspaper is not "giving the public what it wants." . . . . As usual, no one is to blame.[5]

In making this statement, the author of *Social Control* takes a vulnerable position, both sociologically and factually. On the one hand, he falls into the rather common and uncritical popular error of stating that the character of the newspaper of today is the result of a response to popular demand and at the same time contradicts himself by declaring that the one essential criticism of the newspaper is that it does not give the news which the public demands. It is mere conjecture to pick out certain characteristics of newspapers and to assert that they

[4] Cf. John A. Macy, "Our Chromatic Journalism," *Bookman,* XXIV, 127.

[5] "The Suppression of Important News," *Atlantic Monthly,* March, 1910, p. 303.

are what the public wants. The public buys the paper as it is. It is no more possible to show that the public does not want absence of news than to show that it does want sensationalism. Speculation as to what the public wants does not offer a good social criterion of what to give the public.[6]

The suggestive power of the newspaper through its accounts of anti-social activities, through its comic supplements, through its possible influence on children, on the weak and unstable, on women, etc., has been emphasized by a number of writers.[7] The psychology of suggestion has been mentioned in this connection and explained in a popular way.[8] Also on this assumption, various practical steps have been taken to protect certain classes of people mentioned above from the effects of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity. An example of this is to be found in the following statement from a letter written by Mr. F. G. Pettigrove, President Massachusetts Prison Commission, that "no daily papers are given to prisoners in the state prison or reformatories" of Massachusetts, and also "it is the general policy of penal institutions in America not to admit a daily newspaper."

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, in an article entitled "Papers and Magazines in Prisons and Reformatories," says that at first no newspapers were allowed in prisons.

> In old times this was considered a deserved part of his [the prisoner's] punishment. Afterward religious reading was allowed in prisons. Still later some prisons permitted the ordinary newspapers to come within the walls, though the better-managed institutions limited them to the county papers. The sensational yellow journals with their exaggerated delineations of crime, their atrocious stories appealing to scandal-mongers, are not allowed in any well-conducted prison. By their harmful influence they

[6] See "Is an Honest and Sane Newspaper Press Possible?" by an Independent Journalist, *Amer. Jour. Sociology,* November, 1909, p. 321; and "What the Public Wants," *The Dial,* XLVII, 500.

[7] "Crime against American Children—Comic Supplement of Sunday Paper," *Ladies Home Journal,* January, 1909, XXVI, 5; "Are Newspapers Weakening Our National Fibre?" *Current Literature,* XLI, 517; "Newspaper Responsibility for Lawlessness," *Nation,* LXXVII, 151; "Newspapers' Sensations and Suggestions," *Independent,* LXVII, 449–51.

[8] S. W. Pennypacker, "Sensational Journalism and the Remedy," *North American Review,* CXC, 590.

help to fill the prisons, but the abnormal taste for such reading is never gratified while men are behind the bars.[9]

She says also, that stories of crime are not included in the papers printed in these institutions.

The present problem is a phase of the general problem of the control of stimuli to activity for the purpose of diminishing crime. It is scarcely necessary to point out the importance of this problem. However, a few general statements will indicate *how* important it is, as well as emphasize its connection with the present study.

We know very little as yet about the way in which habits grow up in the individual. Orthodox psychology, while it has given us many conclusions which are of value for social practice, has centered its attention almost exclusively on conscious processes in the individual and, with the exception of the studies of certain French and American writers[10] who have definitely treated suggestion and hypnotism, but who in only a few cases may be classed as orthodox psychologists, has dealt very slightly with the unconscious and only slightly conscious activities which form so large a part of our conduct.[11] Any valid control of conduct, individual, or social must be based on a knowledge of this unconscious source of our stimuli to activity, as well as on a knowledge of conscious processes.

Little as we know in detail of the way in which habits are unconsciously acquired or grow up in the individual (because we know so little of what the individual starts out in life with), we do know the general fact that habits are unconsciously as well as consciously acquired, and that a part, at any

[9] *Memorial Volume No. 2*, Russell Sage Foundation, Charities Pub. Committee, 1910, p. 227.

[10] Notably Binet, Janet, Ribot, LeBon and Sidis, Ross, James, Morton Prince.

[11] Cf. William McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Methuen & Co., 1908), 3, 15; also *Physiological Psychology* (J. M. Dent & Co., 1905), 1, 2. For statements as to the province of psychology bearing out the above assertion, see James, *Psychology* (Henry Holt, 1889), 1; Wundt, *Outlines of Psych.* (tr. Judd 2d revis. Eng. ed., Wilhelm Engleman, 1902), 3, 23; Titchener, *Outlines of Psych.* (Macmillan, 1905, 3d revis. ed.), 6; Stout, *Manual of Psych.* (Hinds & Noble, 1889), 4, 5; Thorndike, *Elements of Psych.* (A. G. Seiler, 1907, 2d ed.), 1; H. Höffding, *Outlines of Psych.* (tr. Lowndes, Macmillan, 1893), 1; Angell, *Psychology* (Henry Holt & Co., 1908, 4th ed.), 1.

rate, of the material out of which they grow are the social stimuli with which individuals come in contact—other people's activities, the drama, literature, art, newspapers, etc. We have enough evidence, certainly, to be sure that social control, the control of conduct, is in large part the control of unperceived stimuli to conduct, especially early in the lives of individuals. We are just beginning to evaluate our education, our drama, our novels, and our other forms of art and social stimuli on an objectively social basis and thus on a functional basis. The really preventive and constructive work of the juvenile court and of juvenile protective associations, as well as that of other ameliorative and preventive organizations, such as the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, is really based on this principle, that of pushing preventive measures as far back in the environment as possible, and thus of controlling the conscious and unconscious formation of habits.

In this process of evaluation, the newspaper as a social factor of immense importance, must be included. For the reason, then, that the newspaper is far-reaching in its influence,[12] and that it repeats and includes stimuli from other sources as well, from the drama, the novel, etc., and because of the general conviction that newspapers do incite to anti-social activity, this study has been undertaken.

2. The general standpoint from which the investigation is made is that of a study of both conscious and unconscious suggestion and the effect of such suggestion from a constructively social point of view.[13] It is necessary here merely to state the fact which has been pointed out above, that much of our conduct is of an unconscious and but dimlv conscious sort, as compared with fully conscious and reasoned activity; that it is stimulated by a great variety of suggestions, over which

[12] The number of daily newspapers in the United States reported by Ayer and Sons' *Newspaper Annual and Directory,* 1910, is 2,467. On the basis of figures for 1905, the *Bulletin of the Bureau of the Census,* U. S. Depart. of Commerce and Labor, Table 76, gives the average circulation per issue as 21,079,130. This would allow an average of one paper for every four inhabitants or one paper for every family.

[13] Cf. p. 342. In chap. iii this general standpoint will be discussed in detail as a basis for the whole treatment.

we have, as yet, very little control. The process of stimulus and response between newspaper and human activity, which goes on sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, is the subject of study here.

3. The definitions of anti-social matter[14] which have been adopted in this study are functional definitions from a social, rather than from a juridical or conventional, standpoint, that is, definitions based upon the objective results of news rather than upon intent. This is the only valid or exact criterion that can be made use of, because, in the first place, the intent of a piece of news cannot be determined with any exactness, and in the second place, no matter what the intent, the fact of social importance is the result of the news, the way it is taken or the effect it has. There is no necessary correspondence between the intent and the result. A bad intent usually has a bad effect, but a good intent (especially if accompanied by ignorance of actual conditions) may also have a bad effect. The effect is both the socially important and the calculable element, and has therefore been adopted as the basis of the definitions here used.

The use of this basis for the definition of anti-social matter though new in connection with the newspaper question, is not so new in other connections. It has legal precedent back of it, as well as decisions handed down by the New York and English Courts. The Report of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (1895) contains the following:

The common law of England and America for more than a century and a half has been that "what tends to corrupt society is indictable" (p. 20).

The Penal Code of the State of New York, by the use of six adjectives, in most positive language, declares that "obscene, lewd, lascivious, indecent, filthy, and disgusting books, pictures, pamphlets, papers, etc., shall not be sold, lent, or given away, nor shall anyone have in possession for such purposes" (p. 20).

The Supreme Court, General Term, for this district (N.Y.) and the Court of Appeals in a case where nine photographs, which were conceded to have been copied from works of art, were sold and the seller convicted, has defined the law clearly. It said:

"The statute makes the selling of an obscene and indecent picture a misdemeanor.

[14] Cf. p. 342.

"There is no exception by reason of *any special intent* in making the sale.

"It would, we conceive, be no answer to an indictment under the statute for the sale of an obscene picture, that it was sold to a person not liable to be injured by it, or that it was a picture, in respect to execution, of distinguished merit.—*People* vs. *Miller,* 96 N.Y. 408" (p. 21).

The Lord Chief Justice of England said, in connection with a book alleged by the defendant to be printed in the interests of Protestant religion, "I think the test of *obscenity* is this: Whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall" (p. 24).

Likewise, Parmelee, in his *Sociology and Anthropology in Relation to Criminal Procedure,*[15] says in discussing a basis for the treatment of the criminal:

Thus gradually moral liberty will be replaced by *dangerousness to society* as a basis for penal responsibility (p. 101). . . . . A study of various kinds of crimes reveals that premeditation and intention do not furnish a complete or universal criterion for crime" (p. 104). . . . . Moral responsibility should be abolished as a fundamental criterion of criminality and should be replaced by the dangerousness of the criminal to society" (p. 212).

In other chapters also he brings out the necessity for an objective, scientific basis for treatment of crime, as the only adequately social criterion possible.

A more detailed explanation of the definitions used will be given in chap. iv. Chap ii will be devoted to a discussion of previous treatments of the problem.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF PREVIOUS TREATMENTS

The problems of contemporary journalism have so far been treated chiefly in scattered articles in newspapers and magazines. The few books on the subject, such as E. L. Shuman's *Practical Journalism,*[1] and J. L. Given's *Making a Newspaper,*[2] are written from the point of view of newspaper men, and in the main discuss problems from their standpoint rather than from that of the public. They take the current journalistic ideals and

[15] Macmillan, 1908.

[1] D. Appleton & Co., 1909.

[2] Henry Holt & Co., 1907.

aims for granted. In fact they are not critical and constructive. They are, however, significant as showing the aims and methods connected with newspapers and the close relation between these aims and methods and the results in the newspapers themselves. They may be ignored here, however, as not bearing at all directly on the problem of this study. In the following discussion the most important articles which are related in any way to the problem as stated in chap. i will be discussed and criticized. They may be classified under the following heads:

1. Those treatments dealing directly or indirectly with the problem of suggestion in newspapers.

The problem of the effect of suggestion through newspapers has either been neglected or, where recognized, has not been analyzed, so that there are no estimates either of the way in which suggestion from the newspaper operates psychologically, or of its extent.

2. Those treatments in which an analytical study of the papers themselves has been made.

In the first class of treatments the effect of suggestion is merely treated as conjectural, or at least no direct evidence of the effect is presented. The suggestive effect of newspapers is inferred by analogy with the working of suggestion and imitation in connection with other stimuli, or newspaper accounts of such a character as to be suggestive are cited and the effect inferred.[3]

Professor W. I. Thomas, in "The Psychology of Yellow Journalism,"[4] a discussion of the question, Why does yellow journalism prosper? says:

> The yellow journal . . . . is a positive agent for vice and crime. The condition of morality, as well as of mental life, in a community depends on the prevailing copies of the newspaper. A people is profoundly influenced by whatever is persistently brought to its attention. A good illustration of

[3] "Lessons in Crime Fifty Cents per Month," *Outlook*, February, 1908, p. 276; "Are Newspapers Weakening Our National Fibre?" *Current Literature*, XLI, 517; "Newspaper Responsibility for Lawlessness," *Nation*, LXXVII, 131; "Newspapers' Sensations and Suggestions," *Independent*, LXII, 449; "Sensational Journalism and the Remedy," *loc. cit.*; "Criminal Journalism," *Indep.*, LXV, 1256.

[4] *American Magazine*, March, 1908, p. 491.

this is the fact that an article of commerce—a food, a luxury, a medicine, or a stimulant—can always be sold in immense quantities if it can be persistently and largely advertised. In the same way, advertising crime, vice, and vulgarity on a scale unheard of before in the annals of history has the same effect—it increases crime, vice, and vulgarity enormously.

This represents the most direct and psychological statement of the matter that has yet been made. The articles of this first class are themselves simply evidence of the widespread belief that newspapers have an influence in increasing crime, which belief has in all probability at its foundation, in part, a knowledge of actual cases of this influence.

The second class of studies is of a different sort. J. G. Speed[5] has made a comparative study of the Sunday issues of four New York papers for dates in 1881 and 1893, to show changes in the amount of space devoted to different sorts of news. His results were presented in a table entitled "Columns of Reading Matter in New York Newspapers, April 17, 1881, and April 16, 1893," which is as follows:

Subjects	Tribune 1881	Tribune 1893	World 1881	World 1893	Times 1881	Times 1893	Sun 1881	Sun 1893
Editorial	5.00	5.00	4.75	4.00	6.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Religious	2.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50	1.00
Scientific	1.00	0.75	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.50
Political	3.00	3.75	0.00	10.50	1.00	4.00	1.00	3.50
Literary	15.00	5.00	1.00	2.00	18.00	12.00	5.75	6.50
Gossip	1.00	23.00	1.00	63.00	0.50	16.75	2.00	13.00
Scandals	0.00	1.50	0.00	1.50	1.00	2.50	0.00	2.00
Sporting	1.00	6.50	2.50	16.50	3.00	10.50	0.50	17.50
Fiction	0.00	7.00	1.50	6.50	1.00	1.50	0.00	11.50
Historical	2.50	2.50	2.75	4.00	2.50	1.50	4.25	14.00
Music and drama	2.50	4.00	1.50	11.00	4.00	7.00	0.00	3.50
Crimes and criminals	0.00	0.50	0.00	6.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
Art	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	0.00	0.25	1.25

For the problem here being considered the most interesting figures in his table are those showing the change in the number of columns of matter dealing with *crime and criminals* and *scandals* from 1881 to 1893. In every paper, it will be noted, the amount of *scandals* had increased, and in all except the *Sun* the amount of material on *crimes and criminals* had increased. Moreover, Mr. Speed remarks, referring to the papers

[5] "Do Newspapers Now Give the News?" *Forum*, XV, 705.

of 1893,[6] "A great many of these things mentioned as mere gossip and spoken of as scandalous would be totally unfit to reproduce." Thus the figures should be larger to represent a complete estimate of news of *scandal* and *crime and criminals.* A difficulty, however, with Mr. Speed's tables for comparative purposes is that he nowhere defines matter pertaining to *scandals* and to *crimes and criminals.* It is not clear, therefore, what news he includes in and excludes from these categories. Nor does he take as the basis of his classification the objective effect of newspaper matter, but the form in which it appears. Consequently it is possible that matter dealing with scandal, crime and criminals in the form of pictures, editorials, book-reviews, etc., does not appear as *scandal* and *crimes and criminals* in his tables. Any adequate study of the effect of the newspaper must consider all forms of newspaper matter. The conclusion in the article is,

> There is a conventional phrase that is more or less believed in, "A newspaper is the history of the world for a day." . . . . If the New York newspapers ever recorded history accurately and with any appreciation of the significance of the events occurring, they do it less now than heretofore, for now everything is so covered with the millinery of sensationalism that none but the wisest can detect the truth beneath.[7]

The writer's interest, it is clear, is in the truth and falsity of the news rather than in its effect upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity.

Delos F. Wilcox, in an article on *The American Newspaper,*[8] has made a tabulated and numerical estimate of the matter in 240 newspapers. Of these 240 papers, 136 were in English, 11 were foreign, 147 were analyzed in detail for the same day in June, 1898, and September, 1898, and a few in other months. A full week's issues in September, 1898 and 1899, of the *New York Times* and of the *Chicago Record* were analyzed.

He classified newspaper matter as follows:

> 1. News: (*a*) War News, (*b*) General News: (1) Foreign, (2) Political, (3) Crime and Vice, (4) Miscellaneous; (*c*) Special: (1) Business, (2) Sporting, (3) Society. 2. Illustrations. 3. Literature. 4. Opinion: (*a*)

[6] *Op. cit.*, 708. [7] *Ibid.*, 711.

[8] *Annals Amer. Acad. Polit. and Soc. Sci.*, XVI (July, 1900), 56.

Editorials, (*b*) Letters and Exchange. 5. Advertisements (*a*) Want, (*b*) Retail, (*c*) Medical, (*d*) Political and Legal, (*e*) Miscellaneous, (*f*) Self.

He finds that "news[9] of crime and vice, on account of which the paper is so often denounced, fills on an average only 3.1 per cent of the whole space," though the percentage ranges from 19.8 to 0 in New York City.[10] He defines crime and vice as follows: "News of crime and vice includes accounts of the commission of crimes and of the trial and punishment of criminals, news of suicides, brawls, drunkenness, prostitution, divorce proceedings, etc."[11] It is clear that Professor Wilcox' criterion of news of crime and vice is not that of the objective effect of news, but of the form and content of news.[12] Matter vicious and criminal in effect appearing in literary, editorial, or illustrative form is excluded by him from this category. In conclusion, Wilcox says, "Yet the great mass of the information we get in reading the papers affects our action only vaguely and remotely if at all."[13] Evidently Wilcox' estimate of the effect of the newspaper is conjectural, based, apparently, upon the subjective results in his own and similar cases and not upon a psychological and sufficiently extensive objective study of suggestion in connection with newspapers. His estimate of 3.1 per cent as the average of news of crime and vice[14] for the entire country is not significant in this connection for two reasons: first, because the terms "crime" and "vice" as he uses them are not sufficiently inclusive of the different forms of reading-matter in which they may occur to be socially valuable in estimating newspaper influence; and second, because an average which neglects the matter of circulation is an insufficient indication of a characteristic fact about American newspapers as a whole. The important fact is not that the average

[9] The word "news" is used here instead of the more inclusive terms "matter" or "material" because it is the term employed by the writer under discussion and designates merely "news proper," which he is discussing.

[10] *Op. cit.*, 67.

[11] *Ibid.*, 63.

[12] "Under 'news' should be included every item that is a first-hand report of current events."—*Ibid.*, 61.

[13] *Ibid.*, 87.

[14] "Vice," as he uses the term, is an indefinite and inaccurate category.

percentage of news of crime and vice in New York City, for example, is 4.9,[15] but that it ranges from 18.8 per cent to 0, and that it is highest the greater the circulation of the paper.[16]

The Sunday edition of the *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1909, contained comparative statistics gathered by Arthur T. Street as to the amount of crime and other news in the American papers for 1908.[17] He defines criminal news from the legal and conventional standpoint, counts by items rather than by inches, and concludes that all is well with the American newspaper, because the percentage of news of crime in it is (on his estimate) low.[18] But we are not told either how many or what newspapers were studied, and the kind of news and crime considered is indefinitely described as "leading news" only. For scientific and constructive purposes, therefore, his tables and the conclusions from them are not useful.

J. E. Rogers has undertaken a popular study of contemporary journalism in this country.[19] He states that 15,000 papers were studied, but not how they were studied, nor are we given exact results of the study, but merely generalizations from the results. We are given no definition of crime and vice, terms which he uses, and thus we do not know what matter is included under this head. We infer that he is considering crime and vice from the juridical and conventional rather than from the

[15] *Op. cit.,* 68.

[16] Cf. Chap. v.

[17] "The Truth About the Newspapers. A Remarkable Summary, by Arthur T. Street of American Publications, Proving that Crime and Sensationalism Occupy a Comparatively Small Space in the Volume of the Day's News."

[18] His main table follows

Total crimes and scandals	1,343
Educational and scientific	397
Medical and surgical	268
Religious	390
States and cities	695
Panics, banks, business	442
Railroads	1,140
Foreign news	2,280
President of United States	550
Prominent men	527
Labor	659
Total	7,348

[19] *The American Newspaper* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1910).

social viewpoint. The figures which he uses to show relative amounts of news of crime and vice and other news are not the results of his own investigation, but are quoted from Wilcox.[20]

Mr. Rogers and a number of others emphasize the responsibility of the American public for American newspapers. This emphasis is a good one for certain purposes. That is, people could do more than they do to express their disapproval of bad newspapers by not buying that kind. There are, however, other facts in the case. (1) The public is unorganized and therefore is not in a situation to control the newspaper as the newspaper can control it—any more than it has found it easy, or even possible at first, to control large business corporations. (2) Moreover, the public has protested and is protesting all of the time. Rogers' book is one protest, and many articles, some of which have been cited, besides letters, libel suits, and individual protests that never come to light, are others. (3) But it is not merely a question of what the public will buy if sufficiently stimulated, although this is important. The effect on the public of what the newspaper sells them is the important problem.[21] That is, we cannot discuss the taste, the morals, the ideals of the public without including in our discussion the factors that co-operate in fixing and changing taste, morals, and ideals. The old dilemma as to which comes first, demand or supply, the newspaper or people's demand for the newspaper, has given place to a point of view in which we recognize the interaction of demand on supply and of supply on demand. The control by the consumer of the quality of the supply of any commodity, is difficult. In the case of pure food, shoes and hats, and of any article in the region of fashion, the consumer finds it exceedingly difficult to exercise control over supply. Consumers are unorganized and are themselves influenced by advertising. Even when organized, as in the case of the Consumers' League, they accomplish very little relatively. What control of supply has been gained, has been obtained by means of definite legislation.[22] Mr.

[20] Wilcox, *op. cit.*

[21] For a good discussion of this question of what the public wants, see *The Dial, op. cit.*, 500.

[22] Pure food laws, laws against the sale of dangerous drugs, etc., are examples.

Rogers, and others, moreover, ignore the relative circulation of yellow, conservative, and sensational newspapers, in estimating the effect of newspapers. He admits the bad effect of the yellow paper, but since he considers the sensational newspaper the American type, he ignores the importance of the enormous circulation of the yellow journal as affecting American life.[23]

In a recent article on the newspaper in the *Independent*,[24] the purpose is stated to be to determine "about what percentage of the news items are to be approved from an educational point of view." It adds, "This study . . . . embraces the daily issues for a period of three months of the current year" (1909–10).[25] Having eliminated the editorial page and advertisements from his estimate, Mr. Mathews counts the number of items under 177 headings. Items occupying less than an inch of space were not included, nor such as regularly appear under *Died, Matrimonial, Weather,* etc. The headings were then grouped under:

Demoralizing, with 2,289 items, or 22.8 per cent
Unwholesome, with 1,684 items, or 16.8 per cent
Trivial, with 2,124 items, or 21.2 per cent
Worth while, with 3,932 items, or 39.2 per cent

Demoralizing and unwholesome news thus represented 39.6 per cent of the items in a New York daily of wide circulation and described as "acknowledged to be one of the best."[26] But the numerical results obtained by the several studies already given are not comparable because of the varying bases used in estimating the news of crime. Mr. Mathews' purpose, as indicated above, represents a distinct advance over previous treatments of

[23] Rogers quotes from Wilcox to show the increase in the percentage of space occupied by news of crime and vice with increase of circulation, showing that in papers of 40,000 circulation and more this percentage is 4.2, while in papers of 7,500 to 20,000 circulation it is only 3.6. (Rogers, *op. cit.*, 50.) He further says, "Quantitatively, an examination of yellow and conservative papers shows that the former class of papers devote 20 per cent of their space to reports of crime and vice, while the ordinary conservative newspaper gives but 5 per cent" (p. 54).

[24] Byron C. Mathews, "A Study of a New York Daily," *Independent*, January 13, 1910, p. 82.

[25] *Ibid.*, 84.

[26] *Ibid.*, 83.

this question, in that his standpoint has shifted to an objective or educational one. His categories for classifying newspaper matter, however, are far too indefinite and subjective to be strictly dependable: the line between demoralizing and unwholesome is a shifting, not even an approximately stationary, one.

A recent article in the *Outlook*[27] has the most explicit definition of one type of anti-social news that has yet appeared, with the exception possibly of Wilcox'.[28] It gives examples and explains why the news is anti-social. Part of the introduction and typical cases are here given from the article:

Attention is asked to the following extracts, clipped during one month from one newspaper—one of the best in its state, claiming to be the best in six states—and comprising only those items of news that gave specific directions for committing the crimes reported. There was ten times as much educative material for would-be lawbreakers, that anyone not feeble-minded or insane would interpret by the very act of understanding what was done or attempted; but in these several cases the lesson in crime was patiently and lovingly unfolded and explained, so that anyone so caring to do could add it to his or her repertory.

STRANGER'S VISIT PROVES COSTLY

[September 18]

This begins: "Stephen A. B.———, of — Broadway, has told the police of a new dodge, by which he was relieved of fifty dollars late yesterday afternoon." Here follow minute directions for "relieving" unsuspecting citizens of their spare cash.

STORY OF A FREE RIDE

[September 16]

This is a short story, or "storiette," in the Sunday edition. It is given a very honorable place, and evidently is offered in good faith as an amusing and interesting account of an exploit that would reflect honor on and secure instant sympathy for the doer thereof. An irresponsible scoundrel of the cheerful, good-natured sort thinks up a scheme that beats the railways out of a trans-continental fare, and it is so ingenious, admits of so many possible adaptations, that the whole fraternity of beats and bounders must be extremely grateful for having it explained. It is subtly done; so subtly that even the trained reader will unconsciously take sides with "Billy," and feel rather glad that he got to the Pacific coast, on nothing, successfully, until he harks back to the principles that Mother used to insist upon as the only possible moral baggage for a gentleman. The ninety and nine will

[27] February 2, 1907, p. 276.

[28] *Op. cit.*

naturally go by the instinctive feeling so recklessly aroused and subtly appealed to, and file the scheme away for possible usefulness.

POLICE ROUND UP IDLE PERSONS; HIT UPON NEW TRICK

PATROLMAN TELLS HOW THE UNWARY ARE ROBBED OF MONEY AND WATCHES BY SLY PICKPOCKET

[September 19]

We quote: "'Tis a new dodge the rounders have up their sleeve,' said one of the patrolmen concerned in the general ingathering. 'It's this way the trick is turned.'" Step by step, with the painstaking accuracy of a Fagan, the great newspaper proceeds to explain the criminal problem, set forth in letters an inch tall and very black at the head of the article, so that a little child could perfectly understand both the principle worked on and the method of doing the work.

ALLEGED CARD SHARP CAUGHT IN PITTSBURG

[September 19]

"Member of Leading Political Club Detected with—" The cheating device is clearly indicated in the heading, which is that for specially important news, about three inches of column space; following which is a third of a column of text illustrating and driving the lesson home.

This article, however, does not mention the other forms in which these "lessons in crime" appear in the newspaper—such as vivid and detailed pictures of bank robberies, besides detailed word accounts, literature, stories in the literary section of suicide, murder, robbery, sexual misconduct, etc., favorable reviews of books dealing with similar facts, especially with sexual license and immorality.

SUMMARY

The analyses of newspapers included in the second class of treatments are all interesting and, in different degrees, significant. In so far as they show what is in the papers, and the relative space devoted to news of crime and other anti-social activities, or the relative frequency of mention of crime and other anti-social activity as compared with other types of news, they are significant, even on the subjective basis used for making these comparisons. There are, however, certain difficulties in their general standpoint and method which must be pointed out, if we wish to make an estimate of their social utility. These may be summed up as follows.

1. The general standpoint of some of these treatments is not socially constructive, as in the cases of Rogers and Street. That is, either a brief is held for the newspaper or its social effect is ignored or merely mentioned in passing. The importance of suggestion and its entire psychology are not considered.

2. An exclusively juridical definition of criminal and anti-social matter rather than a social one is used, as for example, by Rogers and Street. And thus, a basis for including all anti-social items such as illustrations, book reviews, literary matter, etc., is lacking, although these are just as real sources of anti-social suggestion as what is called "news proper."

For example, book reviews may be extremely anti-social in effect, in giving apparent sanction to certain sorts of immoral conduct therein depicted or suggested, by calling the book "a strong book," or one "taking up in masterly fashion one of the most important problems of our day," or by detailing just enough of the immoral conduct in the book to arouse curiosity and get people to read it.

3. No direct evidence of the effect of the newspaper is offered. The conclusions are based upon analyses of papers and upon opinions as to their effect, as in the studies of Rogers, Street, Wilcox, and Mathews. No matter if the percentage of news of crime and other anti-social acts in newspapers is found to be as low as 5 per cent or even 3 per cent, if it is certain that this percentage is the source of anti-social suggestion, then we can easily say that the percentage is too high. In a progressive society people cannot give their attention to this extent to destructive and non-progressive activities.[29]

4. That the newspapers are what the public want and that the only improvement in them can come through improvement in public taste is a fallacy that appears in most of these studies, as in the case of Rogers and Street. This, however, is not the method on which we operate in other social matters.

[29] "But we forget that in occupying ourselves almost exclusively with the results of social abuses, we use up and exterminate little by little the power of that portion of the population which is still healthy, normal, and hardworking."—Translated from Auguste Forel, *La question sexuelle, exposée aux adultes cultivés* (Paris: G. Steinheil, 1906), 518.

5. An item rather than a uniform-unit basis of measurement is used by some writers for estimating news of crime and other anti-social activities in the papers. Although the number of "mentions" of a subject is significant as indicating the number of times the eye is caught by that subject, it is not an accurate indication of the relative space devoted to that subject as compared with other news. Much more *space* might be given to 1,343 items of criminal matter than to 7,348 items of social value.[30] Tabulation on the basis of a definite unit of measurement indicates the amount of space actually given to anti-social matters.

Consequently, there is need of a more complete scientific study of the influence of newspapers upon the growth of anti-social activity, an analysis of the psychology of this influence, the working-out of an objective social standard for determining what matter in newspapers has an anti-social effect and what has not, an estimate of the amount on this basis, and the gathering of actual cases in which the newspaper is known to have exerted an anti-social influence as direct evidence of this influence. The following chapters will deal with these problems in the order here mentioned.

CHAPTER III

THE PRINCIPLES OF SUGGESTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NEWSPAPER

The problem of this study is that of the general connection between the newspaper and crime and other anti-social activity. The emphasis in this chapter is upon an analysis of the activity as it goes on, rather than upon the types of sources, that is, sections of the newspaper, from which stimuli to that activity come. The standpoint in the most general sense is that of suggestion, if the latter be taken in its broadest meaning to cover all stimulus and response relations, such as are included in the definition of suggestion given in the *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology:* "The coming into the mind from without of a presentation, idea, or any sort of intimation having meaning for

[30] Cf. Speed, *loc cit.*

consciousness which effects a lodgment and takes the place it would have if internally aroused by association."[1] Within this field there are all types and gradations of stimulus and response relations, from so-called pure suggestion, in which there is no perception by the actor of the relation between stimulus and response up to so-called reasoned activity, in which there is such consciousness of this connection. We are accustomed to think chiefly of this latter type in connection with the newspaper and similar stimuli because we are used to thinking of activity as consciously caused, and because we can get direct introspective evidence of the connection from the actor, that is, the person involved can tell of the stimulus and connection in such cases. The other class of cases at the opposite pole from these, we are not accustomed to connect with the newspaper, cases of so-called pure suggestion or unconscious suggestion, in which there is no perception of the relation between stimulus and response and regarding which, therefore, we can get no direct introspective evidence from the person concerned. Nevertheless, for reasons which will be set forth, these latter cases form a very important share of all cases of newspaper suggestion. It is unconscious suggestion, or suggestion as it is commonly understood, that constitutes a large number of the cases of newspaper influence on crime and other anti-social activity. As yet these cases are an unexplored portion of the field of suggestion and cannot be analyzed introspectively because they elude introspection by their very nature; and, finally, they enter into the other less purely suggested acts and even into reasoned acts as part content of those acts. It is necessary, therefore, to make an objective study

[1] The word "consciousness" as here used, if the writer is consistent, must connote merely mental processes as such, and not necessarily consciousness of, or attention to, the particular relation of stimulus and image. In other words, "entrance into consciousness" here means simply the process of setting off an activity. The word "consciousness" is, of course, an ambiguous term to all but psychologists. As a matter of fact, we have no adequate definition of consciousness. Nervous terms, terms of stimulus and response, are the nearest ones in which we can express it, and we call conscious acts those in which more than one stimulus is present, and in which therefore there is necessity for inhibition or selection of stimuli. In this discussion "consciousness" is not used in any metaphysical sense, but merely to denote "attention" or "inhibition."

of cases of unconscious newspaper suggestion. In no other way can we gain a control of it, and of the stimuli to it.

The only kind of activity stimulated by the newspaper that admits of introspective evidence is that in which there is some degree of conscious planning, and in which, therefore, the person remembers where he got his model or idea. Activity in which unconscious suggestion plays a large part cannot be checked up, except indirectly by the employment of objective methods of analysis, that is, for example, where a resemblance is noted between a newspaper account and the act by some third person, or where, as in cases of suicide, robbery, etc., a marked account of a similar act is found in the person's room or on his person. But all acts are mixtures, complexes of many activities, and suggested parts enter also even into those acts in which conscious planning is the predominant element.

In a later chapter cases of reasoned activities, which constitute direct introspective evidence of suggestion, will be analyzed in detail and it will be shown just how the act goes on. Here, the preliminary theoretical basis for that analysis will be laid by dealing in some detail with the psychology of this more narrowly suggested type of activity for which there is no direct introspective evidence, and which enters into the reasoned type. Suggestion, in this narrower sense, will be defined here and its operation described and illustrated with especial reference to the newspaper.

The first question, then, is, What is unconscious suggestion? The orthodox textbooks on psychology, such as those of James, Angell, Judd, Titchener, Royce, and others, do not contain explicit definitions of suggestion. The facts of suggestion, when treated in them at all, are dealt with as part of the subject of hypnotism. Consequently these writers cannot be cited in this connection. Definitions of suggestion must be drawn from those who have actually treated this matter. Binet says of suggestion:

Suggestion when successful, consists of an idea impressed upon a person and reigning dominant in the consciousness[2] of that person; reason, critical power and will are impotent to restrain it. . . . . For suggestion to develop itself accordingly, it is necessary that the subject's field of consciousness do not contain too many antagonistic ideas.[3]

[2] "Consciousness" is apparently here used broadly as in the first definition cited.

[3] *On Double Consciousness,* Open Court Pub. Co. (1894), 70, 71.

The first part of this definition is too ideational. Ideas are not the only things that can be "impressed" upon a person. Images and bare impulsive tendencies as well may be thus impressed. Otherwise, however, the definition does point out the unitary character of activity in suggestion. Moll says,

> The externally suggested idea of a movement, induces the movement; the idea of an object causes a corresponding sense-delusion. . . . . Ideas aroused in us have an effect which sometimes shows itself as other concepts (ideas, sensations, etc.), and sometimes externally as movement; in many cases, perhaps in all, there is both an internal and an external effect. What effect appears, what idea, what feeling, what movement will be induced by the first concept, depends upon the individuality of the person, upon his imagery, upon his character, his habits, and upon the species of the concept.[4]

Moll is here considering suggestion chiefly in connection with hypnotism as a method of producing an effect. Nevertheless, this definition does point out the close relation between stimulus and response (idea and movement), and the external source of the stimulus.

In his *Psychotherapy*,[5] Münsterberg makes the following statement among others, regarding suggestion,

> A suggestion is, we might say at first, an idea which has a power in our mind to suppress the opposite idea. A suggestion is an idea which in itself is not different from other ideas, but the way in which it takes possession of the mind reduces the chances of any opposite ideas; it inhibits them. Every suggestion is thus ultimately a suggestion of activity.[6] . . . . By small steps, suggestion shades over into ordinary exchange of ideas, propositions, and impressions, just as attention shades over into a neutral perception.[7]

This definition also limits suggestion to an ideational process, but it brings out its quick going-over into activity, its inhibitory character with relation to other ideas, and the fact that the line between suggestion and what we call ordinary stimulus and response relations is not exact.

" 'Suggestion' is only another name for the power of ideas, *so far as they prove efficacious over belief and conduct,*" says James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*.[8]

[4] *Hypnotism*, 63; (tr. Hopkirk), 4th enlarged ed. Scribner, 1909.

[5] Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909, p. 86.

[6] *Ibid.*, 104. [7] *Ibid.*, 106.

[8] Longmans, Green & Co. (1902), p. 112.

To take a more involved definition:

> The question of suggestion becomes, then, that of the mechanism of attention in working three results: (1) the narrowing of consciousness[9] upon the suggested idea, (2) the consequent narrowing of the motor impulses to simpler lines of discharge, and (3) the consequent inhibition of the discriminating and selective attitude which constitutes belief in reality.[10]

This definition also limits suggestion to an ideational process, and in so far it is too narrow, but it emphasizes the unitary character of the activity, as does the definition of Binet, and it makes explicit the part of inhibition in suggestion, that is, the absence of conflict of stimuli. Although the third point, as stated, simply means absence of inhibition, it serves to emphasize the uncritical attitude in suggestion.

Boris Sidis says, By suggestion is meant the intrusion into the mind of an idea; met with more or less opposition by the persons; accepted uncritically at last; and realized unreflectively, almost automatically.[11] This definition is bound up with Sidis' theory of double consciousness, or disaggregation of consciousness (for which he has been much criticized), which comes out in the phrase, "met with more or less opposition." Otherwise, barring its limitation to "idea" this definition covers the facts of suggestion.

Cooley says of suggestion: "The word is here used to denote an influence that works in a comparatively mechanical and reflex way, without calling out that higher selective activity of mind implied in choice or will."[12] This definition implies the main facts of suggestion; its unconscious character, the absence of conscious selection and choice, that is, of attention, and consequently its quick going-over into action.

In short, for the purposes of this study, suggestion is the process by which ideas, images, impulsive tendencies, or any sort of stimulus, enter from without into the composition of the neural make-up or disposition and, at times more or less

[9] Cf. note at beginning of the chapter.

[10] J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (Macmillan, 1906), 3d ed., 104.

[11] *The Psychology of Suggestion* (D. Appleton & Co., 1898), 15.

[12] *Human Nature and the Social Order* (Scribner, 1902), 14.

in the focus of consciousness, at other times not in the focus at all, are transformed into activity by the agency of a stimulus which bears an effective though unrecognized relation or similarity to the image or neural set, and in which there is in large part, or wholly, failure to anticipate the results of the suggested act. For example, when one reads an account of a murder he images it visually, or auditorially, or in whatever terms are characteristic of his type of imagery. These images and motor tendencies stay in his mind, that is, in his neural disposition, and later, when they are called up by some new stimulus, they may become cues, causes, of immediate activity, as appears from the following account of an act. Professor Woodworth says,

> The complete determinant of a voluntary motor act—that which specifies exactly what it shall be—is nothing less than the total set of the nervous system at the moment. The set is determined partly by factors of long standing, instincts and habits, partly by the sensations of the moment, partly by recent perceptions of the situation and by other thoughts lately present in consciousness; at the moment, however, these factors, though they contribute essentially to the set of the system, are for the most part present in consciousness only as a background or "fringe," if at all, while the attention is occupied by the thought of some particular change to be effected in the situation. The thought may be clothed in sensorial images . . . . but these are after all only clothes, and a naked thought can perfectly well perform its function of starting the motor machinery in action and determining the point and object of its application.[13]

The fact that the reading of the murder case, as referred to above, was the source of the initial imagery, or that there is a connection between the present stimulus and the image, is not recognized in this type of suggestion, and the activity follows unreflectively upon the calling up of the image; while in reasoned activity this source is remembered and a high degree of consciousness of the relation between stimulus and image exists. This does not mean that the overt activity in the case of pure or unconscious suggestion is a totally unconscious activity, but only that the relation between stimulus and response is unperceived immediately by the actor. Very intense consciousness

[13] "The Cause of Voluntary Movement," *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology* (Garman Memorial Volume; Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1906), 391, 392.

may arise in connection with carrying out the activity, that is, wherever anything problematical arises in the adjustment that is being made of means to ends. But consciousness is present only when there is some conflict of stimuli, and in the type of suggestion under discussion there is no such conflict of stimuli, only one stimulus being present as stimulus. This is what the "narrowing of consciousness [or attention] upon the suggested idea," referred to by Baldwin, means.

It is clear from the above account and from Woodworth's description of the act that the newspaper can function in suggestion in various ways, in all the ways, in fact, in which it can influence the nervous set. In any one act it may have entered into the constitution of the nervous set as "a factor of long standing," in the composition of a "habit"; it may constitute one or more of the "sensations of the moment," or complex of these sensations; it may be present as a "recent perception," or as a "thought lately present in consciousness." The newspaper as stimulus may be, therefore: (1) either the source of initial images or ideas that have now come to constitute either part of the fringe of a present act or the focus of a present act; or (2) it may be a present stimulus calling up images, ideas, already in the nervous set, as where a present newspaper account of a crime sets the person to committing that crime, or, when he has determined upon a crime, gives him his method. In the former of the two phases of newspaper influence the idea or motor tendency may lie dormant and not come into consciousness at all, or it may take the form of a fixed idea, in which case the person frequently even seeks stimuli which bear upon it.[14]

But acts of pure suggestion not only form a large number of the cases of suggestion, but, as was stated in the beginning of this chapter, enter into less purely suggested acts and into reasoned acts. The difference between a suggested act and a reasoned act, neurologically speaking, is the absence or presence of conflicting stimuli-processes. Every act, however, is a complex of many previous acts, and, as has been pointed out,

[14] Well-known examples of this unconscious suggestion are to be found in epidemics of crime of various sorts, suicide epidemics, murders, highway and bank robberies, etc. See latter part of chap. vi.

involves, at any one moment, the total set of the nervous system of that moment. The neural set, as described by Woodworth, includes a complex of past and present neural experiences into which suggestion has entered more or less frequently.[15]

Suggestion, consequently, is a process that is continually going on in the form of responses to surrounding stimuli. "The fact is," to quote Cooley, "that the main current of our thought is made up of impulses absorbed without deliberate choice from the life about us or else arising from hereditary instinct or from habit."[16] And this again is built up "without deliberate choice from the life about us."

The questions of social importance here are: Under what conditions is suggestion likely to occur? That is, (1) In what sorts of people is this process frequent and habitual; (2) What sorts of stimuli are apt to be suggestive and in what form or through what medium? That is to say, a psychological analysis of objective social conditions as stimuli and of the subjective individual to whom these are stimuli must be made.

Psychology has some evidence as to the kind of stimuli that are likely to set up associations. In general, the more concrete the stimulus the more likely it is to be remembered and to be responded to. More definitely still, frequency, vividness, recency, coexistence, are the objective conditions which have been found experimentally to be most conducive to suggestion.[17] In a later chapter it will be pointed out in greater detail how these conditions operate in the daily newspaper, through its featuring, in the use of varieties of type, wording, position, coloring, illustration, etc.

[15] "There are numbers of people in the community who feel the temptation to approach the brink of crime who need only a slight incentive to convert the impulse into action. The man who killed the Duke of Buckingham happened to be passing a hardware store and saw displayed in the window a huge knife with a keen edge. It was enough. He bought the knife and flayed the duke."—S. W. Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, 590.

The phrase "feel the temptation to approach the brink of crime" does not mean that people are conscious of such a feeling, but merely that in the presence of a stimulus to certain criminal acts they have an impulse to perform them.

[16] *Op. cit.*, 30.

[17] Boris Sidis, *op. cit.*, 28; also E. B. Titchener, *Experimental Psychology* (Students' Qualitative Manual; Macmillan, 1896), 201.

We have now to consider what types of people, external factors, suggestions, can incite to anti-social acts. Given the objective conditions already mentioned, whether a person exposed to them gets a suggestion or not depends, in general, upon the type of person he is—whether his previously ingrained experience is of such a character as to leave him open to such stimuli.[18] It will leave him open to anti-social stimuli if the rest of the stimulation in his experience has been of a similar character, or if he has had no strong counter-stimulation or training in evaluating stimuli. In other words, the objective and subjective conditions of suggestion revolve themselves, first into a question of how the attention can be attracted, how the eye or ear can be caught. And here, psychology tells us that novel stimuli, stimuli that appeal to organic appetites or native instincts, stimuli that appeal to special acquired interests, are the ones that catch the attention and thus enable the first step toward suggested activity to be taken.[19]

The objective and subjective conditions of suggestion revolve themselves, secondly, into a question of how these stimuli are evaluated, that is, related to social standards. Whether, the attention once caught, these stimuli *are* evaluated by the individual depends, as has been shown, upon his training for such evalua-

[18] A. Moll, *op. cit.*, 68.

[19] Illustrations of how the attention is got in these various ways are to be found, for example, in the yellow journal which represents an appeal both to organic appetites and to a desire for the novel (W. I. Thomas, *op. cit.*); in various forms of advertising, such as pictures of women on cigar boxes, suggestive pictures of women in the windows and on the walls of saloons, billboard signs, notably the illustration for *The Girl from Rector's*, played in Chicago in 1909, which some members of the Chicago Women's Club and of the Juvenile Protective Association took measures to have removed, a very suggestive picture advertising *The Girl in the Taxi*, and others. In addition, a number of advertisements in newspapers are based upon this same appeal. A Colorado paper displayed a picture of Ruth St. Denys dancing followed by the statement that "Some people have called this dancing immoral," and other remarks to that effect, ending with "But whatever you think about the dancing, groceries at ——— are the ones you want." Book reviews of the type of those generally written by Jeannette Gilder are apparently based on the same principle. Books, such as *Elizabeth's Visits to America* and *Lady Cardigan's Recollections*, are reviewed in the daily papers at some length by her, in advance of their publication. The suggestive and immoral portions are liberally quoted and dwelt upon, with the result that there is usually a wide demand for the books when they appear.

tion. Young people whose habits and ideas are in process of formation, the weak and unstable of all ages, are not in a position to estimate these stimuli critically. McDougall says,

> The suggestibility of any subject is not of the same degree at all times; it varies not only according to the topic and according to the source from which the proposition is communicated [he is speaking here of verbal suggestion only], but also with the condition of the subject's brain from hour to hour. The least degree of suggestibility is that of a wide-awake, self-reliant man of settled convictions, possessing a large store of systematically organized knowledge which he habitually brings to bear in criticism of all statements made to him. Greater degrees of suggestibility are due in the main to conditions of four kinds: (1) abnormal states of the brain, of which the relative dissociation obtaining in hysteria, hypnosis, normal sleep, and fatigue, is the most important; (2) deficiency of knowledge or convictions relating to the topic in regard to which the suggestion is made, and imperfect organization of knowledge; (3) the impressive character of the source from which the suggested proposition is communicated ["prestige suggestion"]; (4) peculiarities of the character and native disposition of the subject.[20]

It is not to be understood that suggestibility is here considered as an abnormal quality. It is as necessary to social as to anti-social activity. It is when all of a person's stimuli are of one character and at the same time anti-social, as in a mob or lynching party, or in regions in which pictures, papers, theaters, books, and people are all, or nearly all, of the anti-social character, or when one has no means of distinguishing the relative social values of one or another kind of acts, that suggestibility becomes a great power for danger. "It is not mentally deficient people who are thus accessible to ideas. There is in every man a gap where these ideas can enter," says Moll (*op. cit.*, 242). Or, to put it more strongly, every man is highly suggestible in the direction of his main interest or his habitual activity, while the weak and unstable are suggestible in practically any direction, owing to the lack of organization in their activity.

It is also true that people are differently suggestible, according to their types of imagery.[21] But the newspaper includes

[20] *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 98.

[21] W. D. Scott, "Difference in Suggestibility," *Psych. Rev.* (March, 1910), 147–54.

more than one type of suggestion. And this again increases its influence i.e., where more than one sensation area is stimulated, there is more likelihood of response. There are verbal suggestion, which contains indirect suggestions of other types, and visual suggestion in the form of illustrations, colors, differences in the form and size of type, etc.[22] In short, the modern newspaper, especially the so-called yellow and sensational elements in the modern newspaper, represent a mechanics of expression, a world of sensuous appeal, to eye, and ear, which has grown up slowly in other times and in other situations and which is a distinct excitant in ways which frequently are no longer socially useful. Anything which dramatizes, makes for a break in monotony, such as the patrol-wagon, policeman, etc., is a stimulus, is exciting, and is apt to be suggestive to the small boy or to older people of the mental pattern of the small boy. The motor or activity stimuli in the modern newspaper are of just this sort, and, on account of the important part they have played in the development of the race, make a strong appeal.[23]

On the basis of the psychology of suggestion as above developed, a direct causal connection may be established between the newspaper and crime and other anti-social activities.

It is not possible to measure this influence quantitatively, but

[22] There is no experimental evidence in psychology to show through which of the senses people are more commonly or easily suggestible, but it is an admitted fact that in modern life the eye has come to be the most important organ for picking up and mediating impressions. A common illustration of this fact is to be found in the effect of certain pictures, such as those representing abnormal activities, which often produce kinesthetic or activity effects in the person viewing them.

[23] "For the great majority of the public the emotion felt in connection with the brutal and exact details with which the press describes the most atrocious crimes vanishes after the first moment of astonishment and horror and we return tranquilly to our own thoughts and affairs; but for the lowest minority, the thing does not end so soon. A few—the predisposed, the degenerates—feel this emotion for a long time; the crime described so minutely has strongly impressed them; they think about it incessantly, it becomes a nightmare; and some day they give way to the obsession as the assassin Lemaire did, who after having stabbed a child to death, said calmly to a police agent who arrested him: "I read in a newspaper the description of an act similar to that which I have performed, and I wished to imitate it."—Scipio Sighèle, *Literature et criminalité* (Giard & Brière, Paris, 1908), 210.

it is none the less real because it cannot be so measured, as can, for example, the numerical results of advertising suggestion,[24] which is an analogous case of the influence of suggestion.

It is necessary, therefore, to make, on the one hand, a careful estimate of the matter dealing with crime and other anti-social activities in the newspapers, and on the other hand an analysis of actual and typical cases in which the newspaper is known to have suggested criminal and other anti-social acts. In the following chapter the method of analysis used in tabulating the matter in the newspapers will be discussed.

[24] "The actual effort of modern advertising is not so much to convince as to suggest . . . . the idea is suggested by the advertisement and the impulsiveness of human nature enforces the suggested idea, hence the desired result follows in a way unknown to the purchaser [unconscious suggestion]."—W. D. Scott, *Psychology of Advertising* (Small, Maynard & Co., 1908), 83.

"Advertisers are, in general, wise business men and are usually able to tell whether their advertising pays or not. If it pays, they continue it; if it does not, they cease advertising," says Professor Scott (*ibid,* 180). The brewers spend enormous sums in advertising to show, on physicians' and even on preachers' authority, that beer is nutritious and non-poisonous. They make a close calculation as to approximately how much money this suggestion will cost them and profit them. They advertise especially during local option and anti-saloon agitations, as a means of contra-suggestion. Advertising here has a direct causal connection with the sale of beer. Mail-order houses and department stores advertise only in papers of large general circulation and in those which circulate among certain classes of people, different in the two cases. Also certain forms of "fake" and other miscellaneous advertisements are known to be carried principally, or wholly, by the cheap literary papers which circulate in the rural districts. Cf. *Success Magazine* (June, 1909), 412.

[*To be continued*]

HOW IS SOCIETY POSSIBLE?[1]

GEORG SIMMEL
University of Berlin

Kant could propose and answer the fundamental question of his philosophy, How is nature possible?, only because for him nature was nothing but the representation (*Vorstellung*) of nature. This does not mean merely that "the world is my representation," that we thus can speak of nature only so far as it is a content of our consciousness, but that what we *call* nature is a special way in which our intellect assembles, orders, and forms the sense-perceptions. These "given" perceptions, of color, taste, tone, temperature, resistance, smell, which in the accidental sequence of subjective experience course through our consciousness, are in and of themselves not yet "nature;" but they become "nature" through the activity of the mind, which combines them into objects and series of objects, into substances and attributes and into causal coherences. As the elements of the world are given to us immediately, there does not exist among them, according to Kant, that coherence (*Verbindung*) which alone can make out of them the intelligible regular (*gesetzmässig*) unity of nature; or rather, which signifies precisely the being-nature (*Natur-Sein*) of those in themselves incoherently and irregularly emerging world-fragments. Thus the Kantian world-picture grows in the most peculiar reflection (*Wiederspiel*). Our sense-impressions are for this process purely subjective, since they depend upon the physico-psychical organization, which in other beings might be different, but they become "objects" since they are taken up by the forms of our intellect, and by these are

[1] This is a translation of the passage entitled, "Exkurs über das Problem: Wie ist Gesellschaft möglich?" in Simmel's *Soziologie* (pp. 27–45). Although I have often argued (e. g., *General Sociology*, pp. 183–85, 504–8, etc.) that the term "society" is too vague to be made into an instrument of precision, I am glad to assist in getting a hearing for Simmel's efforts to prove the contrary. I have therefore done my best to render his essay literally as far as possible, and in all cases faithfully. A. W. S.

fashioned into fixed regularities and into a coherent picture of "nature." On the other hand, however, those perceptions are the real "given," the unalterably accumulating content of the world and the assurance of an existence independent of ourselves, so that now those very intellectual formings of the same into objects, coherences, regularities, appear as subjective, as that which is brought to the situation by ourselves, in contrast with that which we have received from the externally existent—i. e., these formings appear as the functions of the intellect itself, which in themselves unchangeable, had constructed from another sense-material a *nature* with another content. Nature is for Kant a definite sort of cognition, a picture growing through and in our cognitive categories. The question then, How is nature possible?, i. e., what are the conditions which must be present in order that a "nature" may be given, is resolved by him through discovery of the forms which constitute the essence of our intellect and therewith bring into being "nature" as such.

It is at once suggested that it is possible to treat in an analogous fashion the question of the aprioristic conditions on the basis of which *society* is possible. Here too individual elements are given which in a certain sense always remain in their discreteness, as is the case with the sense-perceptions, and they undergo their synthesis into the unity of a society only through a process of consciousness which puts the individual existence of the several elements into relationship with that of the others in definite forms and in accordance with definite laws. The decisive difference between the unity of a society and that of nature, however, is this: the latter—according to the Kantian standpoint here presupposed—comes to existence exclusively in the contemplating unity (*Subject*), it is produced exclusively by that mind upon and out of the sense materials which are not in themselves interconnected. On the contrary, the societary unity is realized by its elements without further mediation, and with no need of an observer, because these elements are consciously and synthetically active. The Kantian theorem, *Connection* (*Verbindung*) *can never inhere in the things, since it is only brought into existence by the mind* (*Subject*), is not true of the societary connection,

which is rather immediately realized in the "things"—namely, in this case the individual souls.[2] Moreover, this societary connection as synthesis, remains something purely psychical and without parallels with space-structures and their reactions. But in the societary instance the combining requires no factor outside of its own elements, since each of these exercises the function which, with respect to the external, the psychic energy of the observer supplies. The consciousness of constituting with the others a unity is the whole unity in question in the societary case. This of course means, on the one hand, not the abstract consciousness of the unity concept, but the innumerable singular relationships, the feeling and knowing about this determining and being determined by the other, and, on the other hand, it quite as little excludes an observing third party from performing in addition a synthesis, with its basis only in himself, between the persons concerned, as between special elements. Whatever be the tract of externally observable being which is to be comprehended as a unity, the consummation occurs not merely by virtue of its immediate and strictly objective content, but it is determined by the categories of the mind (*Subject*) and from its cognitive require-

[2] Whether this point is material to anything sociological or not, I cannot refrain from pointing out that Simmel makes a distinction here where there is no difference. Adopting for the nonce the Kantian position, what is true of a section of "nature" confined in a test tube or filling the visible heavens is equally true of any phenomenon which occurs in the mind. So far as cognition of it is concerned, it makes no difference whether it is the coherence of the particles that make up a piece of rock, or the obsession by which we are the products of a *Zeitgeist,* the reconstruction of it is certainly no less a matter of the mind arranging it under its forms in the latter case than in the former. Indeed, in certain of their phenomena at any rate, we may say that the more "society" there is in Simmel's sense, the more impossible it is for "society" to exist in a sense analogous with Kant's nature theorem. The man who is most completely domineered by "society" is the one to whom the thought-thing society is most nearly non-existent. The fact that I am in a certain mental state because some other person is in a certain mental state no more insures my thinking that relation than the fact that my heart and my lungs have certain connections insures my thinking those connections. That is, in terms of a mental philosophy not in all respects obsolete, a "subject-object" has to be mentally constructed as much as an "object-object." "Society" is no more and no less a mental construction than "nature."—A. W. S.

ments. Society, however, is the objective unity which has no need of the observer not contained in itself.

The things in nature are, on the one hand, more widely separated than souls. In the outward world, in which each entity occupies space which cannot be shared with another, there is no analogy for the unity of one man with another, which consists in understanding, in love, in common work. On the other hand, the fragments of spatial existence pass into a unity in the consciousness of the observer, which cannot be attained by community of individuals. For, on account of the fact that the objects of the societary synthesis are independent beings, psychic centres, personal unities, they resist that absolute merging in the soul of another person, to which the selflessness (*Selbstlosigkeit*) of soulless things must yield. Thus a collection of men is really a unity in a much higher, more ideal sense, yet in a much lower degree than tables, chairs, sofa, carpet and mirror constitute "the furniture of a room," or river, meadow, trees, house, "a landscape," or in a painting "a picture."

In quite a different sense from that in which it is true of the external world, is society "my representation" (*Vorstellung*), i.e., posited upon the activity of consciousness. For the soul of another has for me the same reality which I myself have, a reality which is very different from that of a material thing. However Kant insists that objects in space have precisely the same certainty as my own existence, in the latter case only the particular *contents* of my subjective life can be meant; for the basis of representation in general, the feeling of the existing *ego,* is unconditional and unshakable to a degree attained by no single representation of a material externality. But this very certainty has for us, justifiably or not, also the fact of the *thou;* and as cause or as effect of this certainty we feel the *thou* as something independent of our representation, something which is just as really for itself (*genau so für sich ist*) as our own existence. That this *for-itself* of the other nevertheless does not prevent us from making it into our representation, that something which cannot be resolved into our representing still becomes the content, and thus the product of our representation—this is the profoundest psychologico-episte-

mological pattern and problem of socialization. Within our own consciousness we distinguish very precisely between the fundamentality of the *ego* (the presupposition of all representation, which has no part in the never wholly suppressible problematics of its contents) and these contents themselves, which as an aggregate, with their coming and going, their dubitability and their fallibility, always present themselves as mere products of that absolute and final energy and existence of our psychic being. We must carry over to the other soul, however, these very conditions, or rather independence of conditions, of our own *ego,* although in the last analysis we must represent that soul. That other soul has for us that last degree of reality which our own self possesses in distinction from its contents. We are sure that the case stands the same way with the other soul and its contents. Under these circumstances, the question, How is Society possible?, has a wholly different methodological bearing from the question, How is nature possible? The latter question is to be answered by the forms of cognition, through which the mind synthesizes given elements into "nature." The former question is answered by the conditions residing a priori in the elements themselves, through which they combine themselves actually into the synthesis "society." In a certain sense the entire contents of this book, as developed on the basis of the principle announced, may be regarded as the material for answering this question. The book searches out the procedures, occurring in the last analysis in individuals, which condition the existence of the individuals as society. It does not treat these procedures as temporally antecedent causes of this result, but as partial processes of the synthesis which we comprehensively name "society." But the question must be understood in a still more fundamental sense. I said that the function of achieving the synthetic unity, which with reference to nature resides in the observing mind, with reference to society passes over to the societary elements themselves. The consciousness of constituting society is not to be sure, in the abstract, present in the individual; but everyone always *knows* that the others are connected with himself, although this knowing about the other as the associated, this recognizing of the whole

complex as a society usually occurs with reference to particular concrete contents. Perhaps, however, the case is not different from that of "the unity of cognition" (*die Einheit des Erkennens*), according to which we proceed indeed in the processes of consciousness, arranging one concrete content with another, yet without having a separate consciousness of the unity itself, except in rare and late abstractions. Now, the question is: *What lies then, universally and a priori at the basis, what presuppositions must be operative, in order that the particular concrete procedures in the individual consciousness may actually be processes of socialization; what elements are contained in them which make it possible that the product of the elements is, abstractly expressed, the construction of the individual into a societary unity?* The sociological apriorities will have the same double significance as those "which make nature possible;" on the one hand they will more or less completely determine the actual processes of socialization, as functions or energies of the psychical occurrence, on the other hand they are the ideal logical presuppositions of the perfect—although in this perfection never realized—society. A parallel is the use of the law of causation. On the one hand it lives and works in the actual cognitive processes. On the other hand it builds up the form of the truth as the ideal system of completed cognitions, irrespective of whether that truth is realized or not by that temporal, relatively accidental psychical dynamic, and irrespective of the greater or lesser approximation of the truth actually in consciousness to the ideal truth.

It is a mere question of terms whether investigation of these conditions of the socializing process shall be called epistemological or not, since that structure which arises from these conditions, and which has its norms in their forms, is not cognitions but practical processes and real situations. Nevertheless what I now have in mind, and what must be tested as the general concept of socialization by its conditions, is somewhat epistemological, viz., the consciousness of associating or of being socialized. Perhaps it should be called a *knowing* rather than a cognizing (*besser ein Wissen als ein Erkennen*). For in this case the mind does not immediately confront an object of which it gradually gains a

theoretical picture, but that consciousness of the socialization is immediately its vehicle or inner significance. The matter in question is the processes of reciprocation which signify for the individual the fact of being associated. That is, the fact is not signified in the abstract to the individual, but it is capable of abstract expression. What forms must be at the basis, or what specific categories must we bring along, so to speak, in order that the consciousness may arise, and what consequently are the forms which the resulting consciousness—i.e., society as a fact of knowing—must bear? We may call this the epistemological theory of society. In what follows, I am trying to sketch certain of these a priori effective conditions or forms of socialization. These cannot, to be sure, like the Kantian categories, be designated by a single word. Moreover, I present them only as illustrations of the method of investigation.

1. The picture which one man gets of another from personal contact is determined by certain distortions which are not simple deceptions from incomplete experience, defective vision, sympathetic or antipathetic prejudice; they are rather changes in principle in the composition of the real object. These are, to begin with, of two dimensions. In the first place we see the other party in some degree generalized. This may be because it is not within our power fully to represent in ourselves an individuality different from our own. Every reconstruction (*Nachbilden*) of a soul is determined by the similarity to it, and although this is by no means the only condition of psychical cognition (*sic*)—since on the one hand unlikeness seems at the same time requisite, in order to gain perspective and objectivity, on the other hand there is required an intellectual capacity which holds itself above likeness or unlikeness of being—yet *complete* cognition would nevertheless presuppose a complete likeness. It appears as though every man has in himself a deepest individuality-nucleus which cannot be subjectively reproduced by another whose deepest individuality is essentially different. And that this requirement is not logically compatible with that distance and objective judgment on which the representation of another otherwise rests, is proved by the mere fact that complete knowledge of the individuality of another

is denied to us; and all interrelations of men with one another are limited by the varying degrees of this deficiency. Whatever its cause may be, its consequence at all events is a generalization of the psychical picture of the other person, a dissolving of the outlines, which adds to the singularity of this picture a relationship with others. We posit every man, with especial bearing upon our practical attitude toward him, as that type of man to which his individuality makes him belong. We think him, along with all his singularity, only under the universal category which does not fully cover him to be sure, and which he does not fully cover. This latter circumstance marks the contrast between this situation and that which exists between the universal idea and the particular which belongs under it. In order to recognize the man, we do not see him in his pure individuality, but carried, exalted, or degraded by the general type under which we subsume him. Even when this transformation is so slight that we cannot immediately recognize it, or even if all the usual cardinal concepts of character fail us, such as moral or immoral, free or unfree, domineering or menial, etc.—in our own minds we designate the man according to an unnamed type with which his pure individuality does not precisely coincide.

Moreover this leads a step farther down. Precisely from the complete singularity of a personality we form a picture of it which is not identical with its reality, but still is not a general type. It is rather the picture which the person would present if he were, so to speak, entirely himself, if on the good or bad side he realized the possibility which is in every man. We are all fragments, not only of the universal man, but also of ourselves. We are onsets not merely of the type human being in general, not merely of the type *good, bad,* etc., but we are onsets of that not further in principle nameable individuality and singularity of our own selves which surrounds our perceptible actuality as though drawn with ideal lines. The vision of our neighbor, however, enlarges this fragment to that which we never are completely and wholly. He cannot see the fragments merely side by side as they are actually given, but as we offset the blind spot in our eye so that we are not conscious of it, in like manner we make of these

fragmentary data the completeness of an individuality. The practice of life is more and more insistent that we shall form our picture of the man from the real details alone which we empirically know about him; but this very practice rests upon those changes and additions, upon the reconstruction of those given fragments into the generality of a type and into the completeness of this ideal personality.

This procedure, which is in principle attempted, although in reality it is seldom carried through to completeness, operates only within the already existing society as the apriori of the further reactions which develop between individuals. Within a sphere which has any sort of community of calling or of interests, every member looks upon every other, not in a purely empirical way, but on the basis of an apriori which this sphere imposes upon each consciousness which has part in it. In the circles of officers, of church members, of civil officials, of scholars, of members of families, each regards the other under the matter of course presupposition—this is a member of my group. From the common basis of life certain suppositions originate and people look upon one another through them as through a veil. This veil does not, to be sure, simply conceal the peculiarity of the individual, but it gives to this personality a new form, since its actual reality melts in this typical transformation into a composite picture. We see the other person not simply as an individual, but as colleague or comrade or fellow partisan; in a word, inhabitant of the same peculiar world; and this unavoidable, quite automatically operative presupposition is one of the means of bringing his personality and reality in the representation of another up to the quality and form demanded of his sociability (*Soziabilität*).

The same is evidently true of members of different groups in their relations with one another. The plain citizen who makes the acquaintance of an officer cannot divest himself of the thought that this individual is an officer. And although this being an officer may belong to the given individuality, yet not in just the schematic way in which it prejudges his picture in the representation of the other person. The like is the case with the Protestant in contrast with the Catholic, the merchant with the official, the

layman with the priest, etc. Everywhere there occur veilings of the outline of reality by the social generalization. This in principle prohibits discovery of that reality within a group which is in a high degree socially differentiated. Accordingly man's representation of man is thrown out of true by dislocations, additions and subtractions from all these categories, which exert an a priori influence, since the generalization is always at the same time more or less than the individuality. That is, the individual is rated as in some particulars different from his actual self by the gloss imposed upon him when he is classified in a type, when he is compared with an imagined completeness of his own peculiarity, when he is credited with the characteristics of the social generality to which he belongs. Over and above all this there sways, as the principle of interpretation in cognition, the thought of his real solely individual equation; but since it appears as though determination of this equation would be the only way of arriving at the precisely founded relationship to the individual, as a matter of fact those changes and reshapings, which prevent this ideal recognition of him, are precisely the conditions through which the relationships which we know as the strictly social become possible —somewhat as with Kant the categories of reason, which form the immediately given into quite new objects, alone make the given world a knowable one.

2. Another category under which men (*Subjecte*) view themselves and one another, in order that, so formed, they may produce empirical society, may be formulated in the seemingly trivial theorem:—*Each element of a group is not a societary part, but beyond that something else.* This fact operates as social apriori in so far as the part of the individual which is not turned toward the group, or is not dissolved in it, does not lie simply without meaning by the side of his socially significant phase, is not a something external to the group, for which it *nolens volens* affords space; but the fact that the individual, with respect to certain sides of his personality, is not an element of the group, constitutes the positive condition for the fact that he is such a group member in other aspects of his being. In other words, the sort of his socialized-being (*Vergesellschaftet-Seins*)

is determined or partially determined by the sort of his not-socialized being. The analysis to follow will bring to light certain types whose sociological significance, even in their germ and nature, is fixed by the fact that they are in some way shut out from the very group for which their existence is significant; for instance in the case of the stranger, the enemy, the criminal, and even the pauper. This applies, however, not merely in the case of such general characters, but in unnumbered modifications for every sort of individuality. That every moment finds us surrounded by relationships with human beings, and that the content of every moment's experience is directly or indirectly determined by these human beings, is no contradiction of the foregoing. On the contrary the social setting as such affects beings who are not completely bounded by it. For instance, we know that the civil official is not merely an official, the merchant not merely a merchant, the military officer not merely an officer. This extra-social being, his temperament and the deposit of his experiences, his interests and the worth of his personality, little as it may change the main matter of official, mercantile, military activities, gives the individual still, in every instance, for everyone with whom he is in contact, a definite shading, and interpenetrates his social picture with extra-social imponderabilities. The whole commerce of men within the societary categories would be different, if each confronted the other only in that character which belongs to him in the rôle for which he is responsible in the particular category in which he appears at the moment. To be sure, individuals, like callings and social situations, are distinguished by the degree of that *In-addition* which they possess or admit along with their social content. The man in love or in friendship may be taken as marking the one pole of this series. In this situation, that which the individual reserves for himself, beyond those manifestations and activities which converge upon the other, in quantity approaches the zero point. Only a single life is present, which, so to speak, may be regarded or is lived from two sides: on the one hand from the inside, from the *terminus a quo* of the active person; then on the other hand as the quite identical life, contemplated in the direction of the beloved person, under the

category of his *terminus ad quem,* which it completely adopts. With quite another tendency the Catholic priest presents in form the same phenomenon, in that his ecclesiastical function completely covers and swallows his being-for-himself. In the former of these extreme cases, the *In-addition* of the sociological activity disappears, because its content has completely passed over into consideration of the other party; in the second case, because the corresponding type of contents has in principle altogether disappeared. The opposite pole is exhibited by the phenomena of our modern civilization as they are determined by money economy. That is, man approaches the ideal of absolute objectivity as producer, or purchaser or seller, in a word as a performer of some economic function. Certain individuals in high places excepted, the individual life, the tone of the total personality, has disappeared from the function, the persons are merely the vehicles of an exchange of function and counter-function occurring according to objective norms, and every thing which does not fit into this sheer thingness (*Sachlichkeit*) has also as a matter of fact disappeared from it. The *In-addition* has fully taken up into itself the personality with its special coloring, its irrationality, its inner life, and it has left to those societary activities only those energies, in pure abstraction, which specifically pertain to the activities.

Between these extremes the social individuals move in such a way that the energies and characteristics which are pointed toward the inner center always show a certain significance for the activities and inclinations which affect their associates. For, in the marginal case, even the consciousness that this social activity or attitude is something differentiated from the rest of the man, and does not enter into the sociological relationship along with that which he otherwise is and signifies—even this consciousness has quite positive influence upon the attitude which the subject assumes towards his fellows and they towards him. The apriori of the empirical social life is that the life is not entirely social. We form our interrelationships not alone under the negative reservation of a part of our personality which does not enter into them; this portion affects the social occurrences in

the soul not alone through general psychological combinations, but precisely the formal fact that influence exerts itself outside of these determines the nature of this interworking.

Still further, one of the most important sociological formations rests on the fact that the societary structures are composed of beings who are at the same time inside and outside of them: namely that between a society and its individuals a relationship may exist like that between two parties—indeed that perhaps such relationship, open or latent, *always* exists. Therewith society produces perhaps the most conscious, at least universal conformation of a basic type of life in general: that the individual soul can never have a position within a combination outside of which it does not at the same time have a position, that it cannot be inserted into an order without finding itself at the same time in opposition to that order. This applies throughout the whole range from the most transcendental and universal interdependencies to the most singular and accidental. The religious man feels himself completely encompassed by the divine being, as though he were merely a pulse-beat of the divine life; his own substance is unreservedly, and even in mystical identity, merged in that of the Absolute. And yet, in order to give this intermelting any meaning at all, the devotee must retain some sort of self existence, some sort of personal reaction, a detached ego, to which the resolution into the divine All-Being is an endless task, a process only, which would be neither metaphysically possible nor religiously feelable if it did not proceed from a self-being on the part of the person: the being one with God is conditional in its significance upon the being other than God. Beyond this converging toward the transcendental, the relationship to nature as a whole which the human mind manifests throughout its entire history shows the same form. On the one hand we know ourselves as articulated into nature, as one of its products, which stands alongside of every other as an equal among equals, as a point which nature's stuff and energies reach and leave, as they circle through running water and blossoming plants. And yet the soul has a feeling of a something self-existent (*eines Fürsichseins*) which we designate with the logically so inexact con-

cept *freedom,* offering an opposite (*ein Gegenüber und Paroli*) to all that energy an element of which we ever remain, which makes toward the radicalism which we may express in the formula, *Nature is only a representation in the human soul.* As, however, in this conception, nature with all its undeniable peculiarity (*Eigengesetzlichkeit*) and hard reality is still subsumed under the concept of the ego, so on the other hand this ego, with all its freedom and selfcontaining (*Fürsichsein*), with its juxtaposition to "mere nature," is still a member of nature. Precisely that is the overlapping natural correlation, that it embraces not alone "mere nature," but also that being which is independent and often enough hostile to "mere nature," that this which according to the ego's deepest feeling of selfishness is external to the ego must still be the element of the ego. Moreover, this formula holds not less for the relationship between the individuals and the particular circles of their societary combinations; or if we generalize these combinations into the concept of *societary-ness* in the abstract, for the interrelation of individuals at large. We know ourselves on the one side as *products* of society. The physiological series of progenitors, their adaptations and fixations, the traditions of their labor, their knowledge and belief, of the whole spirit of the past crystallized in objective forms—all these determine the equipment and the contents of our life, so that the question might arise whether the individual is anything more than a receptacle in which previously existing elements mix in changing proportions; for although the elements were also in the last analysis produced by individuals, yet the contribution of each is a disappearing quantity, and only through their generic and societary merging were the factors produced in the synthesis of which in turn the ostensible individuality may consist. On the other hand we know ourselves as a *member* of society, woven with our life-process and its meaning and purpose quite as interdependently into its coexistence (*Nebeneinander*) as in the other view into its succession (*Nacheinander*). Little as we in our character as natural objects have a self-sufficiency, because the intersection of the natural elements proceeds through us as through completely selfless structures, and the equality before the laws of nature resolves our existence without re-

mainder into a mere example of their necessity—quite as little do we live as societary beings around an autonomous center; but we are from moment to moment composed out of reciprocal relationships to others, and we are thus comparable with the corporeal substance which for us exists only as the sum of many impressions of the senses, but not as a self-sufficient entity. Now, however, we feel that this social diffusion does not completely dissolve our personality. This is not because of the reservations previously mentioned, or of particular contents whose meaning and development rest from the outset only in the individual soul, and finds no position at large in the social correlation. It is not only because of the *molding* of the social contents, whose unity as individual soul is not itself again of social nature, any more than the artistic form, in which the spots of color merge upon the canvas, can be derived from the chemical nature of the colors themselves. It is rather chiefly because the total life-content, however completely it may be applicable from the social antecedents and reciprocities, is yet at the same time capable of consideration under the category of the singular life, as experience of the individual and completely oriented with reference to this experience. The two, individual and experience, are merely different categories under which the same content falls, just as the same plant may be regarded now with reference to the biological conditions of its origin, again with reference to its practical utility, and still again with reference to its aesthetic meaning. The standpoint from which the existence of the individual may be correlated and understood may be assumed either within or without the individual; the totality of the life with all its socially derivable contents may be regarded as the centripetal destiny of its bearer, just as it still may pass, with all the parts reserved to the credit of the individual, as product and element of the social life.

Therewith, therefore, the fact of socialization brings the individual into the double situation from which I started: viz., that the individual has his setting in the socialization and at the same time is in antithesis with it, a member of its organism and at the same time a closed organic whole, an existence (*Sein*) for it and an existence for itself. The essential thing, however, and the

meaning of the particular sociological apriori which has its basis herein, is this, that between individual and society the *Within* and *Without* are not two determinations which exist alongside of each other—although they may occasionally develop in that way, and even to the degree of reciprocal enmity—but that they signify the whole unitary position of the socially living human being. His existence is not merely, in subdivision of the contents, partially social and partially individual, but it stands under the fundamental, formative, irreducible category of a unity, which we cannot otherwise express than through the synthesis or the contemporariness of the two logically antithetical determinations —articulation and self-sufficiency, the condition of being produced by, and contained in, society, and on the other hand, of being derived out of and moving around its own center. Society consists not only, as we saw above, of beings that in part are not socialized, but also of others that feel themselves to be, on the one hand, completely social existences, on the other hand, while maintaining the same content, completely individual existences. Moreover these are not two unrelated contiguous standpoints, as if, for instance, one considers the same body now with reference to its weight and now with reference to its color; but the two compose that unity which we call the *social being,* the synthetic category—as the concept of causation is an aprioristic unity, although it includes the two, in content, quite different elements of the causing and of the effect. That this formation is at our disposal, this ability to derive from beings, each of which may feel itself as the *terminus a quo* and as the *terminus ad quem* of its developments, destinies, qualities, the very concept of society which reckons with those elements, and to recognize the reality corresponding with the concept (Society) as the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* of those vitalities and self-determinings—that is an apriori of empirical society, that makes its form possible as we know it.

3. Society is a structure of unlike elements. Even where democratic or socialistic movements plan an "equality," and partially attain it, the thing that is really in question is a like *valuation* of persons, of performances, of positions, while an equality of persons, in composition, in life-contents, and in fortunes

cannot come into consideration. And where, on the other hand, an enslaved population constitutes only a mass, as in the great oriental despotisms, this equality of each always concerns only certain sides of existence, say the political or the economic, but never the whole of the same, the transmitted qualities, of which, personal relationships, experiences, not merely within the subjective aspect of life but also on the side of its reactions with other existences, will unavoidably have a certain sort of peculiarity and untransferability. If we posit society as a purely objective scheme, it appears as an ordering of contents and performances which in space, time, concepts, values are concerned with one another, and as to which we may in so far perform an abstraction from the personality, from the Ego-form, which is the vehicle of its dynamic. If that inequality of the elements now presents every performance or equality within this order as individually marked and in its place unequivocally established, at the same time society appears as a cosmos whose manifoldness in being and in movement is boundless, in which, however, each point can be composed and can develop itself only in that particular way, the structure is not to be changed. What has been asserted of the structure of the world in general, viz., that no grain of sand could have another form or place from that which now belongs to it, except upon the presupposition and with the consequence of a change of all being—the same recurs in the case of the structure of society regarded as a web of qualitatively determined phenomena. An analogy as in the case of a miniature, greatly simplified and conventionalized (*stilisiert*), is to be found for the picture of society thus conceived as a whole, in a body of officials, which as such consists of a definite ordering of "positions," of a preordination of performances, which, detached from their personnel of a given moment, present an ideal correlation. Within the same, every newcomer finds an unequivocally assigned place, which has waited for him, as it were, and with which his energies must harmonize. That which in this case is a conscious, systematic assignment of functions, is in the totality of society of course an inextricable tangle of functions; the positions in it are not given by a constructive will, but they are discernible only through the actual doing and experiencing of individuals. And

in spite of this enormous difference, in spite of everything that is irrational, imperfect, and from the viewpoint of evaluation to be condemned, in historical society, its phenomenological structure —the sum and the relationship of the sort of existence and performances actually presented by all the elements of objectively historical society——is an order of elements, each of which occupies an individually determined place, a co-ordination of functions and of functioning centers, which are objective and in their social significance full of meaning if not always full of value. At the same time, the purely personal aspect, the subjectively productive, the impulses and reflexes of the essential ego remain entirely out of consideration. Or, otherwise expressed, the life of society runs its course—not psychologically, but phenomenologically, regarded purely with respect to its social contents—*as though* each element were predetermined for its place in this whole. In the case of every break in the harmony of the ideal demands, it runs *as though* all the members of this whole stood in a relation of unity, which relation, precisely because each member is his particular self, refers him to all the others and all the others to him.

From this point, then, the apriori is visible which should be now in question, and which signifies to the individual a foundation and a "possibility" of belonging to a society. That each individual, by virtue of his own quality, is automatically referred to a determined position within his social *milieu,* that this position ideally belonging to him is also actually present in the social whole—this is the presupposition from which, as a basis, the individual leads his societary life, and which we may characterize as the universal value of the individuality. It is independent of the fact that it works itself up toward clear conceptional consciousness, but also of the contingent possibility of finding realization in the actual course of life—as the apriority of the law of causation, as one of the normative preconditions of all cognition, is independent of whether the consciousness formulates it in detached concepts, and whether the psychological reality always proceeds in accordance with it or not. Our cognitive life rests on the presupposition of a pre-established harmony between our spiritual energies, even the most individual of them, and external

objective existence, for the latter remains always the expression of the immediate phenomenon, whether or not it can be traced back metaphysically or psychologically to the production of the reality by the intellect itself. Thus societary life as such is posited upon the presupposition of a fundamental harmony between the individual and the social whole, little as this hinders the crass dissonances of the ethical and the eudaemonistic life. If the social reality were unrestrictedly and infallibly given by this preconditional principle, we should have the perfect society—again not in the sense of ethical or eudaemonistic but of conceptual perfection. More fully expressed, we should have, so to speak, not the *perfect* society, but the perfect *society*. So far as the individual finds, or does not find, realization of this apriori of his social existence, i. e., the thoroughgoing correlation of his individual being with the surrounding circles, the integrating necessity of his particularity, determined by his subjective personal life, for the life of the whole, the socialization is incomplete; the society has stopped short of being that gapless reciprocality which its concept foretells.

This state of the case comes to a definite focus with the category of the vocation (*Beruf*). Antiquity, to be sure, did not know this concept in the sense of personal differentiation and of the society articulated by division of labor.

But what is at the basis of this conception was in existence even in antiquity: viz., that the socially operative doing is the unified expression of the subjective qualification, that the whole and the permanent of the subjectivity practically objectifies itself by virtue of its functions in the society. This relationship was realized then on the average merely in a less highly differentiated content. Its principle emerged in the Aristotelian dictum that some were destined by their nature to δεσπόζειν, others to δουλεύειν. With higher development of the concept it shows the peculiar structure—that on the one hand the society begets and offers in itself a position (*Stelle*) which in content and outline differs from others, which, however, in principle may be filled out by many, and thereby is, so to speak, something anonymous; and that this position now, in spite of its character of generality, is grasped by the individual, on the ground of an inner

"call," or of a qualification conceived as wholly personal. In order that a "calling" may be given, there must be present, however it came to exist, that harmony between the structure and the life-process of the society on the one side, and the individual make-up and impulses on the other. Upon this as general precondition rests at last the representation that for every personality a position and a function exists within the society, to which the personality is "called," and the imperative to search until it is found.

The empirical society becomes "possible" only through the apriori which culminates in the "vocation" concept, which apriori to be sure, like those previously discussed, cannot be characterized by a simple phrase, as in the case of the Kantian categories. The consciousness processes wherewith socialization takes place—unity composed of many, the reciprocal determination of the individuals, the reciprocal significance of the individual for the totality of the other individuals and of the totality for the individual—run their course under this precondition which is wholly a matter of principle, which is not recognized in the abstract, but expresses itself in the reality of practice: viz., that the individuality of the individual finds a position in the structure of the generality, and still more that this structure in a certain degree, in spite of the incalculability of the individuality, depends antecedently upon it and its function. The causal interdependence which weaves each social element into the being and doing of every other, and thus brings into existence the external network of society, is transformed into a teleological interdependence, so soon as it is considered from the side of its individual bearers, its producers, who feel themselves to be egos, and whose attitude grows out of the soil of the personality which is self-existing and self-determining. That a phenomenal wholeness of such character accomodates itself to the purpose of these individualities which approach it from without, so to speak, that it offers a station for their subjectively determined life-process, at which point the peculiarity of the same becomes a necessary member in the life of the whole—this, as a fundamental category, gives to the consciousness of the individual the form which distinguishes the individual as a social element!

BIBLICAL SOCIOLOGY. V.

LOUIS WALLIS
The University of Chicago

Our study thus far has been mainly analytical. We have outlined the institutions common to Israel and other ancient societies on the same level of culture. We have examined the domestic, the industrial, the political, and the religious phases of the situation under view. The remainder of the work will be synthetic. An attempt will be made to show how the distinctive religion of the Bible was produced by operation of the common forces that move society. In this respect the goal doubtless appears to be as far distant as when we set out on our journey. Our purpose is to explain the unique religion of Israel in terms of the social process. Thus far, however, instead of dealing with facts that are characteristic of the Bible and its religion, we have been at considerable pains to show in what ways the people of Israel were *not* peculiar. We have shown that their fundamental ideas and institutions were practically identical with those of other ancient societies. This fact has, indeed, been amply illustrated and emphasized by modern critical scholarship. Were it not for previous literary and historical criticism, our introductory analysis could not have been made, and the following synthesis would be impossible. The achievement of criticism thus far has been the laying bare of the fundamental terms of Israel's life. Further critical progress will exhibit the combination of these fundamental terms in the development of biblical religion.

In the following division of our work we shall consider the social process lying between two points: (1) the invasion of Canaan by the Israelite clans; (2) the annihilation of Israelite independence in the Babylonian exile. The period falling within these limits occupies more than half a millenium. It is the great *creative* epoch, in which the official religion of Israel ad-

vanced from polytheistic heathenism to ethical monotheism. This mighty spiritual revolution—fraught with incalculable consequence to the human race—was worked out through a number of reforms which were instituted upon various occasions. It is true that the reforms were followed by heathen reactions. But those reactions were due to persistence of primitive ideas and usages that formed the groundwork and starting-point of Israel's religion. The latest of the upward movements in the period in question was the great deuteronomic reformation which is connected with the name of King Josiah. Yet even this reform was followed by a lapse into paganism. Nevertheless, despite backslidings, the period in question was the great, creative epoch. The work of the post-exilic period was to *stereotype* the salient results of the *pre*-exilic history.

Our outstanding problem is to account for the peculiar consciousness of the divine which was acquired *by* Israel, and which the world has acquired *through* Israel. The experiences of this interesting Semitic people have set the standard for the faith and piety of countless millions, their spiritual posterity. Through Israel, our consciousness of the divine is what it is: God, the personal ground of the universe; eternally opposed to evil; eternally claiming our allegiance; eternally concerned in the redemption of the human race. This idea of God has been approached from different standpoints by various ethnic thinkers. But we acknowledge no direct religious inheritance from ethnic faiths outside of Israel. Great things may be said about the sages of the pagan world. We may laud Confucius, and Buddha, and Socrates, and Plato, and Marcus Aurelius, and many other men of the spirit. Nor may we fail to give due credit to these earnest souls, who wrought amid pagan darkness. But in the last analysis the religion of our modern world is fundamentally *biblical* religion, and no other. No matter how far afield our investigations may go, we must always return to the Bible and to the God of the Bible. Not the Yahweh of the earlier Old Testament "sources," but the distinctive God of our Holy Scriptures, is the polestar of the spiritual firmament. The Bible comes before us today with fresher and

more commanding interest than ever before, an imperious challenge to all our powers.

Our central task is discovery of the conditions under which the cult of Yahweh became fit to function as a universal religion. The solution of this problem will be found in terms of the differentiation of the Yahweh-idea. We find the thought of Yahweh as god of Sinai; as god of Israel; as "man of war"; as god of armies, or hosts, mighty in battle; as enemy of the Baals and other gods; as champion of the poor and oppressed; as upholder of justice and righteousness; as lord of lords and god of gods; and as maker of heaven and earth. If the sociological higher criticism be valid, the idea of Yahweh, in all its forms and phases, is answerable to positive situations in the *social process.* No smallest fraction of biblical theology can there be (neither Old Testament nor New) which is not correlated with social evolution. The holy and solemn phrases that have touched the imagination of countless millions of the spiritual descendants of Israel; the sacred institutions that have been handed down across the flight of ages; these impressive symbols are a deposit of that social process which it now becomes our task to reconstruct.

I. THE CONTACT OF ALIEN SOCIAL GROUPS

In ancient Semitic society the normal relation of alien social groups was that of hostility. This condition, however, was not peculiar to the Semites. It is common to all primitive society. The stranger is the enemy, the alien. This condition arises in dependence upon the uncertain food supply at the disposal of societies in a low state of culture. It persists far up into historical times, and has a powerful influence upon the formation of social aggregates. But in modern civilization, contrary to the ancient practice, we take it for granted that our own social group is at peace with other groups. Present international law assumes a *pax gentium* in the absence of express hostility. We are not here concerned with the forces that have produced this great reversal of attitude. We are emphasizing the *fact.* The modern usage has become so habitual that it is hard to project

the imagination downward into the earlier state of society in which the opposite assumption is made.

In ancient society, then, a strange man, or a strange people, was an enemy. Under such conditions, the prevailing code of morals had no place for the idea of human brotherhood. The obligations of morality were co-extensive only with the obligations imposed by kinship or by special treaty. Thus we find the following rule among the laws of Israel: "Ye shall not eat anything that dieth of itself. Thou mayest give it unto the sojourner that is within thy gates, that he may eat it. Or thou mayest *sell* it unto a foreigner" (Deut. 14:21). This furnishes an excellent illustration of the feeling of group solidarity, and of disregard for outside interests, which prevailed in ancient society and which is found in all backward races. The Israelite might not partake of tainted meat. But he might give it as a present to the "sojourner" with whom he was in covenant. Or he might dispose of it, as an article of merchandise, to the "foreigner," who had no moral claims upon him. Such distinctions exhibit a very interesting gradation of morality. Conformably to this feeling a state of hostility existed between alien groups, unless qualified by special treaty. And even these bars to hostility were broken down by the stress of the struggle for existence.

The antagonism thus normally prevailing between alien groups had an important correlative in the religious field. The ancient union of politics and religion was so intimate that the hostility of alien groups drew along with it the hostility of the respective gods. The gods were conceived as powerful members of the social circle (cf. *Religious Institutions, supra*); and since the gods were thought of as parts of society, it is clear that they were drawn irresistibly into the struggle interests of society. We therefore find in ancient and primitive thought the idea of *the wars of the gods.* This was not a matter of symbolism or figure; it was a literal belief of the human mind at one stage in its history. The belligerency of the divine partners of mankind is thus a prominent feature of ancient mythology. This aspect of early religious thought is plainly

connected with the original union of church and state in society. The wars of the gods reflect the hostility of alien social groups. The men and gods of hostile groups were involved in a reciprocity of hatred. A good illustration is found in the boy Hannibal, of Carthage, who, standing before the altar of his ancestral gods, vowed eternal hatred for the people and gods of Rome. Another good example is found in the famous inscription of King Mesha, on the Moabite Stone: "I am Mesha, King of Moab. . . . . And I made this high place [altar] for Chemosh. . . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. . . . . And I took it, and slew the whole of it, 7,000 men and male strangers." The implication of the god Chemosh in the hostility between Israel and Moab is clearly shown here. Another good illustration is found in the story of the fight between David and Goliath. Concerning Goliath, we read: "And the Philistine cursed David by his gods." On the other hand, David says: "I come to thee in the name of Yahweh of hosts, the god of the armies of Israel." (I Sam. 17:43 f.).

We now turn from these concrete facts to the following summary, which is worthy of special emphasis and careful study:

In ancient society the normal relation of alien groups is that of hostility, unless modified by special treaty; and this antagonism is conceived as involving the gods of the respective groups.

In accordance with this principle, the earliest and crudest idea of Yahweh in ancient Israel was that of a warrior. Thus it was declared with naïve bluntness, "Yahweh is a man of war" (Exod. 15:3). In this character, he was frequently called a god of hosts, or armies, mighty in battle. In harmony with this, the battles of Israel were spoken of as "the battles of Yahweh" (I Sam. 25:28). The enemies of Israel were, therefore, "the enemies of Yahweh" (1 Sam. 30:26). It was from this point of view—so commonplace to the ancient mind, but so strange to the modern mind—that the famous *Book of the Wars of Yahweh* was written (Num. 21:14). From the standpoint of the union of church and state, this ancient composition was

really a book of the wars of Israel. It was a martial history of the people of Yahweh, and was one of the important "sources" upon which biblical historiographers depended for material in preparing the Old Testament.

We are now ready to see that the earliest use which the Israelites had for their new god was in connection with the forcible seizure of their future home. It is a plain fact of history that these desert clans graduated from nomadism to the settled life by invading the land of Canaan. They had entered into covenant at Mount Sinai with this god of the desert; and they expected his help in dispossessing the various communities which held the coveted territory. The attitude of the Israelite groups toward the Canaanite groups was therefore *hostile.* It was proposed to exterminate in cold blood the earlier population. As a consequence, the god of Israel was inevitably regarded as hostile to the Canaanites and their gods, the Baalim.

Bearing these facts in mind, we move into another stage of this interesting line of thought. In ancient Semitic warfare a common practice was to denounce against the enemy the "sacred ban." In the Hebrew language this was called the *ḥerem,* חֵרֶם. This brings to view an institution common to the ancient Semites, as well as other primitive peoples. The *ḥerem* discloses the religious phase of the hostility between alien social groups. It was proclaimed by the responsible authority of a group, in the name of the god of the group. In its extreme form it called for the utter destruction of the opposed group together with its movable property. When the *ḥerem* was thus put into effect, the entire vanquished group was regarded as a sacrifice to the god of the victors. A striking instance is furnished by the Moabite Stone, already quoted. Here we find the sacred ban denounced by King Mesha, in the name of the Moabite god Chemosh. It called for the utter destruction of an Israelite community at Nebo. The theory of sacrifice connected with the *ḥerem* was not peculiar to this institution, but was identical with the common idea of sacrifice. When the members of a defeated group were slain, their shades were supposed to become slave attendants to the victorious god. We may define

the *ḥerem* as a religious institution, coming within the scope of the sacrificial idea, and expressing the relation of absolute hostility between alien social groups. If it appear strange to cite hostility as a true social relation, it should be pointed out that society includes more than amity and co-operation; it also provides a field for conflict and hostility. The process of social development has been set forward not only by co-operation but by antagonism; not only by peace but by war; not only by amity but by enmity. Wholly aside from the question of the relative merits of peace and war, the complex fabric of civilization owes as much to the struggle interests as to the peaceful interests.

Since the sacred ban was a common Semitic institution, it is not surprising to read in the Hexateuch that it was proclaimed against the Canaanites in the name of Yahweh. We do not, at this moment, ask whether the Hexateuch is literally correct in all that it says about the *ḥerem*. We merely ask what is actually said. One of the most characteristic passages reads as follows: "When Yahweh thy god shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and shall cast out many nations before thee . . . . thou shalt smite them. . . . . Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them. . . . . Ye shall break down their altars, and . . . . burn their graven images with fire. . . . . And thou shalt consume all the peoples that Yahweh thy god shall deliver unto thee. Thine eye shall not pity them. Neither shalt thou serve their gods" (Deut. 7:1, 2, 5, 16). Again we read: "Of the cities of these peoples that Yahweh thy god giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth; but thou shalt utterly destroy them" (Deut. 20:16 f.). According to the book of Joshua, the sacred ban was rigorously observed; for we read: "So Joshua smote all the land. . . . . He left none remaining, and he utterly destroyed all that breathed" (Josh. 10:40). Throughout these passages the verbs translated "utterly destroy," "utterly devote," etc., are forms of the Semitic root which gives the noun *ḥerem*.

In the Hexateuch this important term frequently occurs. Its content is unmistakable. Although it strongly resembles the *ḥerem* indicated by the Moabite Stone, which is characteristic of

the whole Semitic area, yet the sacred ban of the Hexateuch differs in one very important respect from the common usage. The *ḥerem* of the Moabite Stone is a conventionality of Semitic society. But the sacred ban of the Hexateuch is more than a conventionality. It departs from the common Semitic practice, inasmuch as it is proclaimed for an extraordinary purpose. The hexateuchal *ḥerem* is viewed as the command of the one true God, who orders the destruction of the Canaanites and their immoral, polytheistic religion in the interests of ethical monotheism. This is a commonplace about which there can be no difference of opinion. There is no dispute about the meaning of the term *ḥerem* as found in the Hexateuch. All schools, conservative and radical, agree that the writers who gave us the Old Testament in its present form contemplated the sacred ban from the higher standpoint here emphasized.

But if the Hexateuch is literally correct at this point, neither the prophets nor the priests occupy the creative position assigned them by critical scholarship in the history of Israel's religion. If the sacred ban had its hexateuchal meaning at the time of the invasion of Canaan, there was no original work for the prophets or the priests to do. In brief, if the *ḥerem* of the Hexateuch was an item in a supernatural divine campaign against immoral polytheism in the interests of ethical monotheism, then the higher criticism falls to the ground. The distinctive message of Israel to the world was virtually delivered before the national history began. The national programme was cut out in advance, like the work of a packed convention. The entire problem of the biblical religion may be temporarily considered as turning about this point. It is not that other items may not be placed at the center of the discussion in their proper order. But from our present standpoint, the *ḥerem* is a factor of cardinal importance in the treatment of the biblical problem.

The question here is, did the sacred ban have its higher meaning at the time of the Israelite invasion of Canaan? To this inquiry traditional scholarship can have but one answer. It can reply only in the affirmative. It can say only that the sacred ban is an expression of the true God's anger with paganism. On

the other hand, the premises of critical scholarship lead to a negative answer, whether the critics agree on their treatment of the problem or not. Our immediate object is to show that this question can be so handled as to bring the critical view of the Bible into clearer light, and to give it a firmer basis in facts to which all schools appeal.

Although the higher criticism sets aside the Hexateuch in its *present form,* there can be no denial that the sacred ban was a very important and dramatic factor in Israel's experience at the time of the invasion. There can be no difference of opinion over the proposition that a sacred ban of *some* kind was denounced against the Canaanites, and their gods the Baalim, at this time. In view of the general situation, it would have been extremely strange if a ban had *not* been put in force as these desert nomads approached the coveted territory. From the standpoint of ancient society and its religion, the *ḥerem* was a logical incident of the Israelite attack upon the Canaanites. But since the sacred ban did not issue from special miraculous revelation among other Semitic peoples, the opposite proposition is merely an unverified assumption in the case of ancient Israel. In other words, the burden of proof rests more heavily upon the anti-critical school than upon the critics. For traditionalism, in defending the integrity of the hexateuchal ban, is arguing on behalf of an absolutely unparalleled proposition. The biblical documents in which the ban is treated with the greatest fulness are precisely the ones which were prepared by writers who were not contemporary with the events described, and who worked in sight of the ideals and completed achievements of the later ages of Israel's history (cf. *supra, Nature of the Biblical Material*). But although we reject the traditions in the form in which they now stand, we clearly have a right to assume that they strike their roots into the soil of primitive social usage, and that they rest back upon conventionalities of the Semites. For it cannot be too forcefully emphasized that the sacred ban of the Hexateuch (aside from its moral and spiritual aspects) is not in any way peculiar to Israel. Objectively viewed, the ban of the Moabites in the name of Chemosh, and the ban of the Israelites

in the name of Yahweh, were identical. So that it is not unreasonable to reduce the hexateuchal ban to the level of a primitive conventionality. To this extent, then, the tradition has a good historical basis.

We therefore find that the doctrine of the hostility of Yahweh against the Baals of the Canaanites got its crude beginnings in the hostility normally existing between alien social groups. So far as the mere, naked fact of Yahweh's antagonism against the gods of Canaan is concerned, it has no mysterious origin. Aside from its moral and spiritual contents (here taken as a later importation), it represents the common practice of the time. Our synthetic treatment begins with this minimum proposition about the sacred ban.

But before the general argument is carried farther, some very important supplementary observations are in order. It should be understood that we are putting forward the sacred ban only as one factor in the biblical situation. The idea of God, as found in the Bible, is inseparably associated with opposition and protest. The Bible is not a theological treatise, designed to give an abstract idea of God and his attributes and purposes. It is a moving picture, with a dramatic motive running through it. A large element in the drama is the disastrous overthrow of the heathen divinities. Yahweh appears as an opponent of "other gods." Our first business is to discover, if possible, the basis of his opposition. Our thesis here is that the tradition of his hostility was established, in the first instance, by the contact of alien social groups. It is true that if the Old Testament be taken as a whole, Yahweh appears as the foe of *all* gods other than himself. But in the earlier historical documents, and in the prophetic writings, he appears more often opposed to Baal and to the Baalim than to any other divinities. Now, these divinities were the gods of the social groups which the Israelites attempted to dislodge at the time of the invasion. Consequently, it was the Baalim, rather than other gods in general throughout the ancient world, that acted as the original and constant foil for development of the Yahweh opposition. It was the Baalim, and

all the machinery of their cultus, that were put solemnly under the sacred ban as the Israelites approached the land of Canaan.

It is easy to prove the truth of this statement by going rapidly over the historical material relating to the period between the invasion and the Babylonian exile. We find this material in the Judges-Samuel-Kings narrative, and in the literary prophets. Thus, in Judg. 2:11 we read: "And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and served the Baalim."[1] This charge is repeated in 3:7 and by implication in many other places in the same book. In 6:25 f. we find Gideon throwing down the "altar of the Baal." There is no reason to regard this account as an interpolation by an editor who is working in view of later standards. Again we read: "As soon as Gideon was dead, Israel turned again and played the harlot after the Baalim" (8:33). Further: "And the children of Israel again did evil in the sight of Yahweh, and served the Baalim" (10:6). It is true that in this and other passages the

[1] Although *some* of the Israelites may have been involved in Baal-worship from a period very soon after the conquest, *all* of them did not bow the knee to Baal, or the Old Testament could hardly have been written. There were enough who did not worship the Baalim to furnish a nucleus for the strong reaction against Baalism at a later time under the prophets. The Book of Judges in its present shape comes from the hand of a late theological pragmatist, who makes very sweeping statements about Israel's worship of the Baalim. These gods were the deities of a settled agricultural population; and they were believed to preside over the increase of the earth (Hos. 2:8). When the Israelites learned agriculture, they naturally became involved in Baalism. How far this went we cannot say. But it is clear that the passage from nomadism, or semi-nomadism, to agriculture was neither prompt nor complete. (See Kautsch, "Religion of Israel," in Hastings' *Dict. of Bible*, extra vol., p. 645). As Marti observes, "the fertile *lowlands* proved to be inhabited by mighty spirits in far greater numbers than the barren *uplands* where the nomads dwelt in tents" (*Religion of the O. T.* [London, 1907], p. 91; italics ours). All that we shall seek to emphasize in the present paper is the objective basis for hostility between Yahweh and the Baalim during and after the conquest. The primary ground of this hostility was the contact of *alien social groups* (i.e., Israelites and Canaanites). We shall try to show in future papers that these rival gods were necessarily allowed to stand while the two peoples were being organized into a *single social group* (i.e., the monarchy); and that the traditional hostility between the gods finally gave expression to conflicting interests within the framework of the monarchy itself.

Israelites are also said to worship the gods of Syria, Sidon, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, etc. (cf. I Kings 11:7; 14:9). But it is the local Baalim of Canaan that most often head the list of iniquitous worships, and most often appear as the chief cause of offense. It was these local gods that acted as the original foil for the display of Yahweh's hostility. They are mentioned again in the narratives concerning the times of Samuel, in which the people are exhorted to put away the Baalim (I Sam. 7:4; 12:10).

The fact of Baal-worship, and the vitality of the terrible *ḥerem,* denounced against it in the name of Yahweh, are nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the history of King Ahab and the prophet Elijah. This monarch married the daughter of the king of Sidon, "and went and served Baal. . . . . And he reared an altar for Baal in the house of Baal" (I Kings 16:31, 32). In this case the god in question was imported into Israel together with the princess who became Ahab's wife. But the situation raised the whole question of the local gods: For when Elijah meets Ahab he utters the indictment: "Thou hast followed the Baalim" (I Kings 18:18). When the usurper Jehu, acting under inspiration of the Yahweh prophets, destroyed the house of Ahab, a large part of his ferocity was expended against the worship of the foreign Baal. Many of the prophets, priests, and worshipers of the god were destroyed with the edge of the sword, and his temple in Samaria was desecrated. At the conclusion of a strenuous account of these events, we are told, "Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel" (II Kings 10:28). The foremost supporter of Jehu in this wholesale slaughter was a certain Jehonadab, the son of Rechab (II Kings 10:23). We learn elsewhere that the Rechabites were exponents of the simple life, whose ancestry went back to the Kenites of the Arabian desert (Jer., chap. 35; I Chron. 2:55). Jehu knew that the presence of one of these wilderness followers of Yahweh would be a visible guarantee of his own good faith in destroying the worshipers of Baal. Corresponding events took place in Judah, the southern kingdom. The temple of Baal in Jerusalem was demolished; the priest of Baal was killed; and the reigning queen, who was a Baal-adher-

ent, was assassinated (II Kings, chap. 11). All this was quite in the spirit of the *ḥerem* which was proclaimed at the time of the invasion. We are not here concerned to inquire into the reason for continued vitality of the sacred ban in the face of the popularity of Baal-worship. What calls for emphasis at this point is the outstanding fact that Yahweh and the Baalim actually continued to be in opposition, forming the poles of an antithesis.

Although the foreign Baal was "destroyed out of Israel" by the violent measures just indicated, the local Canaanite gods were still worshiped. "Thou hast followed the Baalim," said Elijah. It is not necessary to the argument to put on exhibit at this point the reasons why the native divinities were far more difficult of eradication than the Baal imported from Sidon. The fact itself is brought out clearly enough by the prophet Hosea, who compares Israel going after the Baalim to his own adulterous wife consorting with numerous lovers. Hosea lived many years after the times of Elijah. In his day the idea was still entertained that Yahweh was primarily a god of armies and of the hills. And it was believed that the local Baalim, who had been worshiped in Canaan from time out of mind, were the gods who had special charge of the crops, who sent the rain, and blessed the fields in the fertile valleys. In spite of his mixed figures, the meaning of this prophet is unmistakable: "Contend with your mother . . . . for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink. . . . . For she did not know that I gave her the grain, and the new wine, and the oil, and multiplied unto her the silver and gold which they made into the image of Baal. . . . . And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them . . . . and went after her lovers" (Hos. 2:2, 5, 8, 13). "When Israel was a child then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. The more the prophets called them, the more . . . . they sacrificed unto the Baalim. . . . . But when he offended in Baal he died" (Hos. 11:1, 2; 13:1).

One of the distracting complications of the problem was that the people called Yahweh himself a Baal. This term, as already

explained, is generic, having the sense of owner, or proprietor. The Israelite invasion of Canaan did not set Yahweh over against Baal (generic, singular), but primarily aginst *the Baalim* (specific, plural). In the campaign against the Baalim, the application of this term to Yahweh became a source of increasing confusion and misunderstanding. Accordingly, we find the prophet Hosea laying down the following rule: "And it shall be, saith Yahweh, that thou . . . . shalt no more call me *my Baal,* for I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name" (Hos. 2:16, 17). A similar line of thought is followed by the prophet Jeremiah, who has great affinity for his predecessor Hosea: "Their fathers forgot my name in (for) Baal" (Jer. 23:27). "Upon every high hill and under every green tree thou didst bow thyself, playing the harlot. . . . . How canst thou say, I have not gone after the Baalim?" (2:20, 23). "They have walked after the stubbornness of their own heart, and after the Baalim" (9:14).

We are not here concerned with the question how the people could worship the Baalim innocently when at the same time the prophets claimed that this practice was wrong. This matter will be taken up in its due order. At present, we are merely emphasizing the opposition which was established between Yahweh and the Baals as a matter of *fact.* It is true that the extremists in the Yahweh party never succeeded in forcing acceptance of all their claims. The prophetic Yahwists, for instance, were incredible to most of their contemporaries. Even the beginner in biblical science can see that the prophets waged a tremendous fight, and that they were mostly without honor in their own country. But this is beside the present argument, which is merely introductory. We are not trying to elucidate the status of the anti-Baal party at this early point in the discussion. We are simply emphasizing that there *was* such a party, and that it was at the head and front of the Yahweh opposition to "other gods." The evidence just brought forward proves incontestably that the local divinities of Canaan represent the chief and original offense to the Yahweh party. This proposition stands un-

shaken, however much it may be shown that the Israelites worshiped still other gods imported from foreign lands.

Let it be repeated that we are trying to reproduce the situations under which the idea of Yahweh became fit to function at the center of a world-religion. *Ideas are, in some way, the rallying-points of social institutions.* They are not at first struck out upon the high level of abstraction. They are presented as elements of concrete situations involving the interplay of *persons.* Institutions are formed around leading persons who mediate the embodied ideas. The statement just emphasized may therefore be amended in the interests of sharper definition as follows: *Ideas become the rallying-points of institutions by taking the personal form.* The idea has to be identified with some leading individual before it can become effective in the social process. There is profound truth in the "great man" theory of history. Although the great man cannot arbitrarily "make" history; although he must obey the demands of the situation in which he finds himself; although he cannot divert the social process from its predetermined course; yet it is equally true that history cannot be made without great men. The world is always finding itself in impossible situations from which it can be extricated only by great men. History is a tremendous requisition for leaders and heroes by whom needs may be satisfied and ideals realized. Not imperialism in the abstract, but Caesarism; not the Reformation, but Lutheranism; not ethical monotheism, but *Yahwism.* The principle is the same whether the hero be human or divine—whether he be a great man or a god. Society has full use for both categories. Indeed, we have seen that originally the gods were counted as members of the social circle. They were treated as organic parts of the communities that worshiped them. And the truth cannot be too strongly emphasized that while the human race was in this "church-and-state" frame of mind, the idea of Yahweh gradually became the rallying-point for the distinctive institutions of Israel. The idea was interpreted by various leading men—prophets, priests, and kings. These men,

for the time being, were viewed as the personal representatives of the deity.

We are now prepared to close the first part of our synthetic treatment with an observation which throws light back over the ground already traversed: *A person becomes the rallying-point of an institution by representing the positive side of some struggle-interest that underlies the social process.* Life is everywhere shot through with antitheses. Neither man nor God is exempt from the necessity of making terms with antitheses if he would be a person worthy of respect. We do not think of God as an abstraction. We think of him as interested in the concrete issues of life. Our God is not the God of philosophy, nor even the God of systematic theology. He appeals to the imagination as the hero of a tremendous drama. The religion of the Bible comes to mankind out of an intensely dramatic situation. Its dramatic quality is recognized alike by the traditional theology and by the higher criticism. The difference between the two standpoints is in respect of the question, What makes the drama go forward? What were the forces moving behind the scenes in the history of Israel? Our answer is that the drama found its moving forces in the commonplace conditions of the social process. The fundamental antithesis running through the entire drama is: Yahweh against the Baalim. The sufficient explanation of this antagonism, in the *first* instance, is the contact of alien social groups. Its original basis was the terrible *ḥerem* denounced against the Canaanites and their gods as the clans of Israel approached the coveted territory. At the outset, the terms of this antithesis were void of the content which they finally acquired. The Yahweh-Baal opposition, on the basis of conventional Semitic usage alone, became a salient feature of Israel's tradition. This opposition was taken up and treated from the standpoint of subsequent experience by various interpreters. The contrasted terms finally became vehicles for expression of conflicting interests whereof the nomads gathered before Sinai could never have dreamed. *The idea of Yahweh became the rallying-point of the distinctive institutions of Israel through its attachment to a series of antitheses representing real interests.*

II. ISRAEL AND CANAAN

It ought to be perfectly clear by this time that the community which was the subject of the Judges-Samuel-Kings narrative was not of homogeneous origin. Its ancestry is to be traced backward through two main branches. One branch had its roots in the Israelite clans that settled in the hills of Judah, Ephraim, and Gilead. The other branch grew out of the Canaanite communities that held the remainder of the country. For a long time these branches were distinct. They were, of course, in *contact* from the first. They could not escape each other's influence. They logically formed a single community, whether that fact were expressed in a set constitution or not. For several generations there was a sharp contrast between them. This contrast is, of course, plainly in evidence in the book of Judges. It reappears in Samuel. It finally vanishes in Kings. As touching the settlement, the essential facts were canvassed in the preceding number. Holding those facts in view, we now undertake an inquiry into the relations between the contrasted groups, with special reference to the Yahweh-Baal antithesis.

When the clans of Israel pressed over the frontier of Canaan, they were doubtless impelled by the fierce hope of sweeping the whole country. The shock of the conflict was never forgotten. In their excited, oriental imagination, Yahweh, the man of war and god of armies, led them against the Canaanites and the Baalim. "And Yahweh was with Judah; and he drove out the inhabitants of the hill country. For he could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley because they had chariots of iron" (Judg. 1:19). In view of the fact that the hill country alone was taken, and the fact that Yahweh himself was already identified with Mount Sinai, he gained the reputation of a *hill-god*. Thus, the Syrians at a later time declared: "Yahweh is a god of the hills; but he is not a god of the valleys" (I Kings 20:28). The conquests made by the Israelites in the hill country were enough to sustain the reputation of Yahweh as a god of war. But they were not enough to dispose of the Baalim as divine masters of the fertile valleys and plains. After the first flush of invasion was over, the two peoples, exhausted by conflict, fronted each other with deadly

hatred. The numerous Canaanite communities that remained were an obstruction to the victorious progress of the Israelites. On the other hand, the intruders limited the economic resources of the remaining Canaanites, and were a standing threat of hostility. Neither side knew what the other would do. There were mutual suspicion and fear.

Under these circumstances it is clear that there could be no speedy reconciliation of the rival gods. In the mind of Israel, the god Yahweh was opposed to the divinities of Canaan just as the Israelites themselves were opposed to the Canaanites. The two peoples and their gods were involved in a sharp reciprocity of hatred. The *ḥerem* of Yahweh against the Baalim remained in full force, and became an outstanding feature of Israelitish tradition. Doubtless the Canaanites also denounced the sacred ban against the invaders and their god; but since the Bible is a collection of controversial documents representing only one side of an issue, the original inhabitants have no opportunity of stating their case to us.

After the invaders had unsuccessfully tried the method of absolute hostility against the older inhabitants, the latter gathered themselves together and attempted the same procedure with reference to the invaders—and with a like result. In other words, after the Israelite groups had tried to exterminate the Canaanite groups, and had failed, the Canaanites tried to exterminate the Israelites, and also failed in their turn. We have taken up these facts in a preliminary way in considering the great battle upon the Plain of Esdraelon, described in Judg., chaps. 4 and 5 (cf. previous instalment). The defeat of the Canaanites under Sisera, at the hands of the Israelite militia gathered by Deborah and Barak, marked the failure of the attempt to expel the intruders. We now ask what was the effect of this particular conflict upon the religious aspect of the situation. This is best answered with reference to a passage in the Song of Deborah. It happened that when the life-and-death struggle was going forward upon the Plain of Esdraelon, an Israelite clan which inhabited a village named Meroz refused to aid their brethren. The circumstance is interestingly treated by the Deborah Song as follows:

Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of Yahweh.
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof,
Because they came not to the help of Yahweh—
To the help of Yahweh against the mighty (Judg. 5:23).

It is deeply significant that this old poem, in harmony with the whole trend of primitive thought, should formulate the case in religious terms. For this was one of the "battles of Yahweh"; and if any Israelite clan failed to take part, it thereby refused to come to the help of Yahweh against the Baalim and their Canaanite worshipers. Thus we see how the battle of Esdraelon *re-emphasized* the opposition between the gods. The alien social groups had again come together in the shock of deadly conflict. All their emotions had been profoundly stirred. The religious effect of the battle was far-reaching. It established the traditions of Israel even more firmly than hitherto in the idea of the hostility of Yahweh against the Baalim.

It is clear that Esdraelon left the two parties in relatively the same position as before. The victory of the Israelites over their enemies did not advance the territorial acquisitions of Israel. It simply put a check upon the Canaanites. The combatants remained fronting each other in hatred as hitherto. The attempt of the Canaanites to dislodge the newcomers had the effect of increasing the hostility generated by the earlier attempt of the Israelites to sweep away the Canaanites. Esdraelon solved no problem. It settled no question at issue. The entire community was left in a state of uncertainty and confusion. The issue between Israel and Canaan was an open one. And in view of the union of politics and religion, the issue between Yahweh and the Baalim was therefore an open one. Thus it is clear that there was an impressive tradition of religious hostility written large against the background of the early history. This tradition became part and parcel of the entire historical outlook. It was a conventional fact that even a child could understand. It was related by the fathers to the children, just as the elders have always told the rising generations about great events in the past:

Our fathers have told us
What work thou didst in their days—

In the days of old.
Thou didst drive out the nations with thy hand;
But them thou didst plant.
Thou didst afflict the peoples;
But them thou didst spread abroad.
For they gat not the land in possession by their
own sword.
Neither did their own arm save them.
But thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light
of thy countenance,
Because thou wast favorable unto them (Ps. 44).

This late psalm is to be read in connection with those passages in Joshua which contemplate the conquest as having been much more sweeping than it actually was. Many similar passages are to be found (cf. Amos 2:9). They all show that the tradition of a breach, or opposition, between Israel and Canaan persisted in the historical consciousness. The same facts that account for the vitality of this idea are also connected with the idea of antagonism between Yahweh and the Baalim.

But an objection may be brought forward at this point which apparently obstructs the progress of the argument. In dealing with it, however, we shall find ourselves advanced another important step in consideration of the subject as a whole. It may be pointed out that after the battle of Esdraelon there was a gradual conjugation of the alien social groups through treaty and intermarriage, the two peoples finally merging into a single nation under the monarchy. This fact may be used with apparent force against our immediate thesis. It may be urged, *ad hominem*, that reasoning upon our own premises, the establishment of civil peace would necessarily bring peace between Yahweh and the Baalim; and that since there was long-extended religious hostility after the institution of the monarchy, this religious hostility could not have had a social basis. The reply to this is, that the case is not so simple as it seems. If the situation had not been so complicated, the establishment of the monarchy must indeed have issued in permanent religious peace within the community. As a matter of fact, under the monarchy, the public officials and the mass of the people acted as if there were no

longer a basis for opposition between Yahweh and the Baalim. For while Yahweh was worshiped by everybody as the *national* god, the Baalim also had some kind of recognition as *local* gods, and the teraphim were everywhere treated as *family* gods. These facts have been emphasized already in connection with our study of the early religious institutions; and they are to be used later in the discussion. At present, we simply refer to the facts, and admit that from a superficial standpoint the objection has force. From a deeper standpoint, however, the objection has no weight. This will become evident as we proceed.

As already observed, the conflict in the plain of Esdraelon left the combatants in possession of the same territories as before. It also failed to dispose of the issue between Israel and Canaan. The subsequent history of the land made it impossible for later generations to continue the feud. The fighting generations passed away on both sides. Their descendants were forced to abandon the war, and recognize each other. So that the issue never had any *formal* settlement. When the two peoples at last merged into a single community under the kings, the descendants of the Canaanites took the name of Israel, and lost their identity. For various reasons, which will be set forward in due time, this composite society forgot its Canaanite ancestry, and emphasized its Israelite descent. As a result, later generations cherished the idea that their ancestors had entered the country, and completely swept away the alien Canaanites. This false assumption led to much misunderstanding.

The time intervening between the battle of Esdraelon and the establishment of the monarchy under David was a period of much confusion. No general adjustment of any kind, either civil or religious, was possible. The reason for this is to be found in the salient fact that there were no national, or general, authorities on *either* side. The Canaanite communities throughout the land were each disposed in connection with a walled city. They constituted "city-states." But they had no generalized social machinery. So far as we know, there had never been a national government established in the land. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets prove that the community was a group of jealous principalities

just prior to the Israelite invasion. And in complete harmony therewith is the narrative in the first of Judges, which proves that there was no national resistance against the Israelites when they entered the land. Later on, at the time of Esdraelon, the Canaanites merely formed a coalition against the Israelites, as the Song of Deborah shows: "The *kings* came and fought; then fought the *kings* of Canaan" (Judg. 5:19).[2] On the other hand, it has been shown that the hexateuchal theory of a united Israel, invading the country under a single commander, is the exact opposite of the truth. Each clan fought for its own territory, as the first of Judges proves. And later on, at the time of Esdraelon, the leaders Deborah and Barak found it impossible to get recruits from *all* the Israelite clans. The host of ten thousand peasants that fought under Barak at Esdraelon against the Canaanites was merely a coalition, like the army of Sisera. And the fact that only a part of the clans answered the call to battle, shows that the Israelites were also lacking in unity of spirit. We have shown previously that the Israelite clan living in the village of Meroz refused to co-operate against the Canaanites at this time. A further quotation from the Song of Deborah throws more light on the point:

> By the watercourses of Reuben
> There were great resolves of heart.
> Why sattest thou among the sheepfolds?
> To hear the pipings for the flocks?
> At the watercourses of Reuben
> There were great searchings of heart.
> Gilead abode beyond the Jordan.
> And Dan, why did he remain in ships?
> Asher sat still at the shore of the sea,
> And abode by his creeks (Judg. 5:15–17).

Another important testimony regarding the lack of national organization among the Israelites is the reiterated statement found in Judges: "In those days there was no king in Israel. Every

[2] The reference to Jabin, king of Canaan, in Judg. 4:2, 23, 24, is unhistorical. It is not only contrary to the passage quoted above, which refers to the *kings* of Canaan; but it is contradicted by everything that we learn about the Canaanites from other documents embodied in Judges and Samuel.

man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judg. 17:6). We have already shown this to mean that the community was under separate clan rulers, and that there was an absence of generalized social machinery. The so-called "judges," exploited in the book bearing that name, were heroes of local authority, afterward taken up into the national tradition and invested with powers which they never had in fact.

Thus we see that in the Judges period there were no national authorities either among the Israelites or the Canaanites. If the general questions at issue between the two peoples were to be settled, it would be necessary for each side to formulate its position, and appoint an authority vested with power to deal with the opposite side. But nothing of the kind was done. The requisite social machinery could not have been constructed at that period. Thus it was that the battle of Esdraelon settled nothing. The political status of the community as a whole remained an open question. Consequently, the relations between the gods remained likewise open—with the impressive tradition of hostility in the background. We therefore must picture the land of Canaan during the Judges period as the home of many alien social groups. While these groups fell into two main divisions, neither division was answerable to a common authority.

We now take up the conjugation of these alien groups. This was a movement which proceeded gradually. It was accomplished in two ways: by *covenant* between groups on each side, and by *intermarriage*. First, with regard to covenants. It is necessary to bear in mind the principle of contact between alien groups in ancient society. The normal relation is that of hostility *unless* modified by special treaty.

(1) Our first notice concerns the clan of Heber the Kenite and the Canaanite city of Hazor. Heber's clan was, to all intents and purposes, Israelite. His people had made a friendly covenant with the Israelite clans at Mount Sinai; and both peoples worshiped the same god, Yahweh. We read: "There was *peace* between Jabin, king of Hazor, and the house of Heber the Kenite" (Judg. 4:17). This very significant notice was written in full view of the fact that the normal relation between alien

social groups was that of hostility, unless modified by special covenant.

(2) Our next notice relates to the Israelite clan of Abiezer, located in the hill country of Ephraim, and the adjacent Canaanite city of Shechem (Judg., chaps. 6–9). The chief of the Israelite clan was Gideon. This man had a Canaanite wife, who resided with her own people in Shechem. A son was born to them, named Abimelech (Judg. 8:31). After a time conditions became ripe for a league between the two peoples. Abimelech, who had the blood of both Israel and Canaan in his veins, became prince over the united people. "And all the men of *Shechem* assembled themselves together. . . . and made Abimelech king. . . . . And Abimelech was prince over *Israel* three years" (Judg. 9:6, 22). The religious expression of this league was the common worship of Baal-berith (Judg. 8:33), elsewhere spoken of as *El*-berith (chap. 9:46). *Berith* is the Hebrew term for "covenant." The two compound words just noted have practically the same content, signifying in the one case "*Master* of the covenant," and in the other "*God* of the covenant." Probably the god in question was Yahweh.

(3) The next instance is that of the covenant between an Israelite clan, or clans, and the four Canaanite cities known as Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. The circumstances under which this covenant was made are obscure. All we can be certain of is, that there *was* a covenant (II Sam. 21:2). No mention of it is found in Judges. But according to a suspicious account in Joshua, the peace treaty was obtained by deceit on the part of these Canaanite cities at the time of the invasion (Josh., chap. 9). It is certain that the Gibeonites became worshipers of Israel's god. We find that a *bamah,* or "high place," containing an altar to Yahweh, was established there: "And the king went to Gibeon, to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place. . . . . In Gibeon Yahweh appeared to Solomon in a dream by night" (I Kings 3:4,5).

(4) With regard to intermarriage, we have just noticed the connection between Gideon, the Israelite clan chief, and the woman of the Canaanite city of Shechem. A similar case is that

of king David and the Canaanite women of Jerusalem. We have seen that this city remained foreign to the Israelites all through the Judges period (Judg. 19:10–12), and that it was captured by David after his elevation to the throne (II Sam. 5:6, 7). With reference to the point under consideration, we read: "And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem after he was come from Hebron" (vs. 13). It was with such facts as these in view that the editor of Judges published the following general notice: "And the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites . . . . and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons" (Judg. 3:5, 6).

(5) Confirmatory evidence bearing upon the relations between Israelites and Canaanites, both in respect of covenant and of marriage, are to be found in the Book of Genesis. It should be remembered that this book was written after the institution of the monarchy. Its traditions cannot be taken as reliable history of the dim ages before the invasion; but they are good evidence about social conditions after the Israelite conquest. The patriarch Abraham is represented as being in league with Amorites (Gen. 14:13). The patriarch Judah married a Canaanite woman, who bore him children (chap. 38). The patriarch Simeon had a son by a Canaanite woman (46:10).

Thus it is plain that there was conjugation of alien social groups long before the Israelite monarchy. But this movement had no force in settlement of the general situation. Furthermore, there is no evidence that all the groups were involved in the approachment. Even if they were, the outstanding fact remains that there was no general social machinery on either side. We shall show in due time and order that, owing to the peculiar conditions of its origin, the Israelite monarchy itself was powerless to settle the civil and religious condition of the community. At present, however, it is needful to call attention to another important fact in regard to the local treaties and adjustments here under discussion. The fact is eloquent and emphatic. It leads forward to a generalization which, we believe, not only throws

light back over the ground already covered, but will shed illumination over the future course of this inquiry.

Although covenants were made between local groups in obedience to a strong tendency toward social assimilation, it should now be pointed out that there was a powerful contrary tendency to *break* these covenants. A number of cases are in point: (1) The covenant between the clan of Heber and the Canaanite city of Hazor was broken by Heber's wife, Jael, when she killed Sisera, the Canaanite general. Not only so; but the Deborah Song itself proclaims the most complete Israelite sympathy for this disregard of treaty obligations when it says (Judg. 5:24): "Blessed among women shall Jael be." (2) The covenant between the Israelite clan of Abiezer and the Canaanite city of Shechem was violently broken when the Israelites turned and slew the Shechemites, and beat down their city (Judg. 9:45). An echo of this is found in the traditions of Genesis (chap. 34), in which two of the Israelite patriarchs agree with the Shechemites upon the covenant of circumcision, but afterward enter the city and murder all the males. (3) The covenant between Israelites and the Gibeonite confederacy was broken by the Israelite Saul and his followers, in their "zeal" for the children of Israel and Judah, when they put to death some of the Gibeonites (II Sam. 21:2).

These vivid illustrations carry us from the early times of the settlement in Canaan up to the monarchy. They emphasize again the antipathy between Israel and Canaan; the absence of general authorities on both sides; and, finally, another element of difficulty in the problem—the weakness of local authorities.

The available evidence gives ample ground for the following proposition:

The Israelite invasion of Canaan brought a lot of alien social groups together into a situation whose general terms no authority was competent to define. The disposition of social elements, from the Invasion to the Exile, not only maintained the antithesis between Yahweh and the Baalim, but developed its content.

From the standpoint of pure sociology, the intrusion of these rough, desert clans into the midst of an ancient settled community raised but one problem: *adjustment.* Whoever undertakes to

decide off-hand the "absolute ethics" of the Israelite conquest of Canaan, the European conquest of America, or any other like movement of population, will find himself in a confusing maze of contradictions. It is true that one set of late biblical documents undertakes to justify the conquest by the wickedness of the earlier inhabitants, the Canaanites or Amorites. Thus we read: "Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thy heart, dost thou go in to possess their land. But for the wickedness of these nations Yahweh thy god doth drive them out before thee" (Deut. 9:5). According to the same view, the land of Canaan would have been given, at a much earlier day, to Abraham; but in the time of the father of the faithful the "iniquity" of the Amorite was not yet "full" (Gen. 15:16). This, of course, raises again the hexateuchal view of the *ḥerem* as an item in a supernatural divine campaign against immoral polytheism. If this traditional view is correct, it is fair to ask why the Canaanites were actually left in possession of so much of the land that Yahweh gained an early reputation as god of the hills, but not as god of the valleys. If to this it be replied that the Israelites were not able to obtain the valleys and walled cities because they were unfaithful and disobedient to God, it is then in order to ask what is to be done with the document that pictures united Israel, under command of Joshua, sweeping away all the former population and taking over the entire country. "So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the south, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings. He left none remaining; but he utterly destroyed all that breathed, as Yahweh, the god of Israel, commanded" (Josh. 10:40). The fact is, that the different philosophies of history in the Bible cancel each other, leaving us to deal with the situation as best we may from the standpoint of modern criticism.[3]

[3] Other biblical views of the situation are that Yahweh commanded *not* to drive the Canaanites out quickly, but "little by little," in order (1) that wild beasts might not multiply in the land while yet the Israelites were too few in number to fill the territory; or (2) that some of the Canaanites might remain to teach the Israelites the art of war; or (3) to prove the Israelites, whether or not they would obey the commandments of Yahweh given by the mouth of Moses (cf. Judg. 3:1–4; Deut. 7:22; Ex. 23:29 f.).

In the next instalment, under the title "The Sanctuaries of Yahweh," we shall show how the disposition of places of worship reflected the social condition just described. Setting out in view of the hexateuchal assumption that there was, from the first, a general authority which promptly caused the establishment of one, general, legitimate sanctuary, it will be shown that no such place was in existence during the national history of Israel. We shall see that the various groups, which afterward coalesced into the nation, established many *local* sanctuaries of their own for the worship of Yahweh; that these places were treated as legitimate by the leading men of the people; and that their existence is another proof of the lack of social generalization.

REVIEWS

Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures. Par L. Lévy-Bruhl, Professeur à la Sorbonne et à l'Ecole libre des Sciences Politiques. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1910. Pp. 461. Fr. 7.50.

In the work before us Profesor Lévy-Bruhl offers an important contribution to folk-psychology in the elaboration of a distinction of fundamental significance for the interpretation of primitive mind. It is a familiar observation, for example, that we constantly fail to grasp the point of view of the child. Many of the most delightful children's books fall flat before the children themselves. And when they are successful it is by no means for the reasons that appeal to us. Their charm for us is their *naïveté.* But this very charm implies a sophisticated point of view. The child is not naïve to himself. In his own eyes his attitude is realistic and serious. This means that his thought issues from a logic and point of view quite different from ours; and the logic of his point of view must be clearly appreciated if we would grasp his meaning.

This is the kind of distinction that Professor Lévy-Bruhl applies to the primitive mind. Only, in contrast to our illustration, he makes the difference practically absolute. The primitive mind is an altogether different mind. Where our thought is logical, primitive thinking is mystical. But this mysticism has a logic of its own, which, like our logic, proceeds from a definite principle; where we follow the law of contradiction, the primitive mind is governed by the "law of participation." In other words, it is "prelogical." To be sure, the prelogical belongs ultimately in the same series with the logical. But the author is so impressed with the difference that, for him, each is practically *sui generis.* He speaks of our own culture as "celle des sociétés issues de la civilisation mediterranéenne"—as if the Mediterranean were directly responsible for the law of contradiction.

He begins with a definition of "collective ideas." These are ideas common to a social group, transmitted from generation to generation, awakening in the individual sentiments of fear, respect,

etc.; not, indeed, the ideas of a collective as distinct from an individual subject, but on the other hand, like language, not to be explained as the expression of an individual mind. Now, as Comte maintained, men are to be explained by humanity and not humanity by men. And failure to remember this is the fault of anthropologists in general, and in particular of the English school, represented by Tylor and Frazer. Their reasoning rests upon the postulate that men are everywhere the same. This, indeed, is the basis of their theory of primitive animism—this and the assumptions of the English associationists. The primitive man "associates" the dream of his neighbor with his neighbor as a physical fact, and thus arrives at the idea of a soul. Generalizing his result, he then proceeds to put a soul into everything. But, as the author remarks, things to be associated must first be distinguished.

The primitive mind attaches a mysterious importance to a man's name, his shadow, and his image, or picture, treating them with the respect due to the man himself. For the English school this is a matter of association. The truth is, according to the author, that the primitive mind never dreams of making the distinction. Consider, for example, the man and his shadow. The abstraction of the shadow from the man is the product of an already sophisticated science, an earlier term in the process, still incomplete, by which we distinguish the primary and secondary qualities of things and endeavor to reach a conception of objective reality. Common thought still thinks of colors as real properties of things. So, for the primitive mind, the shadow is an essential part of the man.

The process by which these terms are distinguished is in last analysis the development of the law of contradiction: *A* cannot be both *B* and not *B*. The mystical consciousness is the expression of a directly opposite law, namely, that *A* may just as well be both *B* and not *B*. To the primitive mind there is no reason why a thing should not be both itself and something other than itself. To affirm one thing involves no obligation to deny its opposite. This is the "law of participation." But "participation" has also a further meaning. The primitive mind fails to separate, not only object and object, but object and subject. Logical thinking is self-conscious, and carefully distinguishes the knower from the thing known; in primitive thinking the knower directly "participates" in the being of the thing. The law of participation

applies, however, only to collective ideas. In matters where the tribal mysticism is not involved, the primitive individual has as sharp an eye for differences (e.g., between two pieces of game and one) as you or I.

The author then proceeds to develop his law of participation through an application, first to the several mental processes of memory, abstraction, generalization, and classification, then to the peculiarities of primitive language, ideas of number, and institutions generally, all with a great wealth of illustration from the literature of anthropology, correcting to a great extent the interpretations of the writers themselves, by an analysis which in nearly every case is illuminating and significant. Indeed, this suggestive analysis of cases is the great merit of the book. In his last chapter he describes the transition from the lower to the higher types of mind and undertakes to state their relation. Here he is less satisfactory.

Criticism of the theory of the book will turn upon the meaning of the law of participation. Does "participation" stand for a peculiar mode of thought or only for the relative absence of thought? On this point the author's position seems uncertain. Nearly every page affirms a positive difference of kind between primitive thought and ours. Yet he admits that the difference cannot be absolute; and in his closing chapter he suggests that, for any given mind, the two will be in inverse ratio. And if we follow his conception of participation to the bitter end we seem only to come out into the night where all cats are black. It seems to me that "the law of participation" is unfortunate. What he really aims to establish is that the primitive thought is the expression of positive ideas which our sophistication has failed to grasp. In particular he wishes to deny that (as held by the English school) it is the passive victim of the sophism of *post hoc, propter hoc.* When, for example, an epidemic is attributed to the appearance off the coast of a steamer with an unusual number of funnels, it is not the coincidence that furnishes the logical motive, but the mutual appropriateness, from a mystical standpoint, of the coincident terms. And in his analysis of mental functions from a participative standpoint he makes it beautifully clear that primitive apprehensions of resemblance and difference are guided by specifically mystical criteria—quite unmeaning to us—so that, for example, the stag, the corn, and the hikuli-plant may have an even more genuine identity

for the Huichol than, say, the dough and the bread for us. But here there would seem to be no substitution of "participation," for "contradiction," but only contradiction working with different criteria. In other words, his actual result is the important principle that the primitive mind is rational and intelligible from its own point of view, and that the problem of anthropology is less to record its apparent absurdities than to get at the criteria of identity and difference from which it actually works. Yet at the same time he suggests that these criteria are themselves the product of a less discriminating consciousness. And this leaves the question open: Is the mystical consciousness merely a less conscious form of the logical, or is it as a form of consciousness only a different but equally positive fact? Remembering that the mystical consciousness is the "collective," it will be seen that important points are involved in this issue.

Along with the Gallic virtue of clearness the book exhibits certain corresponding Gallic defects—in particular a rather forced absoluteness in the quality of its distinctions. The materials for the contrast of primitive and civilized are drawn mainly from the lower of the primitive, and exclusively from the more intelligent of the higher forms. The stages of European mind represented by the child and the uncultivated are left quite out of account. This omission rather weakens the force of many of his illustrations. For example, he records as a curious fact that certain tribes failed to attribute the daylight to the sun. But how many children under school-age have made the connection. Moreover, to how many of us, when not in a scientific mood, does the connection seem obvious and immediate, i.e., between the diffused light of the day and the definitely limited orb of the sun? This, however, is not a point against the author's argument. It is rather to show that his method is important, not for primitive culture alone, but for all of the many differences of culture. For that matter, his illustrations tend to suggest that the primitive mind may be studied from nearer points than Africa or Brazil.

WARNER FITE

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RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

A Solution of the Labor Problem.—Let the federal government establish a national unit of value for labor. The proposed unit or "wage" would be the lowest compensation that could legally be given to an adult for one day's least skilled manual labor. Upon this fixed unit an established table of rates could be builded. Assuming that the market price of sixty pounds of wheat flour represents the daily cost of living, then it would constitute a true national unit of value for labor. The average daily quotations for six months could be adopted as the governing price for the following six months. Thus the pay of the workman would always have the same purchasing power and income would be regulated according to the cost of living.—Clifford Howard, *North American Review,* September, 1910. E. S. B.

Woodworkers and Their Dangers.—Especially the men who work in close proximity to merciless cutting tools would benefit by an accident insurance law, which works automatically to reduce accidents and to provide prompt medical aid, the conditions of speedy restoration of industrial efficiency in case of injury.—C. R. Henderson, *World To-day,* September, 1910. E. S. B.

The Instability of the Family as a Cause of Child Dependence and Delinquency.—Statistics show that desertion and divorce are probably greatly increasing the number of children who come under institutional care; lack of statistics shows the need that a competent agency take up this urgent problem in a scientific and thorough way.—C. A. Ellwood, *Survey,* September 24, 1910. E. S. B.

Two Modern Social Philosophies.—These are socialism and anarchism. Socialism has to do with the big industries, big social units, whereas anarchism takes the small social unit as its sphere. The criticism to be made on the promulgators of the foregoing philosophies is that at present they are not forwarded on scientific, but dispassionate, principles. Before these theories can be brought down into the realm of fact they must analyze in a scientific manner the actual errors of the present system; and they must be presented by men of scientific ability, not by the bar-room assemblies.—Ernest L. Talbert, *International Journal of Ethics,* October, 1910. E. E. W.

Has Crime Increased in the United States since 1880?—Serious crime increased out of proportion to the population of the United States from 1880 to 1904; this increase apparently took place mainly between 1880 and 1895. We are not justified in saying that there has been no increase since 1895, because of the increasing use of probation and parole and on account of increasing leniency and possibly the increasing inefficiency of our criminal law and our criminal courts as instruments for the repression and the cure of crime. Our statistics of crime are utterly inadequate for scientific purposes. The collection of more adequate statistics should be undertaken by the Census Bureau or by the Department of Justice.—C. A. Ellwood, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* September, 1910. E. S. B.

L'Organisation corporative des classes moyennes.—There is a growth of concentration threatening the existence of the middle class. Concentration does not always lower the price of commodities—for instance the recent rise in price of meat. Association of capital must be offset by association of men. Only when very necessary should recourse be had to the state. The immediate aim should be special organizations and education of the middle class; a future work should be confederation of these separate organizations; and political representation.—Martin St. Léon, *La réforme sociale,* August 1–16, 1910. D. I. P.

Le reboisement des montagnes au point de vue social.—As a result of the denuding of the mountains, the erosion on them and in the valleys below has increased. On the Spanish frontier the herding of large numbers of sheep has destroyed the grass, and erosion has increased. Efforts are being made to replace and improve the pasturage and to plant trees. Ordinarily a family in the valley cultivates about six hectares and pastures sheep in the surrounding mountains, which are owned by the valley communes. But the people are moving to the villages and to South America. The reforesting of the mountains would prevent emigration.—Daniel Tauzand, *La réforme sociale,* June 1, 1910. D. I. P.

Le vote politique des femmes en Norwège.—The first national vote of the women was in 1909; the first municipal vote, in 1901. The feminine vote has helped social peace. The council of Christiania and the parliament has changed from socialistic to a liberal majority, while the socialistic majority has decreased among the Lapps. The women are conservative, partly because their party supports religion. All women read the papers in Norway.—Paul Parsy, *La réforme sociale,* April 1, 1910. D. I. P.

Les libéricides.—The worst sin on the part of parents is crime against their children. The wife is the leader in this. She lives a life entirely personal and her loves and hates are strong, as her environment is narrow. She goes to excess. Weak husbands are influenced by evil women. The secrecy of the crime and the doubt as to the parentage of the child have made necessary societies for the protection of children. These societies and the state should guard against crime, provide permanent homes, give temporary relief to poor widows, and place unfortunate children in useful positions.—Scipio Sighele, *Revue international de sociologie,* April, 1910. D. I. P.

Depopulation.—Both birth- and death-rates have decreased in France. Why is there no increase of population? It is not caused by emigration, by lack of subsistence for more people, by decrease in real wages, or by high taxes. Consumption, excessive use of alcohol, and improper care for children increase the death-rate, while the birth-rate is decreased by artificial limitation.—P. Warms de Romilly, *La réforme sociale,* June 1, 1910. D. I. P.

Comment lutter contre l'alcoolisme?—Alcoholism has had a marked growth in France. Its spread is possibly responsible for the present uprising against it. At the present time, every social force organized for the purpose of bettering society has allied itself against alcoholism. High hopes are extant now because the stern fight against this evil is beginning to have effect to the end of minimizing the use of liquor.—*L'action populaire,* No. 222. E. E. W.

Le logis social.—The family is at the root of all social problems, as a result of which, attention is directed on this social unit to a greater degree. The existing social complexity, furthermore, is demanding specialization and minute classifications in the study of social problems. It is a hopeful sign that not solely the sociologists, but also the statesmen are giving intensive study to these problems.—G. et S. de Montenach, *L'action populaire,* No. 230. D. I. P.

Reciprocal Legislation.—The recent tendency on the part of both social reformers and large business interests in this country to prefer federal to state legislation on matters of social safety—each for his own reasons—is a reaction from the earlier movement to secure uniform state legislation upon matters of national interest, such as marriage and divorce, child labor, etc. The assumption that uniform legislation is dependent upon the assent of all the states is to be questioned in view of the fact that as regards the most important industries their respective favoring conditions determine their localization in very definite geographical areas not nearly co-extensive with the national territory. It is therefore likely that a method of securing legislation enabling the interested parties to concentrate their attention upon their local situation would be productive of more equitable as well as intelligent results than the discussion of

the same questions by the representatives of the people as a whole. This method, i.e., reciprocal legislation, would eliminate the retarding consideration of competitive disadvantage now so persistently urged by manufacturers against much social legislation.—S. McC. Lindsay, *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1910. P. W.

Professor Charles A. Ellwood and the other members of the department of sociology of the University of Missouri are giving a course of fifteen open lectures on Saturday afternoons during the year. Some of the topics are: "Evolution and Social Problems," "The Problem of the Family," "The Immigration Problem," "The Negro Problem," "The Problem of the City," "Social Pathology," "The Criminal," "Criminal Procedure," "Penal Institutions," "Poverty: Conditions and Causes," "Poverty: Its Treatment," "Mental Defectives," "Charitable Institutions," and "Public Policy in the Care of the Degenerate Classes."

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Photograph by R. R. Earle

MARSHFIELD AVENUE

Looking south from Davis Square, March, 1910

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HOUSING CONDITIONS IN CHICAGO, III: BACK OF THE YARDS[1]

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE AND EDITH ABBOTT
The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

In 1901, when a committee of the City Homes Association made an inquiry into housing conditions in Chicago, the Stockyards district was not one of those selected for intensive investigation.[2] The appearance of the district showed it to be so neglected and conditions there were, in general, supposed to be so extraordinary that it was regarded as unsuitable for purposes of intensive investigation. On this account little attention was given to conditions prevailing within the houses, and only a superficial examination of these conditions was made. The unpaved streets, lack of sidewalks, indescribable accumulations of filth and rubbish, together with the absence

[1] Two other articles in this series appeared in the September and November numbers of this Journal. This study is based on a house-to-house canvass and reports on the district made by Jessie F. Bell, W. L. Chenery, Katherine S. Gedney, Ethel E. Hanks, H. K. Herwitz, M. B. Hunt, Estelle B. Hunter, Caro B. Macarthur, and Paul Wander, research students, 1909–10, and a special report on the "City Dumps" by W. L. Chenery. The greater part of the most tedious work of tabulation was done by Miss R. G. Stewart.

[2] The results of this investigation were published in 1901 in the well-known report, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago* (8vo. pp. 207; published by the City Homes Association).

of sewerage were said to make the so-called "outside insanitary conditions as bad an any in the world."[3]

Since the writing of that report many changes for the better have taken place in this neighborhood. Many of the streets have been paved, a large number of sidewalks have been laid, the sewer system has been extended, and Bubbly Creek has been enlarged and purified. The district remains, however, an extraordinary one. No other neighborhood in this, or perhaps in any other city, is dominated by a single industry of so offensive a character. Large numbers of live animals assembled from all sections of the country, processes of slaughtering and packing, the disposition of offensive animal waste, constitute an almost unparalleled nuisance. South Chicago lies under the smoke-shadows of the steel mills, and in those mills are dangers to life and limb, blinding glare from the furnaces, magnificent exposure and terrible peril; but the influence upon

[3] *Ibid.*, 3 and 182. The comments on the district are as follows: "If the purpose had been merely to select the worst houses and blocks that the city can show, portions of the North and South Sides would have been chosen. The Stockyards district and portions of South Chicago show outside insanitary conditions as bad as any in the world. Indescribable accumulations of filth and rubbish, together with the absence of sewerage, makes the surroundings of every dilapidated frame cottage abominably insanitary. These evils do not extend over a large area. They are in their worst forms extraordinary and not typical of conditions elsewhere in Chicago. In the Stockyards district there is no large area, such as the one in South Chicago, where the conditions seem to be uniformly bad. On Avenue ——— there are some old rookeries and some new little brick boxes raised on stilts, which will probably be sold on some instalment plan to the working people in that vicinity. Many working people have bought, or have tried to buy, these houses, but before they paid up the instalments the houses were in very bad repair and wretchedly dilapidated. Very often workmen have tried to buy them on the instalment plan and have lost them again and again. There is a long row of houses on ——— Avenue where the conditions are about the same as stated above. Very few of the houses in this locality are deficient in provision for light and ventilation, and none of them seem to be overcrowded. The worst features are the external conditions which surround the dwellings. In many parts of the district there are no sewers and the sewage from the houses stands in stagnant pools. The south branch of the Chicago River is really a ditch which accumulates a great deal of sewage from the Stockyards, and fills the air with poisonous odors. The stench from the Stockyards is also present. The district is overshadowed by heavy clouds of smoke from 'the Yards.'"

the neighborhood is rather terrifying than degrading. In the Stockyards, on the other hand, are the mingled cries of the animals awaiting slaughter, the presence of uncared-for-waste, the sight of blood, the carcasses naked of flesh and skin, the suggestion of death and disintegration—all of which must react in a demoralizing way, not only upon the character of the people, but the conditions under which they live.

The packing industry has been identified with this territory since 1864 when 320 acres of land "in the Town of Lake" were bought from the Honorable John Wentworth for $100,000 as a site for the Union Stockyards which were then planned. These yards were opened in December of the following year[4] and the growth of the industry since that time has been so rapid that it is possible to understand, if not to excuse, the failure to adjust the sanitary and physical conditions to the enlarged undertaking. The result was, as all the world knows, that in 1906, when an attempt was made to apply modern sanitary standards to the yards, provisions for maintaining cleanliness and decency were found to be so shockingly inadequate that employment there was believed to have a demoralizing influence on the men and women employed there. What this influence was can be better understood by recalling the famous Neill-Reynolds Report[5] which called attention to the insanitary conditions then prevailing in the Stockyards, the use of paving materials which could not be properly cleansed and "were slimy and malodorous when wet, yielding clouds of ill-smelling dust when dry"; the neglected condition of the pens in

[4] The packing industry in Chicago is of course much older than the Union Stockyards. It is, in fact, almost as old as Chicago itself. Pork packing was carried on in 1827 south of the north branch of the river on Clybourn Avenue. In 1832 slaughtering and packing were industries located on what was then an open prairie near Michigan and Madison streets. Later, various other packing centers were established at Lake and LaSalle streets, at Rush and Kinzie, on South Water between Clark and LaSalle, at State and North Water, at Franklin and South Water. In 1848 the "Bull's Head" Yards on Madison and Ashland became the center of trade in live stock, but later some other large yards were opened. In 1856 the Sherman Yards were established on Cottage Grove Avenue, and in 1858 the Michigan Southern and Fort Wayne Yards were opened on State and Twenty-second streets.

[5] Submitted June 4, 1906. House Document, 59th Congress, No. 873.

which the animals were confined, and of the viaducts over which the animals passed; the unclean, dark, ill-ventilated rooms in which the slaughtering was done, "vaults in which the air was rarely changed; windows clouded by dirt, walls and ceilings so dark and dingy that natural light penetrated only 20 or 30 feet"; the lack of sanitary arrangements, with the consequent odors and fumes, and the failure to provide ordinary decencies in the way of toilet accommodations for the workers.

Obviously this is not one of the older residence districts of Chicago. When this region was selected for the location of the Union Stockyards it was a suitable place for an offensive business of this kind. The whole territory was then a reedy, undrained marsh, remote from the inhabited part of the city, and not regarded as a quarter which would ever be suitable for residence or business purposes. To this remote place the business of slaughtering was suitably relegated. For much the same reasons the brickyards and the city dumps were located here; and this rural tract became appropriated to these necessary but offensive uses.

This territory back of the "Yards" is, then, so unfortunate in its blighted surroundings that great interest was felt as to what actual living conditions might be in a dismal region with the city dumps, brickyards, and "Bubbly Creek" on one side, and the greatest slaughter-houses in the world on the other. Its very peculiarities, as compared with other neighborhoods, seemed to justify a study of its housing conditions. There were, however, other reasons for selecting this district for intensive investigation. The records of the United Charities show that a large proportion of the applicants for relief come from this territory, and the very poor are usually found living in the most insanitary houses. There is a general belief that there is more tuberculosis here than in any other part of the city, and a map published by the commissioner of health shows that large numbers of babies die here every year, and tuberculosis, high infant mortality, poverty, and bad housing and sanitary conditions will generally be found together. The Lithuanian and Polish families in this neighborhood were known, too, to take large numbers of lodgers,

and this almost invariably means a violation of the law against overcrowding. It should also be pointed out that the differences between this district and several others to which reference might be made, are differences in degree rather than in kind. No other industry is just like the packing industry, but there are many industrial establishments which dominate the neighborhoods in which they are located in much the same way as the packing industry dominates this. Houses of the same general type prevail in other districts, and the people are like those near the Stockyards, immigrant men and women drawn here to render the unskilled service upon which so much of Chicago's industry depends.

The homes of this district have always been workmen's homes. Small frame cottages have gradually been displaced or outnumbered by tenements built for two or more families; but it has continued to be almost solidly occupied by those who depend upon the yards for work and upon whose work the industry, in turn, remains dependent.

In this district, as might be expected, were found representatives of the various nationalities upon which the packing industry had from time to time depended. In the earlier days, the workers in the yards and the dwellers in the neighborhood were almost exclusively Irish; but as they gradually found their way into higher-grade work, they were succeeded first by the Germans and later by the Slavs, who, in the last decade, have been immigrating in increasingly large numbers.

Two groups of blocks were selected for a house-to-house canvass, one Polish and one Lithuanian, and an attempt was made to select those which contained, not the poorest, but the typical homes of this neighborhood. To these were added the thin, straggling line of houses along Ashland Avenue known as "Whiskey Row," because it was believed that many lodgers would be found here, and because this was also believed to be typical of streets in other similar districts. The accompanying map shows the whole neighborhood in its relation to the blocks investigated.

The following table, which indicates how largely Slavic the

population back of the yards has become, is given by blocks because it shows how the Poles and Lithuanians tend to segregate. The blocks which contain the largest number of Poles contain relatively few Lithuanians, while the blocks which are predominately Lithuanian have very few Poles.

NATIONALITY OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Polish	Lithuanian	Bohemian	German	Slovak	Irish	Other	Total
Block 1	49	12	..	1	5	6	10	83
Block 2	60	74	..	4	3	4	..	145
Block 3	52	124	..	..	2	..	1	179
Block 4	26	12	4	7	3	9	18	79
Block 5	17	37	1	10	1	9	15	90
Block 6	32	63	14	3	2	..	2	116
Block 7	67	..	12	26	15	4	6	130
Block 8	119	..	8	8	7	1	1	144
Block 9	131	..	13	6	17	..	2	169
Block 10	72	..	38	10	10	..	4	134
Whiskey Row								
West Side	171	11	2	9	10	12	15	230
East Side	38	..	1	8	6	7	3	63
Total	834	333	93	92	81	52	77	1,562

No column is given to Americans in the table, for out of 1,562 families visited only 19 American families were found. It is of interest, too, that so few Irish are left and that a disproportionate number of these are in Whiskey Row. These surviving Irish residents were usually either among the most prosperous or the most shiftless families in the neighborhood. The former are often firemen or policemen who have remained in the same neighborhood but have prospered equally with those who have moved away. The Irish who have gone down and are still in the district because they have never been prosperous enough to get away, are usually living in very dilapidated and untidy houses, It should be added that a few other Irish families are left, too, because they unwisely bought their homes and have never been able to dispose of them satisfactorily.

The fact of chief interest in the table, however, is that 1,167 out of 1,562 heads of households are Polish or Lithuanian. When the large numbers of Polish and Lithuanian lodgers are added to these family groups, it is clear that this is now a district

Photograph by R. R. Earle

AN EXCEPTIONALLY CLEAN ONE-ROOM APARTMENT

In a rear house, occupied by a man, his wife, and two children. (The woman at the left was a visitor.)

almost exclusively made up of Slavic immigrants, many of them newly arrived and unable to speak any English. The problem of the adjustment of the newly arrived immigrant is very closely connected with the housing problem. It almost uniformly happens that the families which are most foreign are most exploited in the matter of their housing situation. They pay the highest rents for the poorest apartments, and they seem quite unable to understand that they have a right to insist on needed repairs or a decent standard of cleanliness. If a roof leaks, or the plumbing is out of order, they have no idea how to set about getting the landlord to attend to it. The student investigators who made the house-to-house canvass reported that their authority was rarely questioned among the less Americanized groups; the people were uniformly submissive, and apparently it never occurred to them that they had a right to ask why strangers could come in and measure their doors and windows.

It is a well-known fact that the unskilled work in the yards is largely done by the members of these foreign groups. Additional evidence, however, is found in the following table which shows that of the 876 heads of families (men) whose occupations were learned, only 152 did work requiring any considerable degree of skill.

TABLE SHOWING OCCUPATION OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Work in Stockyards (Unskilled Labor)	Work in Stockyards (Skilled Labor)	Other Unskilled Labor	Other Skilled Trades	Store-keepers	Saloon-keepers	Miscella-neous	No Occu-pation or Report	Total
724	152	206	116	93	69	81	58	1,499

Most of the lodgers, both men and women, also worked in the yards, but it was not possible to find out how many married women were employed in this or in any other kind of work. When the woman was away from the home, the children and neighbors frequently did not know whether she was at work or not, and the returns, therefore, as to the employment of the women, were too incomplete to be valuable. Sometimes married women, even those with children, worked in the yards, but these seemed

to be rather exceptional cases. In one Lithuanian family with six boarders and five children, the oldest not more than five and the youngest still a baby, both husband and wife worked in the yards, but they were buying their house and wished to take advantage of every possible source of income.

The degree of congestion in the district is indicated by the following table which gives the number of persons living in each of the blocks studied and in Whiskey Row. The first six blocks are those in the Lithuanian section, and blocks 7 to 10 are chiefly Polish.

TABLE SHOWING BLOCK POPULATION

	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3	Block 4	Block 5	Block 6	Block 7	Block 8	Block 9	Block 10	Whiskey Row		Total
											West Side	East Side	
Members of family groups.....	354	554	696	313	375	479	542	651	726	567	858	233	6,348
Lodgers.....	105	294	414	59	140	216	74	101	138	74	574	194	2,383
Total.....	459	848	1,110	372	515	695	616	752	864	641	1,432	427	8,731

The first ten blocks are uniform in size and each contains 3.3 acres. The most densely populated block therefore contains 306 people to the acre, and the average density is 208. The average number of persons per acre found in the two sections of the Jewish district which was investigated in 1901 was 245 and 248 respectively; the number in the densely populated Polish quarter investigated at the time was 340. In comparison with these figures, it appears that, although the degree of density in the Stockyards district is high, the number of people per acre is smaller than in some other sections of the city. It will appear, however, that the real problem of overcrowding here is crowding within the house and within the rooms.

It is to be noted in the first place that the buildings are often small and cover a relatively small portion of the lot. Thus the following table shows that nearly half of the premises were not covered more than 50 per cent, and that a considerable number were entirely vacant.

TABLE SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF LOT COVERED

Number of lots covered 50 per cent or less	248*
Number of lots covered more than 50 per cent and less than 60 per cent	65
Number of lots covered more than 60 per cent and less than 70 per cent	92
Number of lots covered more than 70 per cent and less than 80 per cent	75
Number of lots covered more than 80 per cent and less than 90 per cent	56
Number of lots covered 90 per cent or over	25
No report	21
Total	582

* Of these 43 were vacant premises.

It is interesting to compare these figures for a section of the Twenty-ninth Ward with those which were published by the City Homes Association for other parts of the city. In 1901 it was found that in the districts investigated on the West Side, 39 per cent of all the lots were covered more than 65 per cent, and that 17 per cent of the lots were covered more than 80 per cent.[6] In comparison with these percentages, the figures given above show that in the territory back of the yards there is a relatively large amount of open space.

It is of further interest that the houses here not only occupy a small percentage of the lot, but they are almost uniformly frame buildings not more than two stories high.[7] In this district, therefore, a relatively high density per acre is found together with a relatively small percentage of the lot covered by small low houses. The condition is especially interesting because typical of so many districts in Chicago. The small houses and vacant lots, so unlike the crowded areas of the tenement districts in New York, give the impression that there is no serious problem of congestion here. This impression, however, is a mis-

[6] *City Homes Report*, 32.

[7] The exact figures are as follows:

Number of one-story buildings	144
Number of two-story buildings	387
Number of three-story buildings	85
Number with more than three stories	1
No report	2
Total number of buildings	619

Number of brick buildings	46
Number of frame buildings	574
Counted twice	1
Total number of buildings	619

leading one since the facts which have been given show a high degree of crowding within the houses. Tables which will be given later, dealing with the number of occupants per room, show that in this district sleeping-rooms especially are crowded far beyond the legal limit and this overcrowding within the house is often a source of much greater danger and demoralization than the more obvious overcrowding in other cities.

Although this is a relatively new section of the city, the great majority of the houses, 488 out of 623[8] were built under the old tenement law, that is, prior to 1903. Some blocks, of course, contain a much large proportion of old houses than others. In those more recently built up, less than half are old-law houses. Although the houses are frame and so many of them built more than ten years ago, they were in general in good repair[9] except in Whiskey Row. There the buildings were found to be in general old and dilapidated, the plumbing out of order, the houses dirty, and the people who lived there often low and disreputable.

The alley tenement is a conspicuous feature of Chicago's housing problem but it is not so prevalent back of the yards as in some other districts. In the fifteen blocks investigated, however, 73 alley tenements were found. In two especially crowded blocks, 13 out of 50, and 13 out of 61 houses respectively were alley houses. On a few premises there were three houses on a single lot, that is, not only front and rear but middle dwell-

[8]

Number of old-law houses	488
Number of new-law houses	103
No report	32
Total	623
Counted twice	4
Total number of houses	619

[9] Number of houses in which the condition as to repair was:

Good	335
Fair	184
Bad	71
No report	29
Total	619

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A TYPICAL ALLEY IN THE STOCKYARDS DISTRICT

ings as well.[10] The alley houses, therefore, are almost uniformly old houses, and for sanitary provisions they are frequently entirely dependent upon a yard water-closet or privy. These alley houses are, however, usually light and sunny, because in this neighborhood, with a large proportion of the lots having a vacant space in the rear, a rear house is likely to have more chance for light and air than the front house with only a narrow passage on either side.

Further discussion of the conditions prevailing here should be prefaced by reference to the distinction between tenements and other dwellings. According to the definition in the Code, any house is a tenement and subject to tenement regulation when it is used as a dwelling by two or more families living in separate apartments.[11]

The following table which shows the number of houses occupied by a specified number of families confirms the earlier statement that this is not a district of large tenement houses:

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY SPECIFIED NUMBER OF FAMILIES

Number of buildings containing 1 apartment	155
Number of buildings containing 2 apartments	172
Number of buildings containing 3 apartments	96
Number of buildings containing 4 apartments	127
Number of buildings containing 5 apartments	42
Number of buildings containing 6 apartments	11
Number of buildings containing 7 apartments	3
Number of buildings containing 9 apartments	1
Number of buildings containing 15 apartments	1
Total	608

[10] The following table, however, shows that very few middle houses were found:

Number of premises having 1 house on the lot	539
Number of premises having 2 houses on the lot	73
Number of premises having 3 houses on the lot	7
Total number of premises	619

[11] Code 59–246, Class VI: "In Class VI shall be included every tenement and apartment house; that is to say, any house or building or portion thereof which is used as a home or residence for two or more families living in separate apartments."

This table shows that in 155 cases the houses which were investigated were not tenement houses and were therefore regulated, not by the provisions of the tenement code relating to "Class VI" houses, but by the minor restrictions relating to so-called Class III houses, that is, houses used as dwellings for single families.[12] It should, however, be pointed out that bad sanitary conditions are just as evil for the family living alone in the small house as for the family which happens to be occupying a house in which another family also lives.[13] For this reason it has seemed best to include all of the houses visited, single as well as tenement, in the tables given in the following pages. If in some cases the law was not violated because the houses were occupied by a single family, the condition was none the less insanitary because it was legal. The community is quite as likely to suffer when six people sleep in a room not having enough cubic air space for one person, even if there is only a single family, instead of two or three, living in the house.

It is important to know not only the number of apartments per house but the number of rooms per apartment, and the following table therefore is given showing the number of apartments having from one to eight rooms:

Number of apartments having 1 room	17
Number of apartments having 2 rooms	123
Number of apartments having 3 rooms	182
Number of apartments having 4 rooms	905
Number of apartments having 5 rooms	230
Number of apartments having 6 rooms	86
Number of apartments having 7 rooms	37
Number of apartments having 8 rooms or more	36
Total	1,616

It is encouraging to note that although some very small dwellings are to be found, 17 consisting of only one room, more than 80 per cent of all the apartments consist of four or more rooms. The location of the apartment is a question of great im-

[12] Municipal Code, secs. 243, 246.

[13] Considerations of decency render provisions relating to toilet accommodations more necessary in houses occupied by several families.

portance. The basement apartment is not illegal but it is often dark and damp, and the fact that 137 families were found in basement apartments is a significant fact. Although cellar apartments, that is, those which are more than half below the street level[14] have been declared illegal, seven were found, two in Whiskey Row and five in the group of blocks which were predominantly Lithuanian. These cellar apartments are invariably cheerless and insanitary. In one house on Paulina Street, two Lithuanian girls were found in two very dismal cellar rooms in which they cooked and slept. The ceilings of their little apartment were only five feet nine inches high; one of the rooms was windowless and the other had two small windows opening on a passage so that one room was totally dark and the other gloomy, and the cellar space back of the apartment was dark and damp.

It was surprising to find in a comparatively new building on Ashland Avenue another gloomy two-room cellar apartment with ceilings which were only six feet. A Polish "yards" laborer and his wife slept in the bedroom and a woman lodger and one child slept in the kitchen. Both of these rooms had windows which were so much below the street that you could read only a short distance away from them. The rooms were unnecessarily darkened by the fact that the walls were painted a dark green and the apartment was rendered more objectionable

[14] Tolman, *Municpal Code,* Secs. 398, 417, 430; *Cellar Changed for Living Purposes.—Requirements.—Height.*—In no now existing or new tenement house shall any room in the cellar be constructed, altered, converted or occupied for living purposes; and no room in the basement of a tenement house shall be constructed, altered, converted or occupied for living purposes, unless all of the following conditions of this chapter be complied with, and at least one-third of the height of the basement shall be above grade for building; provided, in each case it shall be at least four feet above the street grade.

"Such rooms shall be at least eight feet six inches high in all now existing or new tenement houses in every part from floor to ceiling, except as provided for janitor's use only in section 417 of this chapter.

"'Basement' is a story partly, but not more than one-half, 'Cellar' is a story more than one-half, below the level of the street grade nearest the building; where the grade of a street adjacent to a tenement house varies, the mean or average grade of such street opposite the lot containing the tenement house shall be regarded as the grade of such street within the meaning of this chapter."

by the fact that it could only be reached through a dark, damp cellar-space used for coal. The fact that there are so few cellar apartments shows an improvement over conditions in 1901 when the City Homes investigation was made. At that time twenty cellar apartments were found in the forty blocks which constituted the first district, forty-nine cellar apartments in the second district of ten blocks, and thirty-two cellar apartments in the third district of eight blocks.

The primitive sanitary arrangements which still exist in this neighborhood are a result in part of the newness of the district, in part of the low standard of living that prevails among the people, and in greater part perhaps of their ignorance, poverty, and general helplessness. An ordinance passed in 1894[15] made it illegal for privy vaults to be maintained on premises where sewers were possible, and this ordinance is still in force. In these few blocks, however, 44 privies with 21 separate vaults were found. The evil is greater than the number indicates, for 46 families and 248 persons used these miserable toilet accommodations which are so offensive and insanitary that they were outlawed fifteen years ago.[16]

The yard closet should be classed with the privy as a nuisance, and is forbidden for new tenements by the present law. On 233 premises, however, 447 yard water-closets were found and these were used by 3,419 people. In fourteen cases, the premises were regulated by the new law, and the yard water-closets were therefore as illegal as privy vaults. In many other cases where they existed, the accom-

[15] See *City Homes Report,* 104, and the present health ordinance, Tolman, *Municipal Code,* sec. 1289: "It shall be unlawful for any person or corporation to maintain any privy vault or suffer the same to be and remain upon any premises shutting upon or adjoining any street, alley, court or public place, in which is located any public sewer. Any person or corporation violating the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than ten or more than two hundred dollars for each offense."

[16] In fact on the premises, 26 families consisting of 149 persons were entirely dependent on facilities of this primitive type. It is encouraging, however, to note the progress which has been made since 1901. At that time 1,581 privies were found in the forty blocks east of Halsted Street and these were used by more than 10,000 people. See *City Homes Report,* 105.

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A "BACK-YARD"

Reached through a narrow passage and surrounded by five small houses

modations provided were so inadequate as to constitute a violation of the law. On three different premises, 20, 21, and 24 persons, respectively, were using yard a single water-closet. The inconvenience suffered by families using these insanitary yard accommodations can only be realized when the inadequacy of the inside toilet provisions is understood. Although the ordi-
24 persons, respectively, were using a single yard water-closet.
each apartment having more than two rooms, only one-fourth of the apartments visited had such private toilet facilities.[17] The needs of the families in these 1,119 apartments which were without water-closets were met in part by the primitive yard closets and privies, but in the majority of cases by closets in the basement or hall which were used either by several or by all of the families in the building. In 127 buildings the tenants used water-closets in the basement or cellar and in 155 buildings the water-closets were in the halls.[18] In one building there was only one water-closet for five families, in another one for six families and in another one for seven families. In a neighborhood like this, where

[17] The following table shows the location of the closet in the 405 apartments that had private toilet arrangements; twenty of these were long-hopper closets:

Number opening from kitchen	286
Number opening from bedroom	10
Number opening from other rooms	104
No report	5
Total	405

[18] 23 of the basement closets and 42 of the hall closets were in new-law buildings. The ordinance, however, is a complicated one and apartments of less than three rooms may legally be provided with common toilets.

The *Code,* sec. 434, is as follows: "In every new tenement house there shall be a separate water-closet in a separate compartment within each apartment, accessible to each apartment, without passing through any other apartment, provided that where there are apartments, consisting of only one or two rooms, there shall be at least one water-closet for every two apartments. Every water-closet compartment in every new tenement house shall have a window opening upon a street, alley, yard, court, or vent shaft, and every water-closet compartment in every existing tenement house shall be ventilated by such a window, or else by a proper ventilating pipe running through the roof. Every water-closet compartment in every tenement house shall be provided with proper means of artificially lighting the same. If fixtures for gas or electricity are not provided in any such compartment, then the door thereof shall have ground glass or wire glass panels or transoms.

the family usually includes a large number of lodgers as well, such inadequate facilities unquestionably constitute a demoralizing influence. In one case a single water-closet was the only accommodation provided for 47 persons.[19] In several cases, the public closets in saloons were the only provisions made for families with young children.

These inadequate toilet arrangements are also objectionable because the great majority of them are of the old long-hopper type, and because the compartments are dark and frequently without any means of ventilation.[20] Moreover, while in general the private closet within the apartment was found to be clean and in good repair, those used by several families or by all the families in a building were in the majority of cases dirty and out of order.[21] It would seem to be beyond any question that families with young children should be provided with adequate toilet facilities, which can be kept clean and in good repair. It is clear that the insanitary accommodations which are only too often dark, out-of-order, offensive, used by large groups of men lodgers, and often by other families not clean in their habits, are mostly a degrading and contaminating influence which could easily be prevented.

[19] The following table shows the provision of toilet accommodations for specified numbers of families and persons:

Number of Cases in Which There Was One Hall or Basement Water-closet for:

Not more than One Family	Two Families	Three Families	Four Families	Five Families	Six Families	Seven Families
56	81	14	2	2	1	1

Number of Cases in Which There Was One Hall or Basement Water-closet for:

Five Persons or less	6 to 10 Persons	11 to 15 Persons	16 to 20 Persons	21 to 25 Persons	26 to 30 Persons	31 to 35 Persons	36 to 40 Persons
35	81	29	7	2	..	1	2

[20] Of the 282 hall and basement closets, 188 were long-hopper, only 142 were reported to have any means of ventilation, and only 91 were light.

[21] The returns as to cleanliness and repairs for the hall and basement closets were as follows: 133 clean, 125 dirty, 24 very dirty; 127 in good repair, 94 repair fair, 61 repair bad. On the other hand, reports on the condition of the 403 private water-closets showed 318 in good repair, 58 "fair," 22 "bad," 5 no report.

Photograph by R. R. Earel

A NEW-LAW TENEMENT

Containing a saloon, a bakery, a butcher-shop, a milk depot, a stable, and nine families

Conditions within the apartment are supposedly governed by certain regulations bearing upon the questions of light and air, and cubic air space per person. The most important of these, though undoubtedly the most difficult of enforcement, is the provision which attempts to prevent overcrowding by requiring for each occupant a definite minimum of space. It is illegal for any room in a tenement house to be so occupied that each adult person "living or sleeping" in the room does not have at least 400 cubic feet of air, and each child under twelve, 200 cubic feet of air.[22] This provision applies to old-law and new-law houses alike, but the following table shows how persistently this law is violated. All of the numbers above the black line, 1,981 in all, represent cases in which the number of persons sleeping in the room was greater than the law allowed:

[22] Tolman's *Municipal Code*, sec. 420.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN ROOMS OF SPECIFIED CUBIC CONTENT

Contents of Room in Cubic Feet	Number of Rooms Occupied by										Total
	One Child	One Adult*	One Adult and One Child	Two Adults	Two Adults and One Child	Three Adults	Three Adults and One Child	Four Adults	Four Adults and One Child	Five Adults or More	
Less than 400	1	32	4	16	5	3	1	..	..	..	62
400 and less than 600....	9	334	69	363	113	65	14	14	5	1	987
600 and less than 800....	9	212	48	390	163	229	81	89	9	7	1,235
800 and less than 1,000..	1	70	17	142	51	98	29	57	2	2	469
1,000 and less than 1,200..	4	39	8	50	10	22	4	5	..	2	144
1,200 and less than 1,400..	7	60	11	50	22	20	7	12	..	3	192
1,400 and less than 1,600..	11	55	14	63	19	17	8	9	4	..	200
1,600 and less than 1,800..	6	49	10	47	17	17	1	3	..	2	152
1,800 and less than 2,000..	7	21	7	16	8	8	2	7	1	1	78
2,000 and more	2	16	5	16	4	4	1	..	1	2	51
Totals....	57	888	193	1,153	412	481	148	196	22	20	3,730

Total number of illegal cases: 1981.

* In this table one adult means one adult or two children under twelve, that is, the term one adult is used whenever 400 cubic feet of air are required.

This table shows that in 1,981 cases the law against overcrowding was violated, and that in many instances the number of cubic feet in the room was shockingly below the number of cubic feet required by law. Thus it appears that in 19 cases when rooms of 350 to 400 cubic feet were being illegally occupied, in two cases, 600 cubic feet, in ten cases 800, and in one case 1,000, and in another 1,400 were required by law. In 77 cases when 1,200 cubic feet of air were required, rooms containing less than 800 cubic feet were occupied. In one case four people slept in a room containing only 333 cubic feet, a room that could not have been legally occupied by even a single person over twelve years of age. In another case five people slept in a room containing 472 cubic feet, a room that could legally be occupied only by a single person. In another case seven people, for whom 2,800 cubic feet would have been the legal minimum, slept in a room containing only 657 cubic feet.

One of the worst features of this overcrowding is the demoralizing lack of privacy. Grown brothers and sisters, for example, often occupy the same room. Sometimes the crowding is unnecessary; the family prefer, especially in the winter, to huddle into the rooms which are near the kitchen and in this way save the expense of extra fuel and an extra stove. In one apartment a bedroom which was light and sunny was left vacant, although the family were sleeping in a dark room which had only one window opening into a hall. The dark room was of course near the kitchen.

The secret of the overcrowding which prevails here is to be explained in part by the un-American standard of living. Polish and Slovak women, for example, told of conditions in their own homes where a large family often lived in one or two rooms.

Further testimony on the subject of overcrowding is to be found in the following table which shows that in a large number of cases every room in the house was used as a sleeping-room.

It appears from this table that in 106 families even the kitchen was used as a bedroom at night. In 508 cases all the

rooms except one were used as bedrooms at night. It is of interest that the different blocks varied in this respect; the four Polish blocks (7, 8, 9, 10) had more rooms that were not slept in and the Whiskey Row blocks contained the largest proportion of apartments in which even the kitchen was a sleeping-room.

With regard to the size of the room, the ordinance provides that in each apartment there shall be at least one room

Blocks	Number of Families Using as Sleeping Rooms				Total
	All Rooms	All but One	All but Two	All but Three or More	
1	4	34	27	19	84
2	5	53	67	23	148
3	2	55	113	14	184
4	7	26	18	33	84
5	2	36	28	27	93
6	1	46	57	13	117
7	9	29	69	30	137
8	4	26	92	24	147
9	2	39	113	16	170
10	7	30	84	15	136
Whiskey Row					
West	50	106	61	22	239
East	13	27	10	27	77
Total	106	508	739	263	1,616

containing not less than 120 square feet, and that every room shall contain at least 70 square feet.[23] Although this provision applies only to new tenements, that is, those erected since 1903, the sanitary requirements are quite independent of the legal requirements and rooms below the minimum size are just as objectionable in the old houses as in the new houses. In attempting, therefore, to ascertain how many rooms failed to conform to the standard set in the law, all apartments in old as well as in new houses were considered.

[23] This section of the code (417) is as follows: "In every new tenement house, all rooms, except water-closet compartments and bathrooms, shall be of the following minimum sizes: In each apartment there shall be at least one room containing not less than 120 square feet of floor area, and every other room shall contain at least 70 square feet of floor area. Each room shall be in every part not less than 8 ft., 6 in. high in but one-half of its area; provided, that in a basement apartment used for janitor's use only, such room or rooms shall be not less than 2 ft. high in the clear."

Out of the 1,616 apartments which were visited, 1,459 rooms were found which contained less than 70 square feet of floor area, the legal minimum prescribed in the ordinance. Some of these rooms were shockingly below the requirement. One man slept in a room with an area of 18 square feet, another in a room which had an area of 24 square feet and which was so low that it contained only 94 cubic feet; still another occupied a room containing only 28 square feet; in another case four people slept in a room containing only 37 square feet and 333 cubic feet; and in another room, containing 59 square feet and 472 cubic feet, five people slept. Five entire apartments were found containing less than 120 square feet, the minimum size prescribed for at least one room in every apartment, and four of these contained less than 100 square feet. A large number of rooms were found to be inadequate in light as well as in area. The ordinance prescribes for rooms in new tenement houses a minimum height of eight and a half feet, but 935 rooms[24] were found which failed to conform to this requirement.

Quite as important as the size of the rooms is the question of what provision is made for light and ventilation. In statements concerning light and air it is, of course, important to avoid the influence of the personal equation. A room which one person calls light, another may call gloomy, and what is bad ventilation to some seems adequate to others. One definite test, however, is whether the rooms have windows and whether the windows can be opened to the outer air, that is, whether it is possible to let in light and air if the occupants can be convinced of their importance. A further test is found in the provision of the code which provides, as a means of securing adequate light and ventilation, that in every new tenement house "every habitable room" must have its window area equal to one-tenth of its floor area and that all windows shall open

[24] This includes rooms in both old and "new" houses, as well as janitor rooms which are excepted from the requirement. The preceding note quotes this section of the ordinance in full.

directly to the outer air.[25] Although this provision like so many others applies only to "new-law" houses, it seems important to apply this standard, which the community has set, to all the houses which were visited. It was found that 137 rooms were without any windows at all or without any windows opening to the outer air; of these, 123 were sleeping-rooms and 36 were in new-law houses. The number of persons occupying these windowless bedrooms is shown in the following table:

NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN BEDROOMS WHICH CANNOT BE VENTILATED

Number of Persons Occupying	Number of Rooms Having		Total Number of Persons
	No Window or Interior Window	Outer Window Useless	
Unoccupied	6	2	..
1 person	34	5	39
2 persons	32	6	76
3 persons	20	2	66
4 persons	9	..	36
5 persons	2	1	15
Total number of persons	..	..	232
Total number of rooms	*103*	*16*	*119*

[25] The ordinance (sec. 413) regulating windows is as follows: "In every new tenement house every habitable room, excepting water-closet compartments and bathrooms, shall have all windows open direct upon a street, alley, yard or court. The total area of the windows opening from any such room (other than water-closet compartments and bathrooms) upon a street, alley, yard, or court, shall be at least one-tenth of the floor area of that room. . . . ." The section (418) governing old houses is much more lax in its requirements: "No room in any now existing tenement house shall hereafter be constructed, altered, converted, or occupied for living purposes unless it contains a window having a superficial area not less than one-twelfth of the floor area of the room, which window shall open upon a street or alley or upon a yard or court having a superficial area of not less than 25 square feet; or unless such room adjoins another room in the same apartment, which other room shall have such a window opening upon such a street, alley, yard, or court, and between which two adjoining rooms there shall be a sash window having at least 15 square feet of glazed surface, the upper half of which shall be so made as to open easily." Even when the house is a private dwelling and not a tenement the windowless room is supposed to be controlled. The corresponding section (285) for the private house is as follows: "In buildings of Class III, no room shall be con-

This table shows how very bad a windowless room may at times become. In two cases, five persons were sleeping in a room which had no window except one opening into another room; in nine cases, four persons slept in a similar windowless room; in twenty cases three persons occupied such a room. Altogether 232 persons slept in rooms of this type. Sometimes several of these bedrooms were found in a single apartment and several of these inadequately ventilated apartments in a single building. For example, twenty-three of the 119 bedrooms were in three buildings. In one two-room apartment occupied by three people, both rooms were really without communication with the outer air because the windows were so obstructed; in another department three of the four rooms were for all practical purposes windowless.

In addition to these cases of windowless rooms, 372 others were found in which the window area was less than 10 per cent of the floor area.[26] These 509 cases of windowless rooms and rooms in which the window area failed to meet the requirements prescribed in the city code were only a small proportion of the total number of rooms reported to be inadequately lighted. Two hundred and six rooms were found which were called "dark" and 1,410 which were called "gloomy" by the students who visited them. A "dark" room was, in general, a room in which you could read only when you were standing by the window, and a "gloomy" room was one in which you could read only a few feet away from the window. A careful study of the conditions in these 1,616 dark and gloomy rooms makes it clear that the area of the window is much less

sidered habitable or used as a habitation unless it has at least one window of an area equal to one-tenth of the superficial area of such room opening into the external air."

[26] The relation between window area and floor area appears in the following table, which shows the number of rooms in which the window area was less than 10 per cent of the floor area:

Number of Rooms in Which Window Area Was:	
Less than 6 per cent of floor area	40
6 per cent and less than 7 per cent	14
7 per cent and less than 8 per cent	29
8 per cent and less than 9 per cent	34
9 per cent and less than 10 per cent	45
Total number under 10 per cent	162

Photograph by R. R. Earle

A ONE-ROOM APARTMENT

Occupied by the owner and his family in a house containing four other apartments

important than the way it opens; that is, the determining factor is whether or not the window opens upon a narrow passage, air shaft, a covered porch, or a small court with another building so erected as to shut out all light and air. The following table, therefore, is extremely interesting in explaining the inadequately lighted rooms:

NUMBER OF DARK AND GLOOMY ROOMS WITH WINDOWS OPENING UPON:

Another room or hall	81
Air shaft or wall	20
Porch or court	136
Passage	1,211
Alley, yard, or street	3
Total	1,584
No report given	32
Total dark and gloomy rooms	1,616

The most significant fact perhaps in this table is that 1,211 of the 1,584 gloomy rooms are deprived of light because the building on the next lot is so close that only a narrow passageway or a narrow space hardly wide enough to be called a passage is left between the two houses. The typical city lot in Chicago is long and narrow, usually 25 feet wide and 125 feet long, and this has led to the practice of building houses close to the lot line on both sides. To leave adequate space on either side means the building of an inconveniently narrow house and the attempt to avoid this has resulted in a large number of dark rooms. A study of these dark rooms makes clear the fact that adequate light and ventilation cannot be secured by regulating the window area; the controlling factor is the size of the yard or court upon which the window opens. Thus, although only a small proportion of the dark rooms could be explained by lack of window area, 75 per cent were clearly due to the fact that the windows opened on a court which was only a narrow passage between two houses, both of which were built close to the lot line.

A neighborhood problem of great importance in connection

with housing and especially with overcrowding is the custom of taking lodgers who are usually unmarried men or women employed in the Stockyards. This custom is a common one in most of the immigrant districts of our large cities, and the Stockyards district, in so far as it suffers from this evil, is a typical and not an exceptional neighborhood.[27] The large number of immigrants, both men and women, who find it easy to get employment in the yards wish, when they first come to this country, to live near their work, and among people of the same nationality. The families who live in the neighborhood are therefore constantly tempted to add to their income by taking in one more lodger. Only 768 out of the 1,616 families visited said that they had no lodgers. That is, more than one-half of the families added to their income by filling up their rooms to the utmost capacity with the men and women who were too new to this country to realize that they could demand anything more than a place to sleep.[28] They sleep on the floor both with and without mattresses and sleep in beds with people who are total strangers. The importance of "the lodger evil" can best be understood by studying the following table which shows the total number of lodgers in relation to the total number of people in each block:

[27] See the comment in Veiller, *The Housing Problem* (p. 33): "Room overcrowding is bound up with another social problem, namely, the lodger evil. This prevails chiefly among the foreign elements of the population, more especially among the Italians and the Poles, and in some cities, the Hungarians and other Slavic races. It also prevails among the Jews in the larger cities. It is fraught with great danger to the social fabric of the country. It means the undermining of family life; often the breaking down of domestic standards. It frequently leads to the breaking up of homes and families, to the downfall and subsequent degraded career of young women, to grave immoralities—in a word, to the profanation of the home."

[28] All statements regarding the extent to which people in this neighborhood take lodgers are believed to be underestimated. When the investigators had been in the district only a few days they found that a rumor had spread to the effect that they were to make reports as to the number of lodgers and then have them all put out. The people therefore made every effort to conceal the fact that they took lodgers, or gave a much smaller number than the correct one. In some cases people said they did not take lodgers but their neighbors did, and when the neighbors were visited they made the same remark.

TABLE SHOWING COMPOSITION OF BLOCK POPULATION

	Adults		Children Under 12	Total Family Population	Lodgers		Total Lodgers	Total Block Population
	Men	Women			Men	Women		
Block 1.....	114	108	132	*354*	91	14	*105*	459
Block 2.....	159	171	224	*554*	256	38	*294*	848
Block 3.....	211	215	270	*696*	358	56	*414*	1,110
Block 4.....	108	96	109	*313*	48	11	*59*	372
Block 5.....	119	128	128	*375*	128	12	*140*	515
Block 6.....	155	151	173	*479*	188	28	*216*	695
Block 7.....	191	160	191	*542*	70	4	*74*	616
Block 8.....	192	184	275	*651*	92	9	*101*	752
Block 9.....	213	214	299	*726*	126	12	*138*	864
Block 10.....	174	177	216	*567*	69	5	*74*	641
Whiskey Row								
West.....	264	248	346	*858*	474	100	*574*	1,432
East.....	76	71	86	*233*	161	33	*194*	427
Totals.....	1,976	1,923	2,449	*6,348*	2,061	322	*2,383*	8,731

This table shows that 2,061 men and 332 women out of the 8,731 people in the blocks which were investigated were lodgers; that is, the lodgers constitute one-third of the neighborhood population. In connection with these figures it should be recalled that these 3,383 lodgers lived with 794 families,[29] an average of three lodgers to each family. As was expected, more lodgers were found in Whiskey Row in proportion to the number of families than in the other districts. Instead of finding two or more families living above the saloon, the second floor was frequently provided with accommodations for lodgers, and in a few cases the apartments had been subdivided into small rooms.

The fact that there are several lodgers in a family means serious overcrowding in these small apartments in which the rooms are often under the legal area and under the legal height, as well as frequently dark and inadequately ventilated; it means a great deal of additional work for the overburdened wife and mother who has a constant excuse for not maintaining a satisfactory standard of cleanliness. It also means a sac-

[29] The following data are of interest:

Total number of lodgers.....2,383
Total number of families keeping lodgers..... 794
Total number of families not keeping lodgers.. 768
Total number of families or households.....1,562
Total number of persons in families.....6,348
Total population 8,731

rifice of privacy; for in many cases the lodgers sleep in the same room with some member of the family; in 181 cases there was one member of the family sleeping in the lodger's room and sometimes in the same bed; in 60 cases two members of the family slept in the room; in 23 cases there were three members of the family, in 9 cases four, and in three cases five, sleeping in the same room and in one case the lodger slept in the same room with a family of seven.[30] Sometimes men and women lodgers slept in the same room; in other cases the men slept in a room which could only be reached by passing through a room in which the women slept. In other cases men lodgers slept in the same rooms with the young daughters of the household, and no one seemed aware of dangers or improprieties. Perhaps the worst feature of the mixed lodging arrangement, however, is the common toilet-room. When it is in the apartment the entrance is almost invariably from the kitchen which often serves at night as a bedroom.

The practice of taking lodgers is, of course, to be explained by the fact that the families are large, the earnings small, and the rents high. The lodger, however, is as much the cause as the effect of high rents; the landlord finds it easy to excuse a high rental by pointing out that the families will surely take lodgers and earn enough to pay it.[31] It is difficult to discuss the sub-

[30] Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 1 member of family....181
Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 2 members of family.... 60
Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 3 members of family.... 23
Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 4 members of family.... 9
Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 5 members of family.... 3
Number of cases of lodgers sleeping in room with 7 members of family.... 1

[31] See Mr. Veiller's very interesting comment in *Housing Reform* (p. 33): "Its economic consequences are also serious. To it may be charged, in large degree, the high rentals which prevail in many cities. Probably no more curious instance occurs of the peculiar intertwining of cause and effect. Often, the inadequate earnings of the poor immigrant make it necessary to supplement the family income by taking in boarders or lodgers. In many cases, such necessity does not exist, but the parsimonious habits of the people lead them to adopt this way of adding dollar to dollar. It is hard to tell to what extent the practice is due to necessity and to what extent avarice. The result is the same in both cases. The effect soon is to raise rents. Landlords are quick to realize that their tenants have augmented the family earnings by subletting a portion of their

Photograph by R. R. Earle

ONE OF THE CITY DUMPS

ject of rent intelligently without knowing the standard of family earnings in the neighborhood and without knowing the cost of similar accommodations in other neighborhoods. The table which follows, however, shows the rents most frequently paid in the blocks investigated:

TABLE SHOWING MONTHLY RENT PAID BY 1,154 FAMILIES

Number paying less than $5	34
Number paying $5 and less than $6	92
Number paying $6 and less than $7	162
Number paying $7 and less than $8	203
Number paying $8 and less than $9	221
Number paying $9 and less than $10	135
Number paying $10 and less than $11	183
Number paying $11 and less than $12	57
Number paying $12 or more	61
Number vacant	158
Total number rented	1,312

This table shows that one-fourth of the families pay less than $7 and more than half of them pay less than $9. Much more interesting, however, than the amount paid is the question of the kind of accommodations secured. Two tables therefore are given which show in some detail the relation of the rent paid to the number of rooms and to the floor area of the apartment.

This table of rents is given in some detail, because it shows not only the number of rooms obtained for a given rental, but it also brings out the tendency to make the unit in even dollars. That is, the rents are usually $5, $6, $7 instead of $5.25, $5.75 and so on. It is interesting that the rent paid bears very little relation to the number of rooms obtained. The rent of a one-room apartment may be $7, $4, $3, or even less. Two-room apartments bring almost any rental between $3 and $7. Six-

rooms. The rooms at once become more valuable because a larger revenue can thus be secured and rents are promptly raised. Thus, in a short time, the tenant is no better off than before; in fact, worse, because the practice has spread and standards of living have been readjusted. The total family income, though now greater, is still relatively where it was before, because of the increased cost of living."

teen different rentals ranging from $4 to $13 are paid for four-room apartments.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF APARTMENTS FOR WHICH SPECIFIED MONTHLY RENTALS ARE PAID, TOGETHER WITH NUMBER OF ROOMS

Rent per Month	One Room	Two Rooms	Three Rooms	Four Rooms	Five Rooms	Six Rooms	Seven or More Rooms	Total
Less than $3.00	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
$3 and less than $3.50	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
$3.50 and less than $4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
$4 and less than $4.50	1	13	4	2	..	..	..	20
$4.50 and less than $5	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	7
$5 and less than $5.50	..	35	16	24	..	..	..	75
$5.50 and less than $6	..	7	6	4	..	..	..	17
$6 and less than $6.50	..	27	56	47	2	..	..	132
$6.50 and less than $7	..	7	10	12	1	..	..	30
$7 and less than $7.50	1	2	28	126	9	1	..	167
$7.50 and less than $8	..	..	1	31	3	1	..	36
$8 and less than $8.50	..	..	9	174	18	3	..	204
$8.50 and less than $9	..	..	1	13	2	1	..	17
$9 and less than $9.50	..	..	2	111	13	3	..	129
$9.50 and less than $10	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	6
$10 and less than $10.50	..	..	5	126	35	12	1	179
$10.50 and less than $11	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	4
$11 and less than $11.50	..	..	..	32	19	4	2	57
$12 and less than $12.50	..	..	..	6	18	3	1	28
$12.50 and less than $13	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
$13 and less than $13.50	..	..	..	2	7	4	..	13
$13.50 and less than $14	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
$14 and less than $14.50	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
$14.50 and less than $15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
$15 and less than $15.50	..	..	..	..	8	5	1	14
More than $15	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	6
Vacant and rent not reported	8	11	23	58	27	9	22	158
Total number of apartments rented	13	112	162	777	166	50	32	1,312

The size of the apartment in relation to the rent is quite as important as the number of rooms. The following table shows, however, that the size is not a factor any more than the number of rooms in determining the rent paid.

According to this table the rents paid for apartments of the same area vary greatly. For example, 63 apartments, having an area of between 600 and 650 square feet, pay rents ranging from $5 to $15. This difference in rates is not easy to explain, for it has not yet been possible for us to ascertain all of the deter-

mining factors. The location, that is front, or rear, first, second, or third floor; toilet accommodations, and character of the immediate neighbors would have weight. We believe, however, that in many cases the bargaining skill of the tenant is an important factor. It was found that the most recent immigrants almost invariably paid higher relative rents than those among

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF APARTMENTS AT SPECIFIED MONTHLY RENTALS TOGETHER WITH FLOOR AREA

Rent per Month	Number of Apartments Having Area of															Tota
	Less than 100 sq. ft.	100 and less than 150	150 to 200	200 to 250	250 to 300	300 to 350	350 to 400	400 to 450	450 to 500	500 to 550	550 to 600	600 to 650	650 to 700	700 to 750	750 or more	
Less than $3	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
$3 and less than $4	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
$4 and less than $5	..	1	5	7	7	2	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	27
$5 and less than $6	..	..	1	16	27	12	11	13	7	3	1	1	..	..	..	92
$6 and less than $7	..	1	..	13	22	29	45	27	13	8	2	2	..	..	..	162
$7 and less than $8	..	..	..	1	4	14	28	73	61	13	8	..	1	..	..	203
$8 and less than $9	..	..	..	..	..	2	12	43	98	40	18	2	3	2	..	220
$9 and less than $10	..	..	..	..	..	1	8	18	54	37	11	4	..	1	1	135
$10 and less than $11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	48	62	23	23	9	5	2	183
$11 and less than $12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	22	8	9	2	2	2	57
$12 and less than $13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	6	7	7	..	3	29
$13 and less than $14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	1	3	4	14
$14 and less than $15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	4
$15 or more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	4	8	20
Rent not reported and vacant	4	1	..	8	5	10	4	22	20	21	14	7	9	3	30	158
Total	4	3	8	47	67	71	109	211	313	214	92	63	37	20	53	1,312

their neighbors who were more Americanized, and who had a more correct idea of the market value of the accommodations.

In this as in most immigrant neighborhoods, a large number of families either own or are buying the house in which they live. It was found that 298 out of 613 premises were owned by people living on them. This 48 per cent of ownership is, however, likely to give a false impression of prosperity, for many of these places which the people claim to own are heavily encumbered and in many instances after a long struggle the house and all that has been paid slips away. The old idea of the prosperous workman owning a house of his own—usually a small cottage with a cheerful garden—fails of illustration in the immigrant tenement

neighborhoods found in all large cities. The owners here are only tenement landlords who live on the premises. Instead of small cottages they buy tenements containing several apartments[32] which can be rented for enough to pay the interest on the mortgage and some small part toward its redemption. In these cases ownership is far from being a sign of prosperity which indicates comfort. The owner of the tenement frequently lives in the smallest and poorest apartment. If there is an attic or a cellar in the houses that can be rented only with difficulty the owner and his family occupy it, in order that the more desirable apartments may be used to make the house bring in the largest possible return.

It should be pointed out that although one-half of the premises may be owned by people living on them there are a large number of other families on these same premises who are "renters." To compare, therefore, the number of premises owned with the total number of premises gives a disproportionate idea of the ownership factor. A more correct idea can be had by comparing the number of families who live in an apartment in a house which they own with the total number of families. Out of a total of 1,616 families, only 298 were not paying rent, so that it is less misleading to say that one-fifth of the people live in houses which they own than to say that one-half of the premises are owned by people who live on them.

These resident landlords make the reform of housing conditions very difficult. Many of them, as the following table shows, have purchased the property very recently.

In these cases of recent purchase not only are the landlords very poor, but their entire margin of saving for years is mortgaged to pay for the house. There is not only no hope of their making improvements, but they will not even make needed repairs until they are compelled to do so.

It has already been said that they usually live in the meanest

[32] In only 50 per cent out of 296 cases in which the owner lived on the premises did he occupy the house alone with his family.

In 67 cases the house contained 2 apartments
In 64 cases the house contained 3 apartments
In 63 cases the house contained 4 apartments
In 52 cases the house contained 5 or more apartments

apartment in the house. Often they do not even occupy an apartment but huddle the entire family into one room in order that the house may be made to earn more of what is due on the mortgage. One house on Paulina Street containing four apartments and an attic room was owned by a Lithuanian Stockyards laborer with five children. The four apartments were all rented, however, and the family were living in the attic which is shown in the photograph.

Number of owners who have lived on the premises less than one year	30
more than one and less than two	21
more than two and less than three	22
more than three and less than four	22
more than four and less than five	27
more than five and less than six	20
more than six and less than eight	26
more than eight and less than ten	19
more than ten and less than fifteen	23
more than fifteen and less than twenty	44
more than twenty and less than twenty-five	27
more than twenty-five and less than thirty-three	12
No report	5
Total	298

In many cases where there is a store in the building, the storekeeper is the owner and the resident landlord. He may be more prosperous than the men who work in the yards but, as in most other cases of ownership, the prosperity may mean a continual sacrifice of comfort in the home. The family usually live in the rather gloomy and crowded rear rooms behind the store, in order that all of the apartments above may be rented. To save the expense of a clerk, the wife and mother usually "helps" in the store, and the result is that the house is often dirty and ill-kept.

There are stores everywhere, sometimes more than one in a building; but the corner lot is usually occupied by a saloon. Sometimes both are found on the same premises. One corner building contained a saloon, a butcher shop, a milk depot, a bakery, a stable at the rear, and apartments for nine families. The saloons are usually the property, not of the saloonkeeper, but

of the brewery which often owns other property near by. The saloonkeeper is nevertheless a person of influence, and the hall in the rear of the saloon is a social center in which weddings and other festivities occur. In the ten blocks visited there were thirty saloons, while in Whiskey Row there were forty-six.

The following table shows the number of saloons in each block and the percentage of buildings which are used for dwellings only:

	Blocks										Whiskey Row	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	West Side	East Side
Number of saloons	3	6	7	2	0	4	1	3	3	1	17	29
Percent. of buildings used as dwellings only...	26	69	21	36	95	57	92	82	78	82	57	9

There is, however, another feature of this neighborhood which is more offensive than the Stockyards and the saloons. Reference has already been made to the fact that conditions in the yards must be a demoralizing influence on the people who live near; but along with the influence of the Stockyards should be reckoned that of the great city "dump." A brief statement concerning the exact location and the extent of the "dump" as well as the way in which it is used by the city as a place of deposit for waste matter from distant wards will perhaps throw some further light upon conditions in this section of the city. In an open tract lying between Forty-seventh and Forty-second streets and near the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, & St. Louis Railroad are four places of deposit which are indicated on the accompanying map: the first, which is just north of Forty-seventh Street and west of the railroad, contains about seven acres; the second, north of Forty-seventh Street and east of the railroad, contains five acres; the third and fourth which are also east of the tracks contain respectively ten and six acres. These "dumps" are great holes from which the clay has been dug out for the neighboring brickyards. In the autumn of 1909, when our investigation was made, No. 1 (*see map*) had been filled with deposits of waste matter until it was almost level

Photograph by R. R. Earle

WOMEN LEAVING THE DUMPS

with the street; No. 2 had been nearly filled, but clay was still being removed so that the space continued to be enlarged; No. 3 which was still filled with water had been as yet only slightly used as a dumping-ground; while No. 4 was abandoned as a clay pit and was about half full of refuse.

The city, as required by the ordinance,[33] collects and disposes of all garbage, ashes, and rubbish except such as is gathered from places in which more than twenty people are fed. The ashes and rubbish are dumped, while the garbage thus collected is supposed to be treated at a reduction plant.[34] The waste from the places where more than twenty people are fed is disposed of at the expense of the establishment. The large hotels burn their garbage, but the smaller ones dump theirs mixed with ashes and miscellaneous waste on a public dump approved by the commissioner of public works.[35] Dump No. 1 seems to be the place of deposit by the city for solid waste matter from the Fifth, Twelfth, and Thirty-first wards, and such food stuffs as are found there are doubtless due to the neglect of housekeepers to separate the material collected. Dump No. 2, on the other hand, was used prior to October, 1909, not only by the city as a place of deposit of the solid waste from four wards but by private scavengers. In this way it became such a nuisance in the district near Forty-seventh Street and Western Avenue, that the city authorities were induced to transfer this private dumping to dump No. 4, which is used by private scavengers and which is also the place of deposit for the waste from the First, Second, Third, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth wards. Dump No. 3 is used by the Stockyards and, as their waste is largely burned, there is always a smouldering fire here, separated by a pool of water from the inflammable material on the city dump.

Obviously the material deposited in these dumps is of several kinds: ashes and other substances which are suitable for filling-in purposes and which can probably be put to no other use; cans,

[33] Tolman's *Municipal Code*, sec. 1099.

[34] This plant is located at Thirty-ninth and Iron streets.

[35] *Municipal Code*, sec. 1097.

bottles, old junk, wooden boxes, and other articles which have served their original purpose, which are not suitable for filling-in purposes, but which may properly be used again; old mattresses, worn garments, and articles of personal use which come from all sorts of homes in all sorts of places, which may easily convey infection, and which in the interests of public health should be destroyed; and finally waste food, which comes both from the establishments of which mention has been made and from food dealers like those on South Water Street. It should be added that articles of real value are not infrequently mixed in with the refuse by mistake.

These various kinds of waste tempt different kinds of persons to explore the dumps. On dumps Nos. 2 and 4 there are the professionals, who pay a regular stipend for the privilege of "picking"[36] and who dispose of the articles collected in the regular course of trade.[37] For the picking on dump No. 4, a payment of $15 a week is made by a man who employs five helpers. After these commercial pickers have taken their goods, the women and children, who have been watching the wagon unload and the picking take place, are allowed to hunt for the wood they want for kindling, the old mattresses which may serve on the bed at home, and the fragments of food. Of course the prospective find is most uncertain, but for both the women and children there is the excitement of exploration and the hope of a bit of silver or some other article of value, such as a lucky neighbor was rumored to have found. It is hardly necessary to say that the filthy condition of some of the household articles and the presence of decaying organic matter, make this an obviously unfit place for children.[38]

[36] An ex-alderman in the ward is said to farm out for an annual payment the right to pick on dump No. 2 to a colored man who employs these helpers.

[37] The bones go to Darling & Co.; the metals of various kinds to a junk dealer on Maxwell Street, near Canal; bottles other than those belonging to Borden and Bowman to another junk dealer. Those concerns buy back their own bottles.

[38] While this study was being prepared a policeman was placed on dump No. 2 who prevented women and children from going on that dump. From ten to twenty women and from forty to sixty children seemed a fair estimate of the number commonly found there.

Photograph by R. R. Earle

THE CITY DUMPS

A Lithuanian woman going home

No attempt is made to discuss the desirability or possible economy of other methods of waste disposal. This reference to the city dumps has been made because in presenting an account of housing conditions in this neighborhood it seemed important to call attention to this great stretch of territory, once like "the yards," a remote rural tract, now surrounded by dwellings, and yet devoted in part to the disposal of decaying organic matter. In spite of foul odor, heavy clouds of dust, and dreary ugliness, women who hope to add to their meager supply of furniture and fuel, are tempted to search here, and children who grow accustomed to these conditions find here their adventure and their play.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the purpose of this study is to set out conditions as they exist in the Stockyards district in selected groups of typical blocks. This is, however. only one section of a large inquiry and the significance of the facts presented will be discussed later in comparison with those collected for other portions of the city. No attempt has been made here to discuss theories of sanitation, new standards of city housing, model dwellings, or any one of a large number of interesting aspects of the housing problem. The aim has been to set forth a collection of facts regarding housing conditions in this one neighborhood. It has been found that in many instances people are living and sleeping in shockingly overcrowded rooms, that in many cases the rooms are dark and ill-ventilated, that there is a demoralizing lack of privacy, and that toilet accommodations are often disgracefully inadequate. Many of the conditions found are such as have been already condemned by the community and supposedly abolished. In 1901, the *Report of the City Homes Association* set forth so forcibly the need of housing reform that a new tenement ordinance was passed which it was hoped would correct many of the evils then shown to exist. Such a result could be accomplished, however, only by the provision of a large and expensive staff of intelligent inspectors, and no adequate appropriation has ever been given to the department entrusted with the enforcement of the law. It is, therefore, not an indictment of the Health Department but

of our niggardly public policy in failing to make the appropriations for adequate enforcement, that so many violations of the law are possible; that 1,459 rooms were found under 70 square feet in area, the minimum size now prescribed; that 935 rooms were found under 8½ feet high, the minimum height now prescribed; that in 372 rooms the window area was less than 10 per cent of the floor area, the standard set for new houses; that 36 windowless rooms were found, and that 81 other rooms were practically windowless, since the windows instead of communicating with the outer air merely opened into another room; that 1,616 dark and gloomy rooms were found; that in 1,119 out of 1,616 apartments, the families had no private toilet facilities; that 1,981 sleeping-rooms were crowded beyond the legal maximum which prescribes 400 cubic feet of air for every adult and 200 cubit feet for every child under twelve.

When the New York Tenement House Commission completed its work and made its report, the result was the creation of a tenement-house department, with a large staff of inspectors whose entire time is given to tenement-house work. In the year 1909, the city of New York spent $800,000 and employed 350 inspectors for the proper enforcement of its tenement-house law. In Chicago there is no separate department, and during the year 1909-10, the chief sanitary inspector had 78 inspectors and $110,000 for all inspectional purposes. The creation of a new department in Chicago may not be thought advisable, but there can be no sound reason for failing to provide our present sanitary department with a very greatly increased staff. A well-known expert has said recently that housing laws are not self-operative. "Housing evils will not vanish of their own accord. The causes which have led to them are too deep-seated to permit anything so simple." When the community conscience has been sufficiently aroused to demand changes in the content of the law, it seems little short of dishonest not to make possible its enforcement. To substitute the shadow for the substance in dealing with the problem of city housing leads quickly to criminal neglect.

THE RIVALRY OF SOCIAL GROUPS

GEORGE E. VINCENT
The University of Chicago

The materials for the psychological interpretation of individual and social phenomena have been accumulating rapidly. A mere enumeration of terms and phrases brings up a panorama of theories:[1] "Social growth," "social evolution," "the general mind," "co-operation," "coercion," "social control," "contact," "contract," "consciousness of kind," "the dialectic of personal growth," "the social self," "the looking-glass self," "the social nature of conscience," "the dialectic of social growth," "imitation, opposition, invention," "the individual an abstraction," "social consciousness," "the social mind," "the persistence of social groups," "the rôle of unconsciousness," "the cake of custom," "the folkways" and "the mores," "instinct and habit," "psychic planes," "mob-mind," "like-mindedness," "conflict and rivalry," "group struggle," "social selection," "survival value," "crisis," "adaptation," "the élite as the social brain," "making up the group mind," " the social process." To one who knows the field these ideas are familiar, many of them commonplace. At first they may seem fragmentary and detached; but they quickly arrange themselves into something like order and unity. They are seen to be parts, aspects of a general theory which has been growing increasingly illuminating.

The idea of the group as a means of interpretation is emerging more clearly. Society is too vague and abstract a concept. It is useful for symbolic purposes and for generalized description, but to have any vividness of meaning it must be translated into more

[1] My obligations to all social psychologists are so obvious that I have not attempted to refer specific points to individual men. The ideas of Bagehot, James, Baldwin, Tarde, Brinton, Ross, Cooley, Sumner, Dewey, Tufts, Thomas, McDougall, Novicow, Gumplowicz, Bryce, Ellwood, *et. al.*, will easily be recognized, as will the more general theories of Ward, Giddings, and Small.

concrete terms: nation, community, class, sect. Large social unities fall apart under examination into a multiplicity of constituent groups. Each of these step by step disintegrates until only the person remains. But this individual may be further analyzed into subordinate selves, and even into thoughts and desires. These elements, however, are quite as abstract at this extreme as society at the other. The mind harks back toward some manageable idea which keeps attention fixed upon the facts of life in common. The group concept meets this need, for the group is at once a subdivision of society and the nidus of personality. Groups get their meaning from encompassing societies; the individual gets his meaning from his groups.

The idea of the group involves three fundamental things: first, there must be a common interest, whether this be a past experience, a present crisis, or a future purpose. A memorial association lays stress upon the past; a union on strike fixes its gaze upon a present problem; the "Boston in 1915" movement looks to the future. Yet these distinctions are only the shifting of emphasis. In the genuine, persistent group all three types of common interest are to be found. In the second place, each member of a group, at least in times of crisis, has a sense of the group as such; i.e., he is able to visualize or to represent to himself in some way the group as a unity, as something set off from, or over against, other groups. In the third place, the members of the group are aware of the common interest and know that this image of the group is shared by their fellows. It is this sense of team-work which goes by the name of group consciousness.

There are many ways in which groups may be classified. Degree of complexity is a criterion by which groups may be said to be primary like the family or compound like the nation. According to the proximity of members groups may be face-to-face or comrade groups or they may be dispersed publics. Again the type of control may be made the test. From this point of view groups may be instinct-habit groups or sympathy groups or rational purpose groups. Moreover, as indicated above, groups may be thought of as backward looking or forward looking. All

these discriminations have some value. For our present purpose, however, we are chiefly interested in the life-processes common to all groups, the underlying laws which manifest themselves alike in the boys' gang, the labor union, the church, the coterie, the village, or the nation.

Conflict, competition, and rivalry are the chief causes which force human beings into groups and largely determine what goes on within them. Conflicts like wars, revolutions, riots still persist, but possibly they may be thought of as gradually yielding to competitions which are chiefly economic. Many of these strivings seem almost wholly individual but most of them on careful analysis turn out to be intimately related to group competition. A third form, rivalry, describes struggle for status, for social prestige, for the approval of inclusive publics which form the spectators for such contests. The nation is an arena of competition and rivalry.

Much of this emulation is of a concealed sort. Beneath the union services of churches there is an element, for the most part unconscious, of rivalry to secure the approval of a public which in these days demands brotherliness and good will rather than proselyting and polemics. Many public subscriptions for a common cause are based upon group rivalry or upon individual competition which is group-determined. The Rhodes scholarships are in one sense a means of furthering imperial interests. Christmas presents lavished upon children often have a bearing upon the ambition of the family to make an impression upon rival domestic groups. In the liberal policy of universities which by adding to the list of admission subjects desire to come into closer relations with the public schools, there is some trace of competition for students and popular applause. The interest which nations manifest in the Hague Tribunal is tinged with a desire to gain the good will of the international, peace-praising public. The professed eagerness of one or both parties in a labor dispute to have the differences settled by arbitration is a form of competition for the favor of the onlooking community. Thus in international relationships and in the life-process of each nation countless groups are in conflict, competition, or rivalry.

This idea of the group seeking survival, mastery, aggrandizement, prestige, in its struggles with other groups is a valuable means of interpretation. Let us survey rapidly the conditions of success as a group carries on its life of strife and emulation. In order to survive or to succeed the group must organize, cozen, discipline, and stimulate its members. Fortunately it finds human nature in a great measure fashioned for control. This human nature is itself a product of a group selection which has been going on through long ages of struggle. Instinct, habit, imitation, suggestion, all mean more when these are connected not only with individual but with group survival. Suggestion and imitation are the means by which imagery is quickly distributed to the members of a group. Human packs, hordes, and tribes which worked out this sympathetic telegraphy most effectively bested their more slowly adjusting competitors. Group control consists chiefly in the formation and dissemination of survival-serving ideas. It is by suggestion and imitation that images useful to the group are imposed upon, or insinuated into, individual consciousness. The group furnishes slides for the magic-lantern minds of its members; it supplies records for almost automatic human phonographs; music rolls for personal pianolas.

Habit and sentiment are significant as aids in the formation of permanent types of reaction, the character, standing opinion, the "mores" of a group. These lower layers of unconsciousness in persons are bearers of the relatively permanent prejudices, standards, the reflexes of the collective life. In spite of much that is fallacious, irrational, even positively harmful, the group character is on the whole a product of repeated adaptation to a conflict or rivalry situation. It takes time for such character to form. Tammany has a strongly militant character created and transmitted through decades of political strife. Proverbial philosophy, maxims, saws, superstitions, along with a mass of inconsequential, erroneous, outgrown ideas, carry many elements which have a survival and success value that is sometimes obvious but often concealed.

Collective pride or group egotism is an essential source of

strength in conflict. Every efficient group cultivates this sense of honor, importance, superiority, by many devices, of symbol, phase, and legend as well as by scorn and ridicule of rivals. The college fraternity's sublime self-esteem gives it strength in its competition for members and prestige. There is a chauvinism of "boom" towns and religious sects, as well as of nations. What pride and self-confidence are to the individual, ethnocentrism, patriotism, local loyalty are to social unities. Diffidence, humility, self-distrust, tolerance are as dangerous to militant groups as to fighting men.

Then too the group works out types of personality, hero types to be emulated, traitor types to be execrated. These personality types merge into abstract ideals and standards. "Booster" and "knocker" bring up pictures of a struggling community which must preserve its hopefulness and self-esteem at all hazards. "Statesman" and "demagogue" recall the problem of selection which every self-governing community must face. "Investigator" and "mere teacher" bring to mind the academic community torn by the conflicting claims of a double duty in its rivalry with other groups. "Defender of the faith" and "heretic" are eloquent of the church's dilemma between rigid orthodoxy and flexible accommodation to a changing order. "Bully-boy," "goody-goody," and "tattle-tale" are controlling types in the child group as it joins battle with other gangs, or holds its own against adult conventions and tyranny. Many types are mere survivals from the past, but others have obvious relation to the present needs of the competing community.

With a shifting in the conflict or rivalry crisis, types change in value or emphasis, or new types are created in adjustment to the new needs. The United States at war with Spain sought martial heroes. The economic and political ideals of personality, the captains of industry, the fascinating financiers, the party idols, were for the time retired to make way for generals and admirals, soldiers and sailors, the heroes of camp and battle-ship. The war once over, the displaced types reappeared along with others which are being created to meet new administrative, economic, and ethical problems. The college fraternity having in

the autumn used its football members to triumph over competitors brings forward for the winter campaign its dancing men and society favorites. The competing church retires its militant and disputatious leaders in an age which gives its applause to apostles of concord, fraternal feeling, and co-operation. At a given time the heroes and traitors of a group reflect its competitions and rivalries with other groups.

Struggle forces upon the group the necessity of cozening, beguiling, managing its members. The vast majority of these fall into a broad zone of mediocrity which embodies group character, and represents a general adjustment to life-conditions. From this medial area individuals vary, some in ways which aid the group in its competition, others in a fashion which imperils group success. It is the task of the group both to preserve the solidarity of the medial zone and to discriminate between the serviceable and the menacing variants. The latter must be coerced or suppressed, the former encouraged and given opportunity. In Plato's *Republic* the guardians did this work of selection which in modern groups is cared for by processes which seem only slightly conscious and purposeful.

First of all let us consider the solidarity of the wide zone of mediocrity. This majority must be kept in a state of resignation, if not one of positive contentment, i.e., there must not be too wide a gap between the actual and the hoped for. When such a contrast does exist some philosophy must supply imagery to conceal or to harmonize the disparity. To this end the group devises theories and explanations to keep its members resigned and contented, e.g., "the dignity of manual labor," "the nobility of inconspicuous service," "sacrifice of posterity," "there are no social classes in the United States" are familiar examples of philosophies which make for acquiescence and solidarity. Justice is in one sense a device for producing resignation and contentment. Justice is relative always to the competitive situation of the group. Russian justice differs from English, French, or American. There is one justice for peace and another for war. One test of justice is its service in keeping the group unified, and efficient, which means resignation or con-

tentment for the many, suppression for the dangerous, and encouragement for the capable. Contentment is a positive form of group loyalty; resignation, a passive thing. The ratio of the contented to the resigned is an index of group vitality.

The competing group in seeking to insure acquiescence and loyalty elaborates a protective philosophy by which it creates within its members the belief that their lot is much to be preferred to that of other comradeships and associations. Western Americans take satisfaction in living in a free, progressive, hospitable way in "God's Country." They try not to be pharisaical about the narrowness of the East, but they achieve a sincere scorn for the hide-bound conventions of an effete society. Easterners in turn count themselves fortunate in having a highly developed civilization, and they usually attain real pity for those who seem to live upon a psychic if not a geographic frontier. The middle class have a philosophy with which they protect themselves against the insidious suggestions that come from the life of the conspicuous rich. These, on the other hand, half suspecting that simplicity and domesticity may have some virtue, speak superciliously of middle-class smugness and the bourgeois "home." The less prosperous of the professional classes are prone to lay a good deal of stress upon their intellectual resources as compared with the presumptive spiritual proverty of the affluent. Country folk encourage themselves by asserting their fundamental value to society, and by extolling their own simple straightforward virtues, which present so marked a contrast to the devious machinations of city-dwellers. These sophisticated persons in turn stifle the feeling that country life must have some advantages beneath a ridicule of "jays" and "hayseeds," and images of isolation, monotony, and uncouth rusticity. Booker Washington's reiterated assertion that if he were to be born again he would choose to be a negro because the negro race is the only one which has a great problem contains a suggestion of this protective philosophy. This tendency of a group to fortify itself by a satisfying theory of its lot is obviously related to group egotism and is immediately connected with group rivalry.

The competing group derides many a dissenter into conformity. This derision may be spontaneous, or reflective and concerted. The loud guffaw which greets one who varies in dress or speech or idea may come instantly or there may be a planned and co-operative ridicule systematically applied to the recalcitrant. Derision is one of the most effective devices by which the group sifts and tests the variants. Few are able to withstand this form of suggestion. It requires a sense of personal pride, a consciousness of support from another group, a vivid imagining of future approval to enable one to resist the compelling force of choral ridicule.

Upon the few who do hold out the group directs its batteries of epithet. Epithets are general or specific, according as they refer to large inclusive publics or to small specialized groups. Epithets denote valued or despised types of personality and conduct which are imbedded in the mores and accepted as norms of judgment. "Un-American," "undemocratic" are familiar examples of the appeal through epithet. Epithets like the standards to which they refer are in the main functionally connected with the welfare and success of the competing group. By the appeal through epithet to norms of conduct, individuals are coerced into conformity and team play. In primitive groups and among children, the negative epithets are usually more effective than the positive. Fear of being a traitor or a "quitter" is a surer motive than the desire to be a hero or to "die game."

Upon the small number of rebels who turn a deaf ear to epithets, ostracism is brought to bear. This may vary from the "cold shoulder" to the complete "boycott." Losing the friendship and approval of comrades, being cut off from social sympathy, is a familiar form of group pressure. Ridicule and derision are a kind of evanescent ostracism, a temporary exclusion from the comradeship. There are many degrees in the lowering of the social temperature: coolness, formality of intercourse, averted looks, "cutting dead," "sending to Coventry" form a progressive series. Economic pressure is more and more a resort of modern groups. Loss of employment, trade, or professional practice brings many a rebel to time. All coercion obviously increases as

the group is hard pressed in its conflicts, competitions, and rivalries.

These crises and conflicts of a competing group present problems which must be solved—problems of organization, of inventions of many kinds, of new ideas and philosophies, of methods of adjustment. The group must discover among its members the problem-solvers. These come from the margin of useful variants which it is an important task of the group to find and select. A "drag-net" for the capable and resourceful must be thrown out. Moreover leaders or problem-solvers when found must be given authority and prestige by means of which their proposals can be distributed and made effective within the group. Then, too, the group must discover the stimuli, the economic rewards, the social esteem, the sense of power, the satisfaction of achievement, etc., which will keep the problem-solvers at work for the group as it seeks victory and prosperity. Leaders, however, are not to be thought of as passive. Most of them, by their magnetism, self-confidence, personal ascendency, offer themselves for selection.

The large public group more obviously, the small comrade group, less clearly may be said to "make up its mind," i.e., readjust its standing opinion or mores through the modification of its current or plastic opinion. The conditions of competition or rivalry upset an equilibrium of habit and custom and a process of problem-solving ensues. A typhoid epidemic forces the village to protect itself against the competition of a more healthful rival. The resourceful labor union facing a corporation which offers profit-sharing and retiring allowances must formulate a protective theory and practice. A society clique too closely imitated by a lower stratum must regain its distinction and supremacy. A nation must be constantly alert to adjust itself to the changing conditions of international trade and to the war equipment and training of its rivals. The process of readjustment is modified by the nature of the group and its type of organization. In a self-directing group several stages in "making up the group mind" are distinguishable. Spontaneous opinions rise in personal minds, a period of talk sifts the many proposals, a few are

formulated, these gain adherents, a stage of discussion and proselyting follows, two or three leading issues emerge, selection takes place by ballot or by the gradual victory of one formulation, or by a compromise which fuses two or more proposals. The rapidity of this procedure depends upon the insistence of the emergency. In a sharp crisis the decision must often be made by a single leader who is vested with autocratic power.

But all this assumes too perfect a process. A group may suffer from a collective insanity. It may fail to make up its mind efficiently. Its character may be disorganized and unstable; it may have too little knowledge; it may have inaccurate information; it may be unable to use its knowledge successfully; it may select incapable or self-seeking leaders; it may err in its valuation of men and ideas; it may be swept away by mob mania; it may be the victim of a fixed idea; it may cling to outgrown traditions and standards; it may be misled by fallacious reasoning or by merely verbal suggestion. In competition and rivalry such blunders spell weakness or disaster. Again it may be pointed out that suggestion, imitation, invention, prestige, the élite, all get their proper setting from the concept of the group adjusting itself effectively or failing to meet the problems and crises involved in competition and rivalry.

The methods of group competition and rivalry afford an instructive field for study. Subtle and indirect devices tend to supplant the more open forms of struggle. Thus a group may rob a rival of its leaders by winning them over to its own service. The capitalistic groups are constantly attracting and absorbing able men of the labor movement. To weaken the individuality of an opponent group is an effective measure. Many groups have lost a good deal of their distinctive position by yielding little by little under the pressure of rivalry the things for which they once stood steadfastly. Sowing discord in a competing group is an insidious form of attack not unknown in the fields of labor disputes and political conflict. To praise the traitors in a rival group is a common device. The employing class extol the "scab" as a hero who stands for liberty and human rights. The Democrats make much of "insurgents" as brave men who rebel

against party tyranny. A group may sometimes be ridiculed successfully, although this often has the effect of consolidating the derided comrades. Assuming a patronizing or tolerant attitude toward a competing group implies a sense of power and superiority which by suggestion has a marked effect. The leisure class often baffles in this way the ambitious social climbers. The appeal to the standards of the large encompassing public is the chief resort. Almost all the methods resolve themselves into a more or less direct reference to the mores and current opinions of the onlooking many. Thus groups seek to put their rivals in the wrong, to show that they are "unprogressive" or "undemocratic," or "socialistic," or "class-conscious," or "predatory" or something else which the community or nation heartily despises.

The theory of group rivalry throws light upon the individual. The person has as many selves as there are groups to which he belongs. He is simple or complex as his groups are few and harmonious or many and conflicting. What skilful management is required to keep business and moral selves from looking each other in the eye, to prevent scientific and theological selves from falling into discussion! Most men of many groups learn like tactful hosts to invite at a given time only congenial companies of selves. A few brave souls resolve to set their house in order and to entertain only such selves as can live together with good will and mutual respect. With these earnest folk their groups have to reckon. The conflicts of conscience are group conflicts. Worldly amusements raise rivalries of strict family or church groups which challenge the claims of "society"; modern doubt reflects the antagonism of early training and later education; self-sacrifice is subordination of a smaller group self to a larger. Maeterlinck hesitating between renouncing his Belgian citizenship to accept a seat in the French Academy offers a contemporary instance. Can he give his country greater prestige by giving up his citizenship or by retaining it and thus foregoing an honor which would bring glory to Belgium? The reformer and martyr sacrifice present popularity or even life itself for the sake of a future approval, or supported by the sense of a heavenly host which gives aid and comfort.

The individual's ambitions are largely determined by the needs of his dominant groups which control his imagery and direct the play of his energies. In a given era the genius and talent of a group will be drafted, beguiled, and bribed into these forms of activity most useful to the community.[1] Of such guidance the élite themselves may be unaware, like thoughtless children lured by skilful parents into serviceable play or work. In Colonial days there was need of the Puritan ministry into which the ablest men were drafted; Athens sent out a "drag-net" for artists as well as for statesmen and generals; Sparta, holding in check a slave population, demanded drill-masters and military experts; modern America offers prizes for engineers, and for leadership to higher levels of efficiency in world competition. Most seemingly man-to-man rivalry, therefore, when it rises above the plane of semi-animal struggle for subsistence becomes, with the development of civilization, increasingly subject to group control. It is either a competition within the group for its prizes, which in general have a survival or success value; or it is a clash between representatives of conflicting groups. The apparently individual competition among the personnel of a great industry is, looked at group-wise, a means of increasing the efficiency of the whole business in the struggle with its rivals. Many personal rivalries revolve themselves into encounters between families or cliques or parties which are seeking influence or prestige.

Many different social phenomena may be profitably interpreted by the theory of group rivalry. Fashion, for example, is in one aspect a form of group competition for distinction. The leisure class seeks to set itself off from the middle class which is eagerly appropriating the symbols of exclusiveness. Much of the rivalry between leaders of the mode is of unconscious service to the group in its struggle to maintain a differ-

[1] It is not to be understood that in the early stages of group formation the privileges unconsciously allowed to egoistic men are purposeful stimuli applied by the group. There are undoubtedly initial periods before groups have been actually formed when group control is almost lacking. So soon, however, as common interest, sense of the group, and awareness of team-work appear, the individual becomes increasingly subject to collective guidance.

entiating prestige. Again fashion is a "drag-net" for ability. It aids the group in its search for capable and inventive individuals. A fashion or fad spreads through a national group; scores of thousands take up kodaking or motoring; hundreds are thus discovered who contribute new elements to the art of photography and to mechanical skill. Fashion is a wasteful method, but so for that matter is the spawning of fish. Fashion also plays a part in preserving the uniformity and solidarity of the group by supplying common interests, stereotyped phrases, topics of talk, etc. From another point of view fashion with its shifting of attention protects a community against fixed obsessions or a collective monomania which may impair the poise, resourcefulness, and adjustability of the rivalry group.

Mob mind, although as a rule a menace to group sanity, has at times and to a degree a functional value to the competing group. This contagion of suggestion may put the group in the power of an alert and resourceful problem-solver and thus make possible a prompt and effective adjustment. Then too the crowd spirit may contribute a temporary sense of group unity which sometimes leaves a trace in the mores or character of the group.

Tolerance is a sign that once vital issues within the group are losing their significance, or that the group feels secure, or that it is slowly, even unconsciously, merging into a wider grouping. Theological liberality affords a case in point. In the earlier days of sectarian struggle tolerance was a danger both to group loyalty and to the militant spirit. Cynicism for other reasons is also a menace. It means loss of faith in the collective ego, in the traditions, shibboleths, symbols, and destiny of the group. Fighting groups cannot be tolerant; nor can they harbor cynics. Tolerance and cynicism are at once causes and results of group decay. They portend dissolution or they foreshadow new groupings for struggle over other issues on another plane. Evangelical churches are drawing together with mutual tolerance to present a united front against modern skepticism and cynicism which are directed against the older faiths and moralities.

The social nature and function of ridicule deserve greater

attention than they have received from the sociologists. Sully's essay on *Laughter* shows the possibilities in this field. Ridicule both as a means of discipline within the group and as a weapon of attack upon other groups has been already described. A study of jests as functionally connected with both these processes would prove fruitful. For example, the perennial mother-in-law stories must have some bearing upon the maintenance of family solidarity. They help to keep the peace by contra-suggestion. Ridicule also tends to spread the "drag-net" by the swift contagion of a popular jest. Laughter affords a relief from undue strain; it prevents the group from taking itself too seriously at all times; it mollifies group antagonism and helps to keep it on a higher plane.

Education, free-speech, a free press, freedom of teaching, all derive meaning from the group-rivalry hypothesis. Education helps to fix group character as well as to extend the "drag-net" for ability. The Scottish tradition which sees to it that the bright boy in the remotest countryside gets through to Edinburgh shows its result wherever trained abilities are in demand. Freedom of speech and press is a condition of the sifting and selection which enter into making up the group mind. It is these apparently blind processes which do so crudely what Plato's wise guardians did so efficiently and unerringly: select the ablest, train them for service, put them in authority, expurgate literature, censor the drama, decide what opinions shall prevail. Yet beneath all the groping and confusion, all the fallacies and irrelevancies, there runs a current of aim and purpose, a striving of the group to hold together and to make its way against other groups.

Such phrases as "the struggle of ideas," "logical duels," "the survival of truth" need the more concrete interpretation which group rivalry supplies. As a matter of fact ideas have no power to fight except in so far as they serve the needs of rival persons and groups. Communities are often seeking for the "right word" i.e., the phrase or formulation which will solve a problem and supply a serviceable working theory. Persons within the group compete for the honor of saying this right word, whether it

be "sovereignty of the people," or "Christian Socialism," or "inter-dependence," or "the white man's burden." Again groups in competition or rivalry struggle for the supremacy of a theory, a language, or a literature. Thus not Polish and German speech but Polish and German groups are in conflict in the Prussian Provinces.

The subjective side of group rivalry offers an important study. The reflection of the process of control in personal consciousness is full of interest. A good deal has been done in this field, especially in an analysis of the sense of the self and the meaning of the *I*. The consciousness of isolation in the case of ostracism has been picturesquely described by James. But the subjective effect of ridicule, of epithet, of suggestion, of personal ascendency, of fashion, of mob excitement deserve more careful attention than they have yet received. The use of all these devices by the group for its own purposes affords at least one clue to the study. The means by which the rebellious variant protects himself against the coercion of his comrades have been already suggested in the description of ridicule and epithet. These protective methods resolve themselves into setting one group against another in the mind of the derided or stigmatized individual.

A national group is to be thought of as an inclusive unity with a fundamental character upon the basis of which a multitude of groups compete with and rival each other. It is the task of the nation to control and to utilize this group struggle, to keep it on as high a plane as possible, to turn it to the common account. Government gets its chief meaning from the rivalry of groups to grasp political power in their own interests. Aristocracy and Democracy may be interpreted in terms of group antagonism, the specialized few versus the undifferentiated many. The ideal merges the two elements of efficiency and solidarity in one larger group within which mutual confidence and emulation take the place of conflict. Just as persons must be disciplined into serving their groups, groups must be subordinated to the welfare of the nation. It is in conflict or competition with other nations that a country becomes a vivid

unity to the members of constituent groups. It is rivalry which brings out the sense of team work, the social consciousness.

Among objections which may be raised to the theory outlined in this paper, four may be anticipated: (1) The material is not new; the topics have been often treated, many of them exhaustively; (2) the conflict idea is overemphasized; the tendencies are toward widening unity; (3) the group is personified in an unwarrantable way; (4) the hypothesis does not account for all the facts of social life. To these objections it may be replied: (1) the only claim to novelty lies in the organization of familiar ideas; (2) the larger groupings are recognized, but within these rivalry continues to play a determining part; (3) the personification is largely a time-saving device for which precedents might be cited; (4) the theory lays no claim to complete explanation; it is offered as one of many ways of looking at human life. All that is asserted is this: Whenever a man's actions, a social standard, or collective conduct are to be studied it will be found worth while to ask: To what groups does this man belong? At what are these groups aiming? What purpose does this act, ideal, epithet, derision serve in helping a group to carry on its competitive struggle?

MUNICIPAL REVIEW 1909–1910

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Philadelphia, Pa.

The social phases of the municipal question are each year receiving an ever-increasing amount of attention, in many places to the exclusion of the political and administrative phases. This tendency is due in no small part to the changing standards of efficiency and perspective. The medical officer of the English Local Government Board, Dr. Arthur Newman, has pointed out that a careful study of infant mortality makes it clear that it is greater under urban life. Moreover, urban life is more destructive under ordinary circumstances for children than for adults. In the counties of Glamorgan, Durham, Lancashire, the West Riding, and Staffordshire, England, the high infant mortality, and in the counties of Oxford, Hereford, Berkshire, and Dorset, the low infantile mortality, are ascribable, in Dr. Newman's judgment, chiefly to the fact that in the former the population lives in houses which are closely massed to a preponderant extent in large villages, or in small or large towns; while in the latter the houses are largely scattered in lonely homesteads, hamlets, and small villages. It is not that any special virtue appertains to the sanitary authorities of the rural counties; it is rather that the sanitary authorities of the counties having high infant mortality have not realized that the risks of urbanization can only be obviated by strenuous and continued effort on their part.

That they can be overcome, that there is no necessary association between dense massing of population on a small horizontal area and a high infant mortality, is shown by the exceptional experience of the Peabody Buildings. These dwellings are occupied by families whose average earnings are under 22 shillings a week. They have eight times as many persons to the acre as London as a whole, and yet in the years from 1905 to

1909 the infant mortality in them was 23 per cent lower than that of London. Substantially the same conclusion may be drawn from American experience.

In an address before the Society of Chicago's Native Sons and Daughters, Chief Sanitary Inspector Ball said that the Chicago of the '70's had a death rate of 24 to the thousand, but the Chicago of 1909 has seen this cut to 14 per thousand. The average age of those who died when the "native sons and daughters" were children was 14 years, but the average age of those who die today is 33. It would be hard, indeed, to exaggerate the gain.

But Chicago has tasks of which the Chicagoans of a former generation knew but little. As the *Evening Post* pointed out: The city has not cut the mortality down without a great effort, and to keep it down is becoming not easier but harder. It takes more vigilance, more scientific research, more administrative machinery. The city is crowded in very closely and the conditions in many wards are pretty serious. "There are several tasks," the *Post* said, "pressing upon the health department, and Mr. Ball's remark that Chicago could no longer maintain the health-fight of a city of the first class on the budget of a city of the second or third class was exactly true. The city council cannot afford to scale down appropriations that mean health and an increased longevity.

Trinity Corporation in New York City has made a comprehensive study of its New York tenements, and has adopted a policy which will serve not only to correct the difficulties and evils that have grown up in past years, but is a striking example of effective dealing with the important question of housing.

Our growing foreign population constitutes another factor in the development of interest in the social phases of the municipal problem. Some idea of the importance of this particular aspect may be gathered from the statement that 37 per cent of the population of New York, 47 per cent of Fall River, Mass., 45 per cent of Lawrence, Mass., 42.6 per cent of Manchester, N.H., 46.4 per cent of Passaic, N.J., and 44.4 per cent of Woonsocket, R.I., to mention only a few typical cases, are foreign

born. Moreover organizations like the bureau of municipal research, the federation of women's clubs, and the educational associations are giving thought and attention to social questions to a degree that is making for a wider appreciation of the need for more attention to these questions. James P. Heaton in discussing the social aspect of city economy in *The Survey* expresses himself as follows:

> That the city government plays the most important part in the plans for social betterment may be little thought of by most people, but it is increasingly recognized by various organizations interested in special phases of social work. Each year their directing officials scrutinize most carefully the municipal activities, in so far as these affect their particular fields.

To illustrate one phase of this growth we may quote one further paragraph from Mr. Heaton's plea for additional appropriations:

> The Department of Health has asked for a little over $4,000,000 or an increase of over $1,300,000. Of this $316,000 is to enable the department to get 266 additional nurses and 48 medical inspectors so that they can examine the children in all free schools and care for newly born babies and their mothers. The Bureau of Child Hygiene has demonstrated its value and its work is being watched with approval all over the country. The other large increases requested are $115,000 for the division of contagious diseases, for new inspectors; $488,000 for the division of hospitals, and $96,000 for the tuberculosis sanatorium at Otisville. This last is particularly needed to follow up the good work in stamping out tuberculosis to which the department has devoted so much attention this past year. Minor increases that are very desirable are $51,000 for improved milk inspection and $12,000 for the Bureau of Records which is in need of a thorough reorganization. None of these needs can be adequately met if an increase is not granted the Health Department. The department requires generous funds to perfect further the system of visiting consumptives monthly in their tenement homes, of inspecting the patients from the hospital to homes where conditions are not proper for their reception. The department would also like to open milk stations to take the place of those closed by Mr. Straus.

In reporting on the local developments in his city, the Secretary of the Syracuse Chamber said that if he were to make any comment upon the municipal changes in his city within recent years, he would inevitably be attracted to the increase of the functions which the municipal government in his city was being called upon to perform. The extension of the work of the

various departments into which our city government is divided is such as to attract attention. It brings the people closely in touch with their government and is a step toward securing that interest in municipal affairs among the voters and residents of the town without which municipal government will not improve however perfect may be its framework. When municipal government performed for its citizens comparatively few functions, and these having little to do with the ordinary run of people, it was not to be expected that the "plain voter" would give time, attention, and thought to the selection of men to fill public offices.

Today, however, municipal government in this city supplies water to the citizen; educates his children with kindergarten, primary, and high schools; it removes his garbage; cleans his streets; quarantines his home with diseases with which it formerly had nothing to do; it examines his children and insists that they shall be in proper physical condition before it admits them to school; it compels him to submit his building plans, his plans for plumbing, his plans for electrical lighting for its approval; it insists upon sanitary keeping of his premises; it furnishes parks and children's playgrounds and provides concerts for his amusement and it removes him from his family if he is tubercular; and in a thousand and one ways it makes itself felt in the lives of each of the inhabitants of the city. It cannot then but be expected that the municipal government will be a vital matter to each of the voters and that these voters will take an interest in it which they did not feel when its functions were less extended.

There has been no liquor legislation of striking importance during the past year, but there has been a thoughtful discussion of the effect of state, county, and local option. To illustrate the problems and results involved in the enforcement of county option the following experience of a leading mid-Ohio town is cited:[1]

The city has, for a good many years, been practically in the political control of the liquor interests who have chosen a Republican or Democrat mayor as best suited their purposes. The saloon-keepers have always violated the laws against selling to drunkards and to minors and on Sunday and any other laws that they wished to violate, and in return they expected the mayor to graft off them, in which expectation they were rarely disappointed.

Nearly three years ago the Democratic candidate for mayor openly favored closing the saloons on Sundays, driving out the gamblers, and eliminating wine rooms.

[1] The information is supplied by the editor of the leading responsible paper.

The Republican candidate was supported by the saloon element and was elected by injecting the Sunday base ball issue into the campaign.

Everything then ran wide open, with the enforcement of no liquor laws, until almost two years ago when a county option election was brought on. For a few weeks before this election the saloons closed on Sundays and said they had closed their wine-rooms.

The county voted the saloons out. The city and county officials were all Republicans and the Republican organization was in close sympathy with the liquor organization. There was a concerted movement to ignore the liquor laws and no effort was made for their enforcement, except by a body of citizens styling themselves the Civic League.

With the county officials asleep and the city officials in league with the law violators and trying to make a joke of the liquor statutes, the arrests for drunkenness under the first year of no legalized saloons decreased fifty-two per cent from the previous year.

Some of the leading members of the Civic League have had their homes and factories dynamited, assaults have been made on the streets upon citizens interested in the law enforcement, and many threats have been made by the liquor interests, but the work goes on regardless of the mayor and police. Violators of the liquor laws are taken before the mayor of a village in the country and there fined. Charges have been filed with the Governor of the state against the mayor of this city for non-enforcement of law and his trial will soon be held.

It has been stated, and it is probably true, that the saloon element is not violating the laws to nearly so great an extent as when the saloons were legalized. They have had their own way for so long that any restraint is burdensome and the direct encouragement given to them by the city officials has made conditions dangerous to life and property.

Atlanta occupies a somewhat unique position on the prohibition question. Georgia is a *prohibition* state, and there can be no denial that Atlanta is enforcing the state prohibition law a great deal better than any other city in the South. "Near beer" and similar soft drinks followed in the wake of the prohibition law, but so careful were Atlanta officials to see that the general law was not violated, that recently the city council passed a law specifying that no soft drink of any kind should contain so much as four per cent of alcohol. The state law does not make a provision about the quantity of alcohol in soft drinks, but the amount arrived at in the minds of Atlanta's lawmakers was reached following a decision of the state Court of Appeals, in a recent case

in which it stated that that court would admit a drink intoxicating that contained as much as four per cent of alcohol.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois in the case of *United States of America, appellant,* v. *Lewis Hrasky, appellee,* is of far-reaching importance and deserves mention in this connection. The court in this case held that a person who has knowingly and habitually violated the Sunday closing law of the state had not behaved "as a man of good moral character" and as one who was "well disposed to the good order of the people." Consequently the appellee, who it was conceded had followed the general practice of saloon-keepers in East St. Louis, and had persistently sold liquor on Sunday contrary to the law, was held to be an undesirable citizen and as such not entitled to be naturalized. The court in its opinion declared:

> It is essential to the safety and perpetuity of government that laws should be observed and enforced until repealed. The decision as to the wisdom of the Sunday closing statute rests with the legislature and not with the courts. As long as it is the law it should be observed. The courts should not be, and as a rule are not charged with executive or legislative functions, but they are charged with the responsibility of deciding, when the question is properly presented, that a law is in force even if it is not observed by all citizens or enforced by all public authorities.

In police matters the complete exoneration by the Cleveland Civil Service Commission of Chief of Police Fred Kohler on every accusation made against him is deserving of mention in view of the prominence which Chief Kohler has attained by reason of his efficient administration of his department and the introduction of some radical ideas in regard to arrests. Following his reinstatement Chief Kohler once more put in practice his "golden rule," declaring to his force that bygones were bygones, that he cherished no enmity against detectives who testified against him, and that each man's job was secure so long as he delivered the goods. Another interesting event in police matters during the year was Mayor Gaynor's letter to his new commissioner of police, in which he outlined plans and policies that should be subserved in the management and control of a great metropolitan police force. It constitutes a sub-

stantial addition to police literature, and helps to clarify the situation not only in New York but elsewhere. Even though one may not agree with all of his conclusions, it is the sincere effort of an honest man to state clearly and effectively the principles which should be followed in administering the police force and executing the great mass of sumptuary laws which have found their way into the statute books of the city and state.

A movement to secure home rule in police matters in Missouri cities is making satisfactory progress.

The subject of control of public-service corporations and the valuation of their property is receiving attention at the hands not only of economists, but of city officials and municipal students generally. A number of important reports on various phases of the question have been published during the year, as well as a variety of significant magazine articles. In addition Dr. Delos F. Wilcox is putting through the press a book on municipal franchises embodying his experience and studies as an expert connected with the Public Utilities Commission No. 1 of New York, and his long years of study of this question.

A significant development of the past year in connection with franchises was the institution of a suit in March last by the receiver of the New York City Railway Company to recover from the Metropolitan Securities Company directors the sum of $2,797,200 lost from the City Railways treasury between 1902 and 1904 by the discount of its ten-year notes at 70 and their early redemption at par. The same directors also have been compelled to pay back other large sums of money, the exact amount of which has not been publicly disclosed, in settlement of their methods of "high finance." That exploits in "high finance" among public-service corporations were not confined to the metropolis but have been widespread and reached into the affairs of many of the corporations in smaller communities was shown in the investigation conducted by the New York Public Service Commission, No. 2. As a result of Governor Hughes's far-reaching policy the franchise problem in New York municipalities is being placed upon a higher and more substantial plane. Mr. Kennedy, the secretary of the commission, in his review of

the work of the commission, has declared that the law is now firmly intrenched and among the solidest of the statutes of the state.

> Generally speaking, the opinion of the people of the state without any considerable number of exceptions, and of the corporation managers is that the great powers of the statute have been wisely administered by the commission. There can be no reason why each succeeding year will not add to the usefulness of the work which can be accomplished under the law, and great benefit accrue alike to the corporations and to the public which they serve. . . . . The provision of capitalization had had but one effect, that of enforcing sound and honorable principles in corporate management. It is the fact, repeatedly testified to before the commissions, that securities authorized by commissions command a preimum from the bond houses and investors.

Cleveland's street railway settlement went into effect about March 1 last. Since then the wages of the men have been increased in the judgment of some almost abnormally, making them higher than in any of the large cities within 300 miles of Cleveland. The three-cent fare with one cent for transfer has thus far stood the strain. In the opinion of those who have followed the situation carefully the most serious danger facing the continuance of this low fare arises from the fact that although the settlement provided five cents per car mile for maintenance and depreciation, which is more than is expended by any street railway in the United States, with possibly two or three exceptions, the company has hitherto kept the road in a somewhat run-down condition, and will endeavor to have arbitration under the lease for the raising of the rate per car mile in order to improve the road out of the maintenance fund, as it claims the franchise permits. If this is done fares will probably have to be raised somewhat for a year or two.

The Minneapolis gas situation has been cleaned up satisfactorily to the interests of the public, and Kansas City has defeated a proposal to extend its street railway franchises for an undue time. Denver seems to be in the way of settling its long-pending water question. At a regular city election held May 17, the offered franchise of the Denver Union Water Company was defeated by about 5,000 majority. At the same

election an amendment to the charter of the city was adopted by a majority something over 2,000. This provided that three persons therein named should constitute a public utilities commission for the term of two, four, and six years respectively, and that it should be their duty to offer the water company $7,000,000 in bonds of the city as a compromise, for this is estimated to be much in excess of the real value of the plant, some of which is now over 20 years old; and if this offer should not be accepted, then to proceed to construct a new plant, and for that purpose, or in the event of the acceptance of the offered price, the question should be submitted to the people of voting $8,000,000 in bonds at a special election to be held on the first Tuesday in September. The company refused to offer $7,000,000 in bonds, and is negotiating with the commission for a further settlement.

In San Francisco what is known as the Geary Street bond issue carried by a vote of 31,185 for to 11,694 against the proposition. This will enable the city to operate a trunk line of considerable importance. Public opinion was somewhat divided over the proposition, but the majority no doubt voted for the bonds, not because they were primarily in favor of municipal operations, but because they were so much irritated against the poor service given by the United Railroads, which operates most of the lines in the city. As usually happens in such cases, the whole matter has been thrown into the courts through an effort by one of the parties operating the present road to enjoin the city from selling the bonds as authorized.

Los Angeles has made some interesting contributions to franchise matters, and through its recently appointed Board of Public Utilities has done some effective work in settling long-standing local difficulties and in securing some favorable court decisions. Its first annual report represents a very useful year of service.

Graft charges during the year have not diminished, but on the contrary, they seem to have increased, but unlike previous occasions, they have been followed by indictments, proofs, and convictions. To illustrate: the finances of Middlesex

County, Mass., in which the city of Cambridge is located, are having a much-needed overhauling. The investigation of them has developed some very interesting facts. Here are several: $243 as paid for a cow, $147.10 for a range (the salesman of the Cambridge Gas Company, when asked what sort of a range could be had for that amount, asked if it was to be gold-plated), $23.73 for hanging pictures in the jail, $614.32 for a private bathroom for a woman prisoner, $2,073 for unspecified extras. One of the principal assessors of the city has been tried and convicted on various counts of larceny, his prosecution growing out of the complaints preferred and prosecuted by the Tax Payers' Association of Cambridge.

Lawrence, Mass., enjoys the unpleasant notoriety of having its mayor sentenced to three years in the penitentiary, convicted of conspiracy to bribe other city officials. Three other officials convicted at the same time were given various terms in prison.

Mayor Gaynor has inflexibly set himself against graft, large and small. Many of his most important reforms have been in the direction, not so much in the way of exposing graft as in eliminating the sources of it. In this way he has effected a saving of large sums to the city, and introduced a new tone into public service. Economy and efficiency have certainly been to the forefront under his administration. As illustrating the care with which he has watched such matters may be cited the letter he wrote to the Commissioner of Corrections, in which he said:

> The comptroller calls my attention to a bill against your department dated March 25, for one dozen, one and one-half-inch valve wheels, at $1.50 each, total $18. He has sent out in the market and is able to buy them freely at six cents apiece.
>
> You will please forthwith put on trial the purchasing agent, J. C. Long, and the prison warden, Peter A. Mallon, who certified to the correctness of the order and the bill, and dismiss them from the department summarily unless you can bring to me some good reason to the contrary.
>
> The thing seems to be very scandalous and I am not able to perceive the slightest excuse for it.
>
> Anyone looking at the little iron wheel about four inches in diameter would know that it could not cost $1.50. Meanwhile *I shall expect you*

to look over your entire department and see if such things are not occurring everywhere. Such miserable thievery has to be got rid of in some way.

Pittsburgh's shame and that of Illinois have been widely recounted. There is this striking difference, however, between the two cases: Pittsburgh has been sending its grafters to jail, while Chicago and Illinois have been acquitting them. Possibly the reason for this difference may be scented in the conviction of two men before the Cook County Grand Jury. One was a juror in the second trial of Lee O'Neill Brown on the charge of buying a vote for Lorimer for senator. The other was the man who procured the corruption of the juror. Their stories revealed how they had been paid $250, $125 each, by one of the defendant's trio of lawyers, in return for the juror's vote to acquit the defendant.

San Francisco has so long been the center of graft charges, graft crusades, and graft prosecution that former Mayor Taylor of that city was fully justified in asking a committee of public-spirited men to investigate the situation which had given rise to the series of criminal prosecutions which have been known in current literature as "the graft prosecution."

The mayor called together a leading lawyer, a prominent business man, one of the foremost Presbyterian clergymen in the state, William Kent, whose work in Chicago is still remembered with gratitude, the dean of one of the medical colleges, a conservative labor leader, and a Roman Catholic priest. Such a committee, as the *California Weekly* pointed out, was securely above any suspicion of wilful misstatement, hasty judgment, or the charge of being disgruntled or irresponsible agitators. Their stake in the community was too large for these things. The careful and thorough report which this committee presented is sure to attract widespread attention, not only local, but general, as its recommendations are of a perfect and searching character. Perhaps its most striking recommendation was to the effect that a law should be enacted making it a crime for any newspaper to publish as news

any matters for which compensation is directly or indirectly paid, unless the fact that such compensation has been paid or agreed to be paid is

indicated by some plainly distinguishing mark next the news so printed. The jury or judge should be given liberal power of inferring complicity from considerations indirectly given. A person paying such compensation should be permitted to recover the consideration given by him, and immunity granted him, if he discloses the crime. A part of the punishment should consist in forbidding the publication of the paper for a period fixed by the judge. [It also urged that] laws should be enacted for the cancellation of franchises procured by fraud or crime of the owners of the franchises, or of their predecessors in interest. These laws should be of a civil nature, cognizable in a court of equity, so that the extreme technicality of our criminal procedure will not embarrass their enforcement. The mayor and the district attorney, each on his own motion, should have the right to initiate such proceedings in the name of the municipality upon which the fraud has been committed. Their power should be concurrent with that of the state to take similar action in quo warranto proceedings.

It was pointed out that the trial of Mr. Calhoun had disclosed that a considerable number of citizens who, when examined under oath as to their qualifications for jury service, complacently declared that they would not convict a man for bribery however convincing the facts, if, since his crime, he had successfully broken a strike which was threatening his investments. As the committee trenchantly points out, a system of public education which produces such men holding such views must be radically defective in both its ethical and political teaching. It declared,

It is believed that no child should be permitted to leave the grammar school until he has had thoroughly instilled into him a strong sense of his obligation to the state to set aside all prejudice or private interest and act as juryman in any case in which he may be summoned. He should be taught that this obligation is sacred, and that its performance is the highest kind of public service, outranking the mere physical courage and devotion of a soldier.

Among the other recommendations of the San Francisco commission is one to the effect that non-partisan municipal elections should be established, that there should be a separate tribunal of a personal character for the judicial determination of the rates and charges of municipal utilities, for the cancelation of franchises procured by fraud, and that the law of evidence should be so changed as to compel corporations to give evidence against themselves.

A new spirit is taking hold in American cities. This has been demonstrated in more than one direction during the past year, not alone in the defeat of men who were responsible for corrupt conditions; not alone in the conviction of those who had participated in graft, but in a sounder public sentiment, a sounder tone in public life. There has been an encouraging multiplication of the agencies working in this direction. The bureaus of municipal research have been in the forefront in the way of securing and publishing accurate knowledge concerning the situation. They are bringing about a healthful change of attitude in the treatment of these questions. Under the old régime denunciation was the chief stock in trade. The one who could hurl the greatest number of opprobrious epithets at a wrongdoer or at an opponent was regarded as the most sincere and successful reformer. All this is changing. In its place we find the careful investigation of facts, the equally careful formulation of charges, and their persistent pressing before the proper tribunals, leaving to the public to apply their own designation to the facts after they are presented to them in a clear-cut, impartial, effective way, by those who know what they are talking about.

In the creation of sound public sentiment another factor is to be found in the increasing effectiveness of the literature put out by civic bodies. The day of the formal, poorly printed report or pamphlet is passing rapidly. Now the highest sort of skill is exercised in so placing the issues before the people that they can easily inform themselves about them. The reports of civic and business bodies are to an increasing degree illustrations of the highest skill in the presentation of facts. Moreover the movement has been greatly assisted by the increase of publications, weekly and monthly, devoted to the enunciation of sound principles and the elucidation of pertinent facts. Some of these publications are issued by the cities themselves. Many are issued by civic bodies.

By way of illustration, during the past year Boston has seen the birth of two intelligent efforts in this direction in the issuance of *New Boston* by the "Boston-1915" movement and the publication of the *Boston Common*. The former is an intelligent

effort to present, not only to the supporters of "Boston-1915" but to all citizens of that metropolitan community, the issues involved in that organization's campaign. The primary purpose of the *Boston Common* is "public service rather than private profit, and to secure for the public absolute freedom from partisanship, sectarianism, prejudice, and the controlling of muzzling influences." The need for such publications is growing. Napoleon is said to have declared that he feared three newspapers more than a hundred thousand bayonets. That is the fear of every evildoer in public office. Publicity is a sure guaranty to the people. At the same time one must look the facts clearly in the face and realize that there are many American newspapers that fail of having the influence they deserve. This is due either to the fact that they are not believed to be free or that they are partisan, that they are interested more in the moment than they are in the permanent solution of difficulties and problems.

There was one feature of the recent municipal election in Milwaukee that was worthy of very thoughtful attention. Mr. Berger, the leading socialist of the city, in commenting on the election of Mr. Seidel as mayor, said:

> With six English, two German, and two Polish dailies fighting us, with every inch of space they could spare in their news columns and editorial pages, and all the advertising the Democrats and Republicans could afford to pay for, we won in a walk.

A Topeka dispatch in the *Kansas City Journal,* describing a municipal election in that city, said,

> More than 11,000 of the 13,000 voters in Topeka cast their ballots. All of the newspapers supported Mr. Green. His opponent had to push his candidacy through the advertising columns and on billboards. Nevertheless he was elected by a very large majority.

Unfortunately these instances are typical. They explain, however, the growth in popularity, in numbers, and in influence of such publications as we have already referred to. There is no denying that the American electors are informing themselves as never before, both through such publications as have been mentioned and through specially designed publications like

those issued by state and municipal voters' leagues. Publicity is a growing factor in political campaigns. As has already been pointed out, the era of denunciation is passing, and in its place voters are demanding definite information concerning men and issues. This is as it should be.

As illustrating how effective the work of voters' leagues is, we may cite the following: For years the Minnesota legislature was dominated by an organization of the most unprogressive politicians. These men saw that the publication of the story of the Minnesota legislature of 1909, with its complete unanswerable exposure of the personnel and purposes of the machine, would end their political careers. A representative from one of the interior counties, one of the worst offenders, when he first saw a copy, was moved to exclaim, "I think it is an outrage that a man is allowed to print and circulate such a thing. The man seems to be demented, but he goes on indiscriminately assassinating character." This man's fears were fully realized. He was defeated for re-election and with him there fell practically every member of the old organization through which the special interests and politicians dictated legislation. In the words of the report of the Minnesota Citizens' League, "in all 31 such senators and representatives either did not dare to face their records or did so and were defeated at the primaries."

Organizations of business men are giving more and more attention to municipal problems. They are beginning to realize what has so often been pointed out in meetings of the National Municipal League and similar bodies, that good government is about the best asset a city can have. During the last decade Detroit has enjoyed a remarkable growth, as shown by the census figures relating to its population. During the ten years period her growth was 63 per cent, which is a more rapid rate of increase than is shown by any other city of similar size. The population figures for Detroit are 465,766. In 1900 she was thirteenth in the order of American cities; today she probably stands in the eighth place. Pittsburgh's gain during the same period was 18.2 per cent; Milwaukee thirty-one per cent; St. Louis 19.4 per cent.

Various reasons have been assigned for this remarkable and substantial growth, but as the Chicago *News* said at the time the figures were announced, the part played by progressive business organizations and the influence of conditions of municipal government must not be overlooked. Detroit's organizations have worked hard for the upbuilding of their community. The reputation of the city for efficiency of government and for economy and honesty in public expenditures is good as compared with American municipalities generally. The efforts of Pingree to promote honest government in Detroit doubtless are responsible to a considerable degree for the present industrial progress of the city. It is significant that the cities reputed to have the worst municipal government are not in the judgment of the *News* the ones showing the most rapid growth. Manufacturers who are not in search of special privileges naturally establish themselves in cities having the most economical government and furnishing the best living conditions for the working population.

Another interesting development of the year has been the disposition shown by the smaller chambers of commerce and boards of trade in cities ranging in size from 12,000 up to 50,000, to take up civic work and to employ competent and trained men to carry it on. At a recent meeting of the commercial secretaries in Grand Rapids one of the speakers urged that the association unite with the National Municipal League in broadening the civic-service work. He stated that the movement would receive greater impetus and accomplish greater results if the business men as represented in the commercial organizations were behind it. He furthermore suggested that the national association take up this matter and employ a secretary to devote his time and efforts to the work, an expert who would go about the country promoting civic work in the various communities and in the boards of trade and other commercial organizations.

In the words of one of the officials of one of the most effective business organizations in the country:

There is a growing tendency to give civic work a more important place in their scheme of things than it has had. I do not know, however, that this is a development of the past year. Rather it seems to me to be a development extending over even four or five years in most cases and even longer in such exceptional cases as that of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Prophesying is a dangerous business, but I would not be surprised to have some of these business organizations soon officially announce that they consider civic work the most important with which they have to deal.

In Chicago a Women's City Club has been organized, which is destined to become a most influential civic body. The formation of this club is typical of the growing interest of women in civic affairs. We find them taking up questions of housecleaning and adornment and education in an effective way. Indeed, women are coming to realize more and more in each passing year that they can even more effectively than men, in many instances, create the civic standards of a community through close contact with the growing agents and through influence over the teaching forces of a community. Moreover women are coming to feel that they are charged in a special sense, because of their special qualifications in the matter of housekeeping, with the cleanliness of a community. We find in all the leading cities of the country the women are in the forefront in the effort to clean up the streets and keep them clean.

Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane's work is equally typical. She is going about the country stirring up the women, and the men for that matter, to their duty and responsibility in the matter of clean and healthy cities. Her lectures are those of a public housekeeper, simple and untechnical. She has visited city after city in the East and West, looking into nooks and crannies and into various things that men, with their far different points of view and perspective, are apt to overlook. As an outsider she has been able to report upon what she found without fear, favor, or partisanship. At the close of her inspection she has written out a full report and submitted it to the bodies directly concerned, with suggestions how to overcome the conditions which she described.

Boston's Women's Municipal League has been conducting a

campaign of education in sanitary matters and working in co-operation with various settlements to relieve conditions in the congested parts of the city. Moreover, it has charged itself with the inspection of streets and alleys. In December last it held an exhibit which on the sanitary side showed contrasting models of dirty ones. Moreover, it is actively spreading a propaganda in regard to the prevention and cure of tuberculosis and similar dread diseases.

The continued, rapid, and widespread interest in the commission form of municipal government and in the question of city charter reform generally, has been the most conspicuous single development during the past year in the realm of city government. A straight commission form of government, in the opinion of Dr. Eliot, one of the most active advocates of the system, requires a commission composed of five elected members, one of whom is called the mayor and acts as chairman of the commission, but has no veto power or any other special power not shared by the other members of the commission. The commission so elected is the source of all authority in the city, makes all ordinances, appoints all officials, collects taxes, and makes all appropriations.

As set forth by its advocates, the significant features of the plan, in addition to those already mentioned, are: Assignments of the important divisions of the city government to individual members of the commission, each of whom is directly responsible for the best conduct of his particular department; adequate compensation to the members of the commission for their time and labor, the city employing all the commissioners at living salaries; regularity, frequency, and publicity of the meetings of the commissioners; all employees selected from eligible lists based on examinations, oral and written, carefully devised to develop merit and fitness; recommendations after examination by an independent civil service commission; the retention in office of all employees so appointed during good behavior; the recall; the granting of all public franchises to be submitted to a vote of the electors.[2]

[2] See analysis prepared by the Charleston, S.C., Community Club.

Two other most important features are the introduction of the principle of the short ballot and the elimination of ward lines. In the judgment of long-time students of city affairs these are considered, together with the concentration of authority, as the most effective features of the system.

Some idea of the growth of the commission form of government may be measured by the extent of its adoption within the past four years: Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, South Carolina, Mississippi, Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Oklahoma have commission laws relating to all or certain classes of cities within their respective borders. The list of cities operating under some form of commission government approximates one hundred. There have been numerous modifications of the plan. In some the terms of all the commissioners expire at one and the same time. In others they expire one each year, thus creating the shortest possible ballot and preventing a complete overturn of the government. In certain cities the voters elect commissioners to have charge of certain departments or bureaus; in others the commissioners themselves assign the duties. Keokuk, Iowa, has but three commissioners, but the great majority of cities have five. There are several methods of election: by the non-partisan primary, as in Des Moines; by the French system of two elections, as in Berkeley, Cal.; and by the preferential voting, as in Grand Junction, Colo.

So far the movement has been confined to the smaller communities of the country. The larger ones adopting it are: Gloucester and Haverhill, Mass.; Memphis, Tenn.; Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, and Sioux City, Ia.; Kansas City, Leavenworth, Wichita, and Topeka, Kan.; Colorado Springs, Colo.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Galveston, Houston, and Waco, Tex. A number of other cities like Buffalo, N.Y., Mobile and Birmingham, Ala., have, through a vote of their electors, expressed a desire for commission government, but so far they have been denied their request by their state legislatures.

The general trend of the more important cities of Massa-

chusetts, outside of Boston, has been toward a commission form of government either with absolute power as in the case of Chelsea or subject to the initiative, referendum, and recall, as under the Des Moines plan. In New York bills providing for a commission form of government in Mount Vernon and Melzinga were passed by the last session of the legislature, but failed for reasons which did not involve the merit of the legislation. Pennsylvania has a full-fledged movement for the establishment of the system in the third-class cities of that state, a formal organization having been established for this purpose. In Virginia a similar movement is on foot, having for its object the amendment of the Virginia constitution, to make possible the establishment of the commission form by such cities as desire to have it. Efforts are pending in Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee to secure the enactment of state laws. There are 128 cities now considering the question of the adoption of some form of commission government, either in the way of an election to adopt a charter under existing state legislation or to secure the necessary power from the state legislature.

This form of city government is still too new in its application to enable one to speak with any degree of finality concerning its merits. That it will solve off-hand all the problems to which a municipality is heir is absurd. In fact the movement is likely to suffer in the near future unless its advocates modify their claims. Within the year claims have been made by its advocates that it had effectually eliminated the social evil, citing the closed town policy of Des Moines. As a result of a change in the personnel of the commission in that city there was a less rigorous enforcement of the laws dealing with this subject, and as a result the enemies of the system heralded the fact from one end of the country to the other that it had broken down and failed. As a matter of fact both claims were wrong. The merit of the commission form was that it enabled the people of Des Moines to establish, with little or no delay, what officials were responsible for the changed conditions of affairs, and through the exercise of public sentiment to bring about a needed enforcement of the laws.

On the other hand it is not fair to regard the movement for the establishment of the commission form of government in American cities as a passing fad. It represents a deep-seated desire on the part of the American people to set their municipal houses in order and simplify their governmental machinery, to concentrate responsibility, and to establish municipal business on a new, firmer, and substantial basis.

Wherever charter reform has been an issue at recent elections the progressive element in the community have won gratifying victories. Boston, for instance, after a vigorous campaign voted by a small majority last December in favor of what is known as plan No. 2, embodying the recommendation of the original finance commission. Under it national party designations on the ballot disappear and with them all the machinery of the caucus, convention and primary, which have hitherto stood between the voter and his final choice at the polls.

Charter revision continues to be the dominant issue in New York City. Governor Hughes during his term of office sought to bring about a complete and satisfactory revision of the charter of the city, steadfastly setting his face against piecemeal tinkering with the form of government. The Ivins Commission appointed by him did what many regarded as one of the most complete and systematic pieces of work ever turned out by a charter commission. It failed of indorsement by the legislature, which was under reactionary influences. That body preferred instead to appoint a committee of its own which considered the Ivins report and expressed its agreement with some features and its disagreement with others. It failed, however, to grasp the fundamental features that Mr. Ivins and his colleagues so carefully worked out. The joint committee announced that it could not accept the basic principles on which the Ivins commission charter was constructed, although it adopted many of its specific suggestions.

Pittsburgh enjoys the reputation of being intensely practical. For years it has been studying itself, or at least some of its most public spirited men have. It has had a series of charters, each an improvement over the former. It has experimented with

commissions in charge of municipal improvements and management. It has had government by the council with the mayor as a figurehead. Now it possesses a mayor who as chief executive is supreme, and with this Pittsburgh seems to be satisfied, but it has found its two chambers of councils with ward representation productive only of bad government. There is therefore a strong demand that the councilmanic and ward systems of representation be reformed. This idea was prominently in view when 48 of its councilmen were indicted for bribery, and within a week after the final graft exposure 5,000 of its citizens met and appointed a committee in the interest of charter legislation. This committee has completed its work and its plan has been approved by the commercial and civic bodies of the city. This is the Pittsburgh plan:

The mayor is to retain his supreme administrative authority. He now appoints and can remove the heads of every department with the exception of the comptroller, which is elective. He is personally responsible for the administration of every department of the city government. Pittsburgh has not always been satisfied with its mayor by any means, but it has never charged his personal shortcomings to the charter. It is with the legislative branch of the government that the plan chiefly deals and the changes proposed are radical. Instead of two chambers of council, one with 27 and the other with 40 members as at present, a single body of nine members is proposed. The councilmen are to be elected by the city at large for the term of four years, five at one biennial election and four at another. They are to receive a salary of $6,500 annually. A referendum is possible on all ordinances upon petition of 10 per cent of the voters at the last municipal election, and the initiative is to be granted on the petition of 15 per cent of the voters. Nominations of all city officers are to be made by petition of 5 per cent of the voters. The ballot is to be non-partisan, without party names or symbols, and the recall may be demanded upon a petition of 25 per cent of the voters.

West Virginia has had a municipal code commission at work for upward of a year. In its recently published report

provision is made for a large measure of local autonomy. The present governing body of any municipality has the right under the proposed law to name a charter commission, which in turn submits to the direct vote of the people either of the various forms of government above outlined. The functions of the governing bodies, however, are definitely fixed. The method of taxation, the granting of franchises, ordinances, elections, registration, duties of officers in the collection and disbursement of the funds of the municipality are also definitely fixed by the proposed law and cannot be changed. Generally speaking, however, these proposed codes increase the charter powers of a city, centralizing power and responsibility, and reduce the number of elective officers.

An important development in charter reform is the growth of public sentiment in behalf of municipal home rule. As Dr. Fairlie pointed out at the Pittsburgh meeting of the National Municipal League, the principle of home rule has come to be more generally recognized even in special legislation. A significant event of the past year was the large measure of attention given to the subject of municipal home rule by the League of American Municipalities at its meeting in St. Paul. Mayor Mahool, of Baltimore, in a thoughtful paper indorsing the principles of the National Municipal League's Municipal Program, declared even if the legislature

> were always wise and always honest their interference in local affairs would be undesirable. The representatives are state officers, elected to look after matters of general not local concern. They are not familiar with city conditions and can have no definite idea of its needs. Furthermore sufficient publicity of proposed measures is not secured, and the people to be affected have very little opportunity of enlightening the lawmakers. The lobbyist may secure the passage of his measure before effective opposition in the distant city can materialize, and most serious of all, the legislator is not responsible for his action to those who are governed by his measure. He is under no obligation to the city and does not depend upon it for his political future. In such an attitude no man, however patriotic, can exercise that enthusiastic solicitude for the city's welfare, the state in state affairs, the individual in individual affairs, but the municipality must have permission from the legislature for everything it does.

In many places the commission form of government is enacted as a result of home rule provisions in the legislative enactment or in the state constitution. In fact, the present movement for the commission form of government seems to be in the direction of passing a general law the provisions of which may be availed of by any city in the state upon an affirmative vote of its electors. There is doubt of the constitutionality of such enactments in a few states like Pennsylvania, for instance, but even there, there are not wanting those well versed in the law who maintain that such home rule provisions are not contrary to the requirements of the fundamental law of the state.

As a result of the discussion at the St. Paul meeting of the League of American Municipalities that organization unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the League of American Municipalities reaffirms its firm belief in the principle of municipal home rule, as being the one absolutely vital measure needful for the prosperity, progress, and moral well-being of the American city, and to remove from it such reproach as now clings to it; and be it further

Resolved, That this league, speaking in the name of cities extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, respectively but earnestly protests to the legislatures of such states and provinces as are concerned, against the denial of a right, which is fully conferred upon business corporations, and the perpetuation of a system that throttles progress, stifles aspiration, and encourages political corruption and brigandage.

Many present-day municipal abuses have grown up and flourished like the green bay tree, not because of criminal intent, but because of lax methods and legislation. To meet just this situation, to introduce intelligent order and supervision into the conduct of municipal affairs, to promote knowledge, system, and efficiency in public business, has been the aim of the bureaus of municipal research, the first of which was established in New York in 1906. "The bureau of municipal research is only another name for the civic auditing company, a company of financial experts who make it their business to know how to conduct other men's business."

So successful have been the methods followed by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research that similar bureaus have been established in other cities: Philadelphia, 1908; Cincinnati, 1909; Memphis, 1909; Hoboken, 1910; Boston, 1910; Chicago, 1910; Milwaukee, 1910; St. Paul, 1910; Minneapolis, 1910. Their introduction has resulted in the saving of considerable sums of money to the city in the annual budget as well as greater efficiency in all the departments of the city government, and in New York in the formulation and adoption of an intelligent municipal budget.

A budget exhibit was arranged in 1909 by the New York Bureau as a matter of public enterprise and instruction. It proved so helpful and so successful that the city's board of estimate and apportionment officially secured $25,000 of the city's money with which to give a public budget exhibit in 1909. In this way New York has established a precedent in getting closer than any other city in America to a working ideal of municipal administration, where unit cost can be determined and its reasonableness intelligently considered. With this information in hand budget making need not longer be mere guessing as is at present the case in a vast majority of cities. The officer making an appropriation must show not only how much he spent in the past year, what he spent it for, and what he accomplished by the expenditure, but he must show just what he intends to accomplish in the course of the coming year, how he intends to accomplish it, why the proposed work is necessary, and just what it will cost. All of this is important, but still more important is the fact that the exhibit put this information in such graphic and practical form that the public could readily see and understand and reach a conclusion whether they were getting their money's worth, and if not, who was responsible for the failure. As *Municipal Facts* pointed out, never in New York's history has there been an administration like the present one. "Never was there such a board of estimates. In one and the same breath it shows the taxpayers how their money is being spent and tells the department heads not to spend so much of it."

Boston's bureau of municipal research is an official one. The

New York organization is a voluntary affair of private citizens, who felt that the city's business was not always conducted in a businesslike way, who gave their money, their experience, and their time to the work they set themselves to do, and beyond mere researching they offer suggestion, help, and co-operation to department heads who want it, or appear on investigation to need it. The cost of all this, calculated in terms of money expended alone, has been $100,000 a year, but the results have been worth so many times that sum that the citizens of other places have been moving to imitate their example. Boston's bureau is quite different. As sensed by its finance commission, Boston's real need is not so much of accountants as of men who can direct accountants if it becomes necessary to employ them; not of men skilled in working out unit cost systems so much as of men who can see through all the peculiarities of concealing systems, of a man who finally can read department reports and make sane and logical comments on them.

Chicago, through the initiative of its City Club, has organized a bureau of public efficiency. It is an unofficial organization supported by private citizens to scrutinize the systems of accounting in the eight local departments of Chicago, to examine the methods of purchasing materials and supplies and letting and executing contracts in these bodies, to examine their payrolls, with a view to determining the efficiency of such expenditures, to make constructive suggestions for improvements, and to co-operate with public officials in the installation of improved methods, to furnish the public with exact information regarding public revenues and expenditures, and thereby promote efficiency and economy in the public service.

During the year the Merriam commission on city expenditures has been conducting an investigation into the finances of the city government, and within a few months will publish its report covering this field in a general way.

Accompanying the development of the idea of municipal research and coincident with it, has been the growth of the demand for municipal reference bureaus. As the national Municipal

League has from the beginning of its work in 1894 persistently maintained, the value of comparative data in dealing with municipal questions can hardly be overestimated, especially when so many new problems are constantly arising. A department of this kind would prevent many ill-advised measures from becoming laws, and would often save the city an actual loss by preventing the passage of ordinances which have proved unsatisfactory in other cities.

This idea of a municipal reference library is by no means a new or untried one. Departments or bureaus of this description have already been established in Baltimore, Milwaukee, Newark, N.J., and departments of statistics have for some years existed in a number of cities, notably New York, Chicago, and Boston. Los Angeles has a privately maintained bureau. A number of states have also established similar bureaus, among them Wisconsin, New York, Rhode Island, California, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and bills have been introduced in other legislatures providing for their adoption. Foreign cities years ago recognized the necessity of such departments in some form.

American cities have little or no latitude given them in the matter of taxation. The constitutions of 75 per cent of the states require uniform taxation of all property under what is known as the general property tax system. Few statute laws have been passed during the year touching upon the matter of municipal taxation. A most significant occurrence, however, was the introduction into the New York Legislature of a bill asked for by Mayor Gaynor's administration and the New York Merchants' Association, to exempt from taxation personal property in the city of New York. Although the request was denied, the action of the mayor and of the association was generally regarded as an official recognition of the breakdown of the idea of local taxation of personal property.

The most notable changes in municipal taxation are occurring in Canada, where in several provinces cities have been granted a large measure of home rule. In British Columbia a general statute has for years permitted municipalities to assess

improvements at a lower percentage than the land. A recent statute fixed a maximum assessment of 50 per cent for improvements, while allowing a lower rate or an entire exemption by vote of the local council. Vancouver, in March, 1910, exempted improvements entirely, while assessing land at 100 per cent of its value. This followed a progressive reduction of assessments on improvements extending over some years, beginning at a 75 per cent assessment, then 50 per cent, then 25 per cent. Several other cities in British Columbia have also gradually reduced the percentage, while they now exempt improvements entirely.

In the Province of Alberta the larger cities have for some years exempted improvements, raising their revenues chiefly from a tax on land values with a slight business tax and a tax on franchises of public-service corporations when these are not municipally owned. Most of the new villages asking for incorporation are also requesting this same power of exemption which is granted upon petition to the local authorities.

In Ontario the local taxation of personal property was abolished in 1903, a business tax being substituted. At the present session of the provincial legislature a petition was presented, signed officially by over two hundred municipalities, asking for the same right of home rule in the partial or total exemption of improvements as exists in British Columbia.

Prince Rupert is starting its municipal career without taxing improvements. Vancouver and Prince Rupert are probably destined to grow with tremendous rapidity. Doubtless they would grow tremendously if they had the worst system of taxation in the world, because they are the ports of Western Canada and the terminals of great railway systems; but in the judgment of tax reformers by the policy of not penalizing improvements they are certain to grow with all the greater rapidity, and land speculation will be, to a considerable extent, discouraged, to the great advantage of the growing communities.

A notable taxation settlement was that providing for the arrearages of franchise taxes due the City of New York from the Metropolitan Street Railway Company and other corpora-

tions arrived at in May last. The basis of the settlement is practically on the 65 per cent allowance, on which the Third Avenue Railroad has settled its total franchise indebtedness. The Metropolitan at the date of the May settlement had paid $2,640,000 into the city treasury on account, and under the agreement the total will be increased to $6,390,000. This is exclusive of the Manhattan Elevated Company, the Second Avenue and Central Park, and the North and East River lines, whose indebtedness will be settled, it is expected, on much the same basis. With the final approval of this plan of payment practically all the arrearage franchise taxes due the city will have been settled, with the exception of the claim against the New York Central Railroad.

This being the year of the taking of the decennial census, the newspapers and periodicals generally have been filled with statistics concerning the cost of municipal government and the growth of population. In addition the Census Bureau's annual reports have furnished the usual quota of interesting figures. The bulletin issued on July 7 last showed that $405,000,000 had been spent in 1908 in maintaining and operating the departments of the 158 cities having an estimated population of 30,000 or more. The maintenance of schools and the protection of life and property by the police represented 55 per cent of this total. For the whole group of cities the average per capita expense for schools was $4.70, for police departments, $2.25, for fire departments, $1.72. The increased cost of maintaining the administrative departments in recent years is illustrated by the fact that in 147 cities of over 30,000 population in 1902 the cost was $13.36 per capita, while for the same cities in 1908 it was $16.81.

The general financial transactions of the 158 cities involved the receipt and expenditure of more than $1,250,000,000. Payments amounted to $1,284,000,000 and receipts to $1,336,000,000. The excess of the receipts over payments was due to large loans by cities during the year, and is reflected in the cash on hand at the close of the year.

Payments on account of outlays for new purposes or new

work by the 158 cities above mentioned amounted for 1908 to $275,003,695, as compared with $244,117,298 in 1907. Over one-third of the 1908 expenditures was paid by New York City. The figures are as follows: New York, $83,417,149, Chicago, $18,093,086, and Philadelphia, $14,473,184.

The total net indebtedness of the 158 cities at the close of 1908 was $1,718,000,000, and of this amount 39.8 per cent, or $684,000,000, is credited to New York City alone. That city had more than seven times the indebtedness of any other city and more than one-half the total of the 29 largest cities of the country. The per capita net debt of New York City was $157.74; and the only other cities having a per capita net indebtedness of over $100 were Cincinnati, Boston, Galveston, Portland, Newton (Mass.), Pueblo (Colo.), and Pawtucket. The increase in the net debt for the fiscal year 1908 was $185,877,856 as compared with a total increase for 1907 of $120,930,631. As the census report pointed out, in any discussion of indebtedness it should be remembered that the value of public improvements, and especially the amounts expended on public service enterprises, should be taken into consideration. Many cities own their water works, some their lighting plants, and a considerable proportion of the indebtedness of such cities may be incurred in the purchase or construction of such plants.

Kansas City is establishing some new civil service precedents that are likely to prove of usefulness. In the first place the new commission which Mayor Brown appointed began its examinations with the highest positions of the several departments that were not exempted under the law. This policy was adopted, first because it was thought that it would obtain men having authority in each of the departments, who being selected on the merit system would be entirely in sympathy with its purposes. It was also thought it would result in more loyalty in employees to their superior officers if they knew the man in charge had already passed the test to which they later would be subjected, rather than the reverse. This was indeed a wise idea, for if the merit system is to be accepted heartily by the rank and file they must be persuaded that it represents merit

all along the line, rather than in spots, and that it applies to all, high and low alike. The commisson has adopted the idea of having for each group of examinations a committee of three experts to conduct the examination and grade papers. This is a wholesale adoption of the plan worked out by the Chicago commission at the time it held its examination for librarian of the Public Library. It is believed it will work out well.

The results have been highly satisfactory. Good men have been chosen, party lines have been wiped out, and the merit system established in the respect and confidence of the office-holding class and of the people.

Boston's civil service experience is proving interesting and illuminating. It will be recalled that under the new charter the appointment of all heads of departments must be submitted by the mayor to the state civic service commission for independent investigation and approval. If that board rejects the appointment then the mayor must appoint another whose selection in turn must be submitted to the civil service commission. As *City Affairs*, the publication of the Boston Good Government Association, declared, the civic service commission now occupies the center of the stage. It has dared to differ with the mayor on the qualities that go to make up an expert. The mayor realizes that the clause of the charter dealing with this subject is doing just what it was intended to do. It is keeping out of office the old style of political heads of departments and is treating the people to the spectacle of the new standards actually put into practice.

> In its work thus far the commission deserves the thanks of the community. It has perfomed an unpleasant duty conscientiously, carefully, and (rare virtue?) silently.

In Chicago the merit system continues to make substantial progress. There is no doubt that the civil service law in force is sound. As the president of the civil service reform association declared in a recent communication:

> If we had it to draft again there would be no important changes beyond covering any exempt position. The trial clause has been most attacked, but

after all has been said our executive committee is of the opinion that its legislative defects may be corrected in administrations conforming to the terms of the act. We know of no better law.

Concerning results, the law has been of immense benefit to the city. Any attempt to weaken or defeat the law, if it clearly appeared to be such, could be beaten at the polls by an overwhelming majority. The administration is Republican. The employees are nearly all Democratic. To quote again the president of the civil service reform association:

There are five types of attempts to beat the law: first, the creation of new departments, the heads thereof being exempt under the civil service act; second, statutes passed by the jack-pot legislature at Springfield in violation of the principles of home rule, taking over municipal activities or creating new ones and providing for spoil appointments; for example, parks, sanitary district, education, municipal tuberculosis hospital; third, sixty-day appointments continued from year to year, the number decreasing, however, each year; fourth, common labor employment where no adequate way of eliminating ward politics has yet been devised; fifth, use of corrupt or incompetent judges to tie up examinations, interfere with promotions, classifications, and generally horse-play with the law, thus necessitating temporary appointments, delaying efficient reform, restoring discharged employees, holding the law up as unworkable and responsible for all manner of administrative ills. The introduction and use of efficiency records represents a development of far-reaching importance.

There has been no appreciable diminution of interest in nomination reform, although there has been an increasing appreciation of the fact that primary reform is only a step towards the restoration of popular government. Yet the best primary act, as the *Chicago Record-Herald* has so wisely pointed out, is only a tool. It is not a substitute for hard work and intelligence. For a while there was danger that some of the more zealous advocates of the new politics might regard nomination reform as a panacea for all our political ills and as effective in itself. Today nomination is to the fore-front in those states which have not yet secured a law authorizing direct nomination. In those states where the law has been established the aim is to perfect and extend it, not to destroy it.

The movement for the establishment of the initiative, referen-

dum, and recall is a part of the same movement as that manifesting itself in the demand for the direct nomination of candidates. They are all part of the desire for a more responsive electoral machinery. As for the past ten years, Oregon has retained its leadership in this direction. There has been a feeling on the part of many that the initiative and referendum have been somewhat overworked in that state. It must be conceded, however, that the results so far have not justified this fear, inasmuch as the Oregon voters have shown remarkable discrimination in their voting up or voting down propositions submitted to them under the initiative and referendum laws. It is true there have been efforts made to submit trivial questions but these have not interfered with the intelligent expression of opinion on questions submitted.

In Illinois a vigorous campaign for the adoption of the initiative and referendum has been waged. The proposition submitted to the voters at the November election was in the following form:

> Shall the next general assembly submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following state election an amendment to the state constitution providing for the control of legislation by the people by means of the initiative and the referendum, said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon the petition of eight per cent of the voters, and for the reference of legislation upon the petition of 5 per cent of the voters, the action of a majority of electors voting to be final, thus restoring to the people the power which they once held but which they delegated to the general assembly by the Constitution.[8]

No small part of the present popularity of the initiative and referendum and the recall has been due to the growth of the commission form of government. The results in those cities operating under that system have been so uniformly beneficial that long time opponents of the initiative and the referendum are weakening in their position. As a matter of fact there is nothing new in the referendum, for from the beginning the people have voted on the adoption of constitutions and constitutional amendments. The modern application of the principle,

[8] The advisory vote on this was overwhelmingly favorable.

however, represents an improvement in that instead of submitting the entire instrument covering all phases of government, questions are submitted one by one in a form which admits of a comparatively easy formulation of a sound judgment. Advocates of the short ballot have been fearful lest the growth of the initiative and the referendum movement would militate against the movement. Experience with the short ballot and the referendum and the initiative has not been sufficiently extended to justify one in making any dogmatic assertions one way or the other. With the concentration of legislative and administrative duties in the hands of a small number of elective officers, it would seem as if there should be adequate provision for the voters to declare themselves upon the questions of policy, otherwise there would not be that separation of the policy determining functions from the policy executing functions.

A steady progress of public opinion in favor of the short ballot is to be noted. Involving as it does constitutional changes, there is a very little to report in the way of concrete accomplishment, although the adoption of the commission form of government represents one form of short ballot, and in this direction there has been a very substantial advance during the past year. Moreover the agitation of the short ballot idea has brought about a more widespread consideration of the whole question of our governmental machinery, with the result of awakening the people to their duty and responsibility in the premises.

THE TRANSITION TO AN OBJECTIVE STANDARD OF SOCIAL CONTROL

LUTHER LEE BERNARD
The University of Chicago

VI. THE ORGANIC OR UNITARY VIEW OF SOCIETY

DEMAND OF SOCIAL PRACTICE FOR A NEW SOCIAL THEORY.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF THE SOCIAL ORGANISM.—THEORY OF THE SOCIAL ORGANISM AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.—DEMAND FOR OBJECTIVE SOCIAL ANALYSIS AS A MEANS TO SOCIAL CONTROL.—THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGANIC OR UNITARY VIEW OF SOCIETY

The old subjectivistic and highly intellectualistic classifications of the social forces with their attendant implications of individualistic reference and the practical negation of objective social control have proved highly unsatisfactory. The ideal of democratic satisfaction as a sufficient criterion for social action is gradually being repudiated and another ideal of democratic conservation is steadily growing. We have seen the trend away from the purely individual and hedonic reference of the sociological classifications of Spencer and Ward, to classifications with a mainly objective reference, as in the cases of Small, Ratzenhofer, and De Greef, where chiefly the wording and minor applications betray the subjectivistic origins. But the present trend is to avoid all classifications whatever from the purely psychical or independently volitional side, and to launch out into an objective analysis of social facts as they operate in people and in groups, in order to bring these facts under control. This is a clear sign that sociology is becoming a science of definite and reasonably dependable social facts, i.e., of society, instead of an introspective mental discipline based on the solipsistic assumption of independent psychical causation.[1] Social

[1] See, by way of contrast, Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 55, 129; Small, *op. cit.*, 435; Ross, *op. cit.*, 160-61; Judd, *op. cit.*, *Psy. Rev.*, March, 1910.

practice has been, in the main, objective in its application and reference, and is becoming more so—a fact which has called for a social philosophy which can explain and justify current social practice. The demand for such an explanatory and communicatory social theory has become imperative and is being acceded to, though somewhat reluctantly. This reluctance is due both to the deterring influence of contrary traditions and to the insufficient and poorly co-ordinated data on which to base methods of procedure.

The line of development in sociological theory which has done much toward laying an objective foundation for a theory of social control or activity has been the one commonly known, at least in its later development, as the theory of the social organism. This theory has had its main development in France. Hobbes, however, speaks of the state (society) as an immense man.[2] He had a conception of compulsory or organic social unity, though it was determined by his theory of political absolutism. But Comte appears to have been the first writer to have a really functional conception of the fundamental nature of the social unity. He was strongly impressed with the necessity of some means of co-ordinating or controlling social action in order to bring it to the greatest efficiency. Out of this appreciation grew his mystical and autocratic, and not at all scientific, view of humanity as an ever-growing and perfecting whole, in which the individual merges and becomes a factor in the eternal human and social process, thus, and thus only, achieving immortality.[3] This view was the center of his doctrine of the religion of humanity, and aside from its mystical and emotional setting may be said to presage an important later scientific conception.[4]

Herbert Spencer, under the influence of the biological discoveries of his time, took up Comte's idea of the unity of the

[2] *Leviathan*, Introduction.

[3] Cf. "Theory of the Future of Man," *System of Positive Polity*, IV (transl. Congreve), chap. i.

[4] Saint-Simon, like Plato, had earlier put forward a social program which involved this idea of the essential or organic unity of society, but in his mind it was primarily a political unity (cf. *L'organisateur* and *Système industriel*).

group or society and clothed it in a biological analogy, thus rendering it concrete if not conclusive.[5] The French and Russian writers in particular were impressed by Spencer's analogy and, under the enthusiasm for its concreteness, for a while lost sight of its value as a symbol in attempting to establish the biological nature of society in detail.

Paul von Lilienfeld took as his thesis the view that society is a living organic natural product.[6] De Greef takes a similar position, introducing, however, the idea of the "superorganism."[7] This modifying concept of the superorganism was later somewhat more extensively developed at the expense of the biological analogy.[8] Worms limits the term social organism much more closely than the older writers[9] did, applying it only to nationalities, which have permanence of functioning.[10] Pioger drops the analogy between man and the cell, in the organism, and compares the former in his activities, rather, to a drop of blood circulating in the body.[11] He does not find human society so fundamentally different from insect and animal societies, as most writers had; a much exaggerated and over-estimated intelligence being the sole distinguishing factor.[12]

[5] Cf. "The Social Organism," *Essays Scientific, Political, and Speculative,* I, 265 ff.

[6] "Die menschliche Gesellschaft ist, gleich den Naturorganismen, ein reales Wesen, ist nichts mehr, als eine Fortsetzung der Natur, ist nur ein höherer Ausdruck derselben Kräfte, die allen Naturerscheinungen zu Grunde liegen."—"Die Menschliche Gesellschaft als realer Organismus," in *Gedanken über die Socialwissenschaften der Lukünft,* I Vorwort.

[7] Cf. *Introduction à la Sociologie,* II, 12 ff.

[8] Cf. Pioger, *La vie sociale,* chap. ii.

[9] E.g., Novicov.

[10] Cf. *Organisme et société,* 31 ff.

[11] *Op. cit.,* 38.

[12] "En réalité l'homme suit sa voie dans la société dont il fait partie absolument comme la fourmi remplit son rôle dans sa fourmilière, comme l'abeille dans sa ruche: la seule différence, c'est que dans la société humaine il y a des individus qui présentent une merveilleuse adaptivité que nous appelons l'intelligence et à laquelle nous nous obstinons à attribuer exclusivement la marche de l'humanité, comme si, en réalité, nous pouvions vraiment prétendre que c'est la raison qui nous mène. . . . . Il est temps d'abandonner nos illusions à ce sujet: le déterminisme ne perd pas plus ses droits en évolution sociale qu'en évolution organique ou physique. . . . . Nous comprendrons ainsi combien sont illusoires nos prétentions à croire que nous faisons ou pouvons

The present tendency among French sociologists seems to be to base the theory of the compulsory or essential unity of society upon the principle of the division of labor or of social functions, an explanation destined to be of the greatest value in the future development of social science and practice.[13]

Novicov was one of the first among sociologists to see the necessity of applying the theory of evolution to social facts in the interest of a science of sociology.[14] He pointed out in 1897 that the prevailing classifications based upon sex, economic, juridical, ethnic, etc., phenomena are discrete, non-exclusive, and anarchistic. At the same time he urged the organic view of society as the only substitute capable of securing unity of activity in social matters.[15] He sees no hope for a science of sociology until the subjectivistic criteria can be eliminated.[16] Pioger also argues against the prevailing disunity of the object of attention in sociology and social practice.[17]

refaire la société. Pas plus que nous ne pouvons prétendre pouvoir refaire nos organes, pas plus nous ne pouvons changer la structure sociale."—*Ibid.*, 39–40.

[13] Durkheim, *De la division du travail social;* and Pioger, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.

[14] "La théorie de l'évolution est d'abord formulée par les naturalistes, puis généralisée par les philosophes. . . . . Dès lors la sociologie devient possible, et, en peu d'années, elle va acquérir une importance de primier ordre."—*La politique internationale* (Paris, 1886), 11.

[15] Cf. *Conscience et volonté sociales*, 2–3. Also: "Ainsi quelle est l'utilité de l'organicisme? Elle peut se résumer ainsi: la théorie organique créera un mode de penser particulier dans la sociologie: un mode réaliste, positif. Elle nous débarrassera, une fois pour toutes, des méthodes abstraites. Au lieu de cette affirmation générale, on peut dire aussi que la théorie organique nous délivera de l'amorphisme, de la métaphysique et du conservatisme."—"La théorie organique des sociétés," *Annales de l'Institut international de sociologie* (1898), 188.

[16] "Elle [sociologie] ne pourra se constituer en science exacte que si sa généralisation dernière cesse d'être une affaire d'appréciation personnelle. Elle se constituera quand elle aura une généralisation rationelle. . . . . La porte est ouverte à l'arbitraire, à la fantaisie et à l'empirisme. Chacun arrive avec son petit système personnel et on ne voit pas pourquoi celui de Jean doit être plus mauvais que celui de Paul."—*Conscience et volonté sociales*, 9–10.

[17] "C'est, en effet, une grande illusion de s'imaginer qu'on peut avoir des idées justes sur la morale, la politique, la propriété, le droit ou la justice, sans avoir besoin d'approfondir la notion même de ce qu'est une société. C'est à peu près comme les 'gens du monde' qui s'imaginent naïvement avoir des idées précises sur leur santé et leurs maladies sans avoir appris la biologie, sans se douter de leur ignorance."—*Op. cit.*, 30.

The critics of the organic view of society, in pointing out the absurdities of the biological homologies, which even the earlier writers did not generally regard as primary and which have long been practically abandoned, have neglected the essential idea and purpose of this theory. This purpose was not ever —except in certain aberrations—to prove that society is a living animal, but to prove that society is necessarily a living unity. The real contribution of the theory is that it gave an objective basis for the analysis and correlation of social phenomena in the service of social control or functioning. The subjectivistic and individualistic sociologists have objected that this view destroys freedom and individual initiative. Sociology as a science of social control, as a functional science, must doubtless work toward limiting irresponsible activity or freedom in pointing out and preventing the deleterious social effects of such activities. Lilienfeld, however, maintains that the more efficiently man is developed socially the greater his capacity for freedom becomes.[18] True freedom of activity cannot be realized in irresponsibility of action or under presumably purely subjective or personal initiative, but only where all the conditions of activity are uniform and thoroughly controlled,[19] where the individual is not subjected constantly to unexpected stimuli and impulsions which he cannot guard against. Where there is true freedom there must be foresight of the results of the activity, and the individual must be able to guide himself according to the laws and principles of control which a science of social phenomena makes clear to him. The essential motive of the organic theory of society, at least in its later development, has not been to reduce the freedom of individuals, except where that freedom

[18] "Der Mensch kann frei, nach seiner Willkür, so oder anders handeln, aber nicht unbedingt, sondern mehr oder weniger abhängig von den physischen, durch die Umgebung gesetzten Bedingungen. Je höher der Mensch ausgebildet ist, desto mehr erweitert sich das Gebiet der Freiheit, und desto zweckmässiger und vernünftiger werden gleichzeitig seine Handlungen."—*Op. cit.*, 348–49.

[19] ". . . As a certain atmospheric pressure is essential to the proper aëration and circulation of the blood, so a certain weight of social opinion is necessary to the complete expression of the nature of the individual, that is, to the freest volitional action."—Meakin, *op. cit.*, 208.

is anti-social. At its best it has been to present a conception of society, or of group life, as the necessary and compelling unity of functions. This conception, it was expected, would replace the old unscientific and subjectivistic criteria of activity with a scientific and objective criterion and would supply the individual with the necessary facts for guiding his consciously chosen activities, as well as select his activities for him when he is incapable of choosing them in a social way himself, because of either defectiveness or delinquency.

The strictly biological theory of society failed because from its very nature it could never get beyond the stage of analogy in analyzing situations. It served to illustrate the essential unity of society, but it could not describe the functionings of the social processes with sufficient accuracy to bring those activities under effective social control. This necessity for a completer analysis of social phenomena has been emphasized strongly by a number of writers and especially in this country by Lester F. Ward and Albion W. Small. To Ward belongs the honor of having emphasized first in an adequate manner the necessity for discovering the facts of human society and of making them generally known through a system of elaborate instruction.[20] This emphasis has justly given Professor Ward a chief place among the leading sociologists. The great defects of his work, however, are that it, like all the sociological output contemporary with it, was done from an individualistic standpoint, and that the importance and necessity for an objective criterion of social control was not appreciated. Moralists of all times have discussed the question whether knowledge of the right necessarily leads to doing the right,[21] and the protagonists of this theme have never been able to convince the doubters. Nor can they ever do so. Activity is the result of the set of the whole nervous system (merely including the immediate stimulus)[22] and not of the mere ideational processes alone. Consequently there is always likely to be more or less dissimilarity between knowledge and

[20] Cf. *Dynamic Sociology*, II, chaps. xiii–xiv.

[21] Cf. Plato, *Republic*, book iv.

[22] Cf. chap. iii, and Woodworth, *op. cit.*

conduct. It is at this point that Ward's theory of the sufficiency of research and instruction breaks down, as any theory of subjective control must break down. Education, though it involves a certain amount of objective social control is not alone effective. It is, however, one of the most powerful adjuncts to social control if it is of a functional and social nature.

Professor Small, likewise, has insisted strongly upon the analysis of social phenomena as well as upon closer co-operation among the social sciences in this work. In speaking of the conditions of society, he says, "Life is an affair of adjusting ourselves to material, matter-of-fact, inexorable nature." [23] But his conception of what constitutes social analysis is not in the last analysis, seemingly, so much the discovery of the concrete facts of the working of the social processes as a kind of subjective analysis and co-ordination of real or imagined psychical processes in the individual.[24] He conceives of social problems as entanglements of persons with certain interests or conscious processes to be satisfied.[25] "Sociology accordingly involves first of all a technique for detecting, classifying, criticizing, measuring, and correlating human interests." [26] Professor Small's actual analysis of situations, however, is usually of the objective kind.

[23] *General Sociology,* 408. "Every social question, from electing a pope down to laying out a country road, is in the last analysis a question of what to do in the face of the grudging soil, and the cruel climate, and the narrow space, of the region from which we get our food."—*Ibid.*

[24] Cf. *ibid.,* 433–34; and *Amer. Jour. of Sociology* (March, 1907), 647.

[25] "Social problems are entanglements of persons with persons, and each of these persons is a combination of interests developed in certain unique proportions and directions. All study of social situations must consequently be primarily a qualitative and quantitative analysis of actually observed mixtures of interests."—*General Sociology,* 436.

[26] *Ibid.,* 437. This limitation of the problem of sociology to a study of human experience (*ibid.,* 184), thus making the object of attention for it an isolated metaphysical entity on the analogy of the psychologist's solipsistic self, instead of making it coincident with the study of human activity or functioning, has also been shared by others. Cf. Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations,* Introd.; Tarde, *Laws of Imitation* (transl. Parsons), 3: "Socially, everything is either invention or imitation"; Davis, *Psychological Interpretation of Society,* 199; etc.

The more fruitful tendency among sociologists, the line of activity which is making good the failure or omission of the organic analogists, has been in connection with the concrete analysis of social conditions. For a long while the ethnologists and anthropologists had a predominating influence in the development of sociology. Both Spencer and Letourneau wrote their sociologies from this standpoint, and the more recent works of Westermarck and Hobhouse in the field of social ethics have largely followed this lead. But, besides the relative simplicity and non-cultural nature of primitive society, there are numerous other limitations to this method which have prevented it from being generally adopted. Of more importance is the actual analysis of present-day social conditions, such as has been undertaken by the host of writers on the structure and functioning of particular contemporary groups and institutions. And most important of all are the various more or less technical studies in social psychology, anthropogeography, immigration, of the labor question, of housing conditions and reform, in vital statistics, in public education, in criminology, philanthropy, etc. It is from the direct and co-ordinated application of these facts to human conditions, and not from logical classifications of real or pseudo-mental processes or "social forces," nor from working over the solipsistic categories of a subjectivistic psychology and ethics, that a valid sociology and social practice must be built up.

Much, however, of this objective analysis of social phenomena has been unsatisfactory. The findings of the investigator with a bias are always open to suspicion, and time is always necessary to the verification and testing of facts. An intelligible analysis and scientific evaluation of social phenomena cannot be made without constantly keeping in mind two things, (1) the perspective of social development, and (2) the unitary nature of society. Most errors in the analysis of social conditions, as well as in prescriptions for social ills, are due to disregard for one or both of these principles. The two principles are themselves closely related, the idea of the unitary nature of society depending upon a perspective of social development, just

as the idea of the unity of species comes only with the idea of evolution.

While we must reject the theory of the biological nature of society, it is necessary, however, to recognize its fundamental contribution—the emphasis upon the unitary character of society and its sanction of objective analysis and control. Man's biological evolution, notably in connection with prolonged infancy, makes a social organization necessary to his existence. All institutional and cultural life is essentially based upon such organization and often upon the strictest social control. The plea to live according to nature or to conform our social institutions to "natural" laws has no meaning, unless we wish not only to undertake a difficult or impossible return to a non-cultural animal existence, but also to undergo reversion in our individual physiological and organic constitutions. The social problem is not the elimination of the artificial from social life, but its control, its subordination to the service of social ends and activities. Such a control can be obtained only on the basis of a scientific analysis of social phenomena. The analysis of the individual is only one of the phases of such analysis, while the analysis of conscious processes and wants or interests as "social forces" is only a still further subdivision of the analysis of the individual, and is co-ordinate with the analysis of his habits, instincts, physiological structures, digestive capacity, etc.[27] The problem of social analysis and of the determination of the "social forces" is a much more complex, and also a much more fruitful, task than the subjectivistic sociologists have appreciated. Only by replacing and supplementing analogy and subjective classification with concrete social facts can we hope to have a true science of society, or sociology.

[27] Subjective factors, however, cannot be disregarded; for the character of the social process depends in large measure upon the mental attitudes of individuals and, with the development of a more adequate and scientific social control, will depend in an increasing degree upon these attitudes. Therefore the psychic factors must be analyzed—not as independent phenomena but always with reference to the fact that they are relatively modifiable incidents of the general objective social process and with the purpose of utilizing them in the service of a broader social control.

The farther such an analysis proceeds, that is, the more we are able to go beyond the naïve conception of mere states of consciousness as the sole or only worthy content of social life and to abstract away from this consciousness social facts and processes with objective reference and connection, just so much the more we have a science of society. The less the reference is to persons conceived as mental processes, as organisms existing for hedonic or egoistic satisfactions, and the more the reference is to the society as a functioning group of persons in activity, the more the measure of social values ceases to be the individual and becomes the satisfactory functioning of the most efficient group of which he is a member. The more such a view grows the less is the attention upon self-satisfaction, i.e., upon the production of adjustments guided by relative feeling values, and the more it is upon providing a controlled and relatively constant environment for social life and activity. Under such a condition the emphasis necessarily ceases to be upon democratic gratification and falls upon democratic conservation. Likewise the social organization becomes in a sense compulsory, for only where there is relatively complete co-ordination of activities based upon scientific analysis of social phenomena can an effectively constant environment be maintained. But the basis of this control, which is coercive where necessary upon certain refractory members of the group, is not merely custom, individual whim, or the "tyranny of public opinion," but the findings of science, i.e., the analysis of social phenomena.[28] The rapidity with which such a compulsory social control can be established depends upon the rapidity with which an objective social analysis proceeds. The conception of the unitary and organic nature of society can be of great service in furthering such an analysis, because it provides a new and effective standard for co-ordinating facts and for directing research.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I. The chief conclusions which have been formulated or implied in the foregoing discussion may be restated as follows.

[28] Cf. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, 325.

It appears that the prevailing type of sociology, especially that which has developed in America and England, is a part of the general movement for democratic gratification which had its greatest vogue in the nineteenth and the second half of the eighteenth centuries. It, however, is the particular outgrowth of the less radical wing of that movement, known as utilitarianism, and it developed under the influence of a growing analysis of social phenomena, especially in the field of ethnology. This sociology, like the preceding and contemporary utilitarianism and neo-utilitarianism in ethics, has been and is prevailingly subjectivistic and individualistic both in content and in form. The other wings of the general democratic movement are those of anarchism and hedonistic socialism, which have in various ways affected sociology but which, under the influence of an increasing objective analysis of social phenomena, are now passing out of vogue in their extreme forms. The other types of sociology of importance are those represented by the biological and organic views of society and by the "practical" sociologists—those who aim at a concrete and objective analysis of social phenomena for the sake of social control in some particular field of social activity.

Through the whole range of the development of social theory so far there appears to have been a more or less constant movement toward an objective statement of social problems. Hobbes's philosophy was a protest against the subjective and noumenal character of Scholasticism. Locke pointed out, in his own terminology, the relativity of subjective presentations or criteria. Bentham's professed and real purpose was to obtain a constant and scientific experimental basis for regulating morals and legislation, under which regulation every one should be equal in privileges. At his time whatever unitary nature was attributed to society was thought of as imposed from without, by divinity, sovereign, or popular institution, and not as springing from the internal conditions of human social life. Consequently, he did not undertake an objective social analysis, but attempted a subjective analysis of feeling consciousness, and upon this analysis he based his social theory and policy. That

his classification was not adequate to the purpose is, in the light of what has been said above, to be expected. His followers, Mill, Spencer, the social or neo-utilitarian ethicists, and the early sociologists have constantly extended the analysis and have modified the criterion, till at last its hedonistic character is largely destroyed or disguised, though its subjectivism remains.

It has been extremely difficult for even the later ethicists and sociologists, with their subjectivistic philosophic bias, to arrive at the idea that society is a self-existent, an organic and self-perpetuating unity,[1] that it is not the creature of deities, sovereigns, parliaments, public opinion, acting as genuine or quasi-independent entities, but that it as a unity creates these as incidents and forms of its existence. Likewise they have not readily grasped the fact that an adequate social analysis must be primarily an analysis of this social unity, rather than of the variable and indefinite phenomena "mind" and "feeling," which are merely phenomena and forms of the greater social whole.

Human society is not merely isolated psychical phenomena, as the subjectivistic and solipsistic sociologists appear to have thought. It is not primarily interaction of mind with mind, but co-ordinated adjustment or coadaptation of men to physical, biological, and social environment, in which mental phenomena play their part and no more. The analysis of mental phenomena in isolation cannot serve as a practical working basis for social practice and control.

Objective social analysis is being made in some fields more rapidly than it is being incorporated in a general theory of social action and control.

The theorists of the social organism gave form to the organic or unitary view of society—basing the theory finally upon the necessity of a division and specialization of functions among the members of the group in order to meet the increasing demands of population upon food supply—and they sanctioned in theory the demand of social practice for objective analysis. They provided a social criterion based upon the rela-

[1] Sumner has come closest to this idea in America, although he has been hindered by certain individualistic preconceptions. Cf. *Folkways*.

tively permanent needs of society instead of upon the changeable wants, interests, or feelings of the individual.

Only a unitary or organic view of society—devoid, of course, of the biological homologies and analogies, which have previously been merely incidental to it in a naïve stage of development—can furnish an adequate basis for analysis of social phenomena and for the communication and application of the findings of this social analysis. So long as the individual is regarded as the measure of social values or is regarded as one of two poles, of which society is considered the other antagonistic pole, there can be no effective and convincing argument for social conformity and co-operation.

Subjectivistic sociology, ethics, and psychology have contrived to perpetuate the pre-evolutionary conception of man as a being of a different order from the animal world. A functional sociology must drop this fiction and study man as essentially a product of the physical, biological, and social conditions in which he functions. Man's superior mental equipment must undoubtedly be regarded as a superior means of adjustment, on the basis of varied co-ordinated functioning, but not as a legitimate means to anarchistic self-gratification.

It appears that the possession of knowledge is not a sufficient preparation for adequate social functioning. The *idea* is not compulsory, because it is not representative of the total equipment for action. Hence, social control cannot be individually determined, but must proceed from a controlled environment which provides the individual with a uniform and constant source of stimuli.

Social control, moreover, cannot be based upon a subjectivistic criterion, because the individual cannot know the whole social process, i.e., foresee all possible stimuli; also because feeling is wholly relative to the objective circumstance producing it and is not efficient individually or socially as a criterion of choice. Feeling can easily be regulated socially through the control of habit formations, and thus pleasant feeling may be made to correspond to any useful social activity which is supported by public opinion and organized society.

Society regarded as an organism or essential unity must be considered as in some degree compulsory and coercive,[2] but only in the sense in which the social organization controls the physical, biological, and social environment in which the individual functions. This control, to be adequate, must be on the basis of the completest possible scientific analysis of social phenomena, and must be exercised by a democratic or by some other flexible control. The compulsion or coercion which the group normally employs is justified on the ground that the social organization selects the better activity, socially considered, when the individual will not or cannot. If the social analysis is unreliable or if the administration of control is open to question, there will be a constant reference back from the group to the individual, as the center of social values, which will result in a more adequate analysis and control socially.

As a matter of fact, group control with coercion has always been the prevailing form of social control. Such controls have variously been based upon mythological, theological, and metaphysical categories, and sooner or later they have always broken down, because they were not based on an adequate social analysis.

A complete scientific social control cannot be expected to become operative at once, of course, but where a social fact is established it should become as obligatory as the laws of astron-

[2] The terms compulsion or coercion are made to refer, in this study, to any method or means by which society, as the greater functioning unity, secures conformity and co-operation, either of a conscious or unconscious sort, in carrying on the organic or unified social process. If a highly conscious system of social education is found feasible and if it operates more effectively than the harsh and milder forms of autocratic and traditional control—as doubtless it would under a system of scientific social control—it will gradually supplant the other forms. In fact, it is not conceivable that efficient and permanent social control or adjustment can be attained through education, except on the basis of a scientific and objective analysis of social phenomena or processes. The primary purpose of education, even, is to provide for the developing socius those stimuli to thought and action which are deemed most valuable in shaping his character. Education becomes thereby a method of social control which is always in some degree compulsory and coercive. The important thing, in this as in other forms of control, is to preserve, by whatever means necessary, the unity and apportionment of social functions and thus to preserve the cultural gains of civilization. The contention here is that the method will be more effective if scientifically determined.

omy or physics. The wilful disregard of the laws of health, of social hygiene, of public morality, should have as little tolerance as a wilful disregard of the law of falling bodies when the operation of this law has social consequences of equal importance.

The social organization, or the group, is the social object of primary importance, while the individual is secondary, constitutive, and contributory. Society is relatively constant, while the individual is relatively modifiable.[3] In fact, man with his intelligence, language, arts, is the product of group life, of the necessity for co-ordinate adjustment to environment to a much greater extent than the group is the product of inherent psychic characteristics of people. Even animal life is largely group life.

With such an objective and scientific basis of social control replacing the old subjective criteria of activity, we may look for a policy of democratic conservation instead of one of democratic gratification, for an ideal of social service in the place of a reign of hedonism.

II. Some of the more important implications of this organic or unitary view of society need to be mentioned briefly.

Such a view does not imply the rule of an élite in any objectionable sense. So far, all groups which have survived have been controlled either by an autocrat or by an élite. The medicine men, the patriarchs, the old men, chiefs, tyrants, kings, oligarchies, popular assemblies composed of demagogues and politicians, at different stages of development and in different places, have always ruled. There has never been, and it is not conceivable that there ever will be, a pure democracy of very considerable proportions, in which every man is equally free and capable in forming his opinions and in expressing his activities. Experience is leading us in the United States toward the adoption of the

[3] Robert Owen expressed this idea, possibly in somewhat extreme form, a century ago: "The character of man is, without a single exception, always formed for him; . . . . it may be, and is chiefly, created by his predecessors; . . . . they give him, or may give him, his ideas and habits, which are the powers that govern and direct his conduct. Man, therefore, never did, nor is it possible he ever can, form his own character."—*A New View of Society* (3d ed.), 91–92. See also, Spencer, *Social Statics,* 35. This idea is coming to be basic in scientific social technology.

policy of centralized administration by experts, who are made directly responsible to the people. Every social organization must be coercive to the extent necessary for efficiency or it must break down. A social organization based upon a scientific analysis and control of social phenomena in the broadest sense involves the rule of an élite in no greater degree than is implied in the responsible direction of administrative details by experts, instead of more or less irresponsible control and exploitation by professional politicians. If we could conceive of a society in which all the individuals were equally informed on all social matters and all absolutely sincere, all traces of an élite composed of experts, of aristocrats, or of professional politicians would disappear. But that is an impossibility.

Nor does such a view of society deny the necessity for social change or fail to make provision for it. On the contrary, it prescribes the condition for such change, demanding that all adjustments of individuals to the group shall be made on the basis of a scientific analysis and evaluation of social phenomena, so far as such knowledge is available; and it further makes it obligatory upon the individual to discover such knowledge where it is possible for him to do so. But since the individual cannot discover all the needed facts for himself, it recognizes the necessity for having these facts brought to the attention of the individual by the social organization, which must also demand social conformity. Those activities not under a scientific social control and which need adjustment, should be readjusted so far as possible on the basis of scientifically determined knowledge of social facts, which it is the business of the social organization to supply and enforce through whatever agencies are most effective—education, investigation, expert service, etc. The main emphasis of this view of society is upon the abolition of whimsical, subjectivistic, hedonistic, and thus predominantly anti-social, adjustments and maladjustments, through insistence upon scientific social adjustments so far as a science of society can provide the facts.

Thus the social organism or organization, intelligently considered, establishes its importance, first, as a means for

stimulating analysis and co-ordination of social phenomena for guidance in social control, and, second, as the means to the dissemination and enforcement of the findings of such investigations. At the present time we have no adequate machinery for the investigation of such facts on a large scale and our sociology, because of its largely subjectivistic reference and emphasis, is almost entirely impotent to direct such investigation.

Any compulsory organization not supplied with all the facts necessary to a scientific social control must necessarily make mistakes, as all social organizations so far have. Useful activities are liable to be interdicted and harmful ones to be encouraged. The difficulty, however, rests not with control itself when conscientiously administered but with an inadequate social science. The ever-present problem of social science is to discover what adjustments will be most effective in securing social development and the survival of the group and of the individual.[4]

Perhaps the chief advantage of the frank recognition of the inherently compulsory nature of the social unity as here explained, is that it assists in centering the attention upon the organic nature or connectedness of social problems, i.e., of cases of maladjustment. It promotes analysis and leads to the relating of problems to one another, in that it demands a co-ordination of knowledge about the problem with a view to group survival. Under such a grouping, sociology and social policy cease to be confusions of apparently more or less unrelated problems, many of which conflict in their solutions. With all minor social or personal problems thus understood as converging in one large and conclusive problem of group survival and growth, each particular problem becomes an attempt to co-ordinate all the activities, thus working toward the abolition of social waste.

[4] To guard against a possible misunderstanding, it seems necessary to say that group or social survival must also include the survival of all those individuals who are capable of social service. It is almost axiomatic that the group must be so constituted as to provide the utmost possible opportunity for the training of individuals in social functions and to utilize their capacities when so trained.

The group which is regarded as the object of attention will always be the most inclusive group which can be made to function as a unity. Hitherto it has been the ambition of most great religions, and of many empires, to treat the world as a whole as such a unity. All have failed. With the breaking down of magical, mythological, theological, and metaphysical controls, and with the gradual substitution of an adequate scientific social control, with adequate provision for necessary and scientific change, an adequate world control may be expected.

A truly scientific control, however, of any group, large or small, cannot be attained till all science and sciences recognize the fundamental problem of social growth and survival. The problems of all the sciences must converge about this one primary pragmatic and functional problem, and their energies must be directed, not by individual whim and interest, but by the demands of the social organism. When such co-ordination of scientific investigation is attained all science from astronomy to sociology will be, for the first time, truly functional and social in its application.

The final and supreme implication of this view of society is that when a fact is discovered it shall be applied and enforced. The counter plea of "interference with individual liberty" should have no weight in court, for individuals have no liberties in opposition to a scientifically controlled society but find all their legitimate freedom in conformity to and furtherance of such social functioning. Society is not yet regarded as a compulsory unity for much more than the suppression of rebellion, the repulsion of foreign invasion, the punishment of personal (not political) robbery, and the discouragement of personal violence. Proper scientific analysis of social phenomena will disclose other less obvious but even more pressing problems, as indeed it has already disclosed them. As these are abstracted from the incoherent mass of social phenomena the compulsory or functional unity of society also comes into view and means must be found for the coercion of individuals who stand in the way of efficient social function-

ing. The chief opposition to such effective social control comes from the old subjectivistic, individualistic, and hedonic dogma of *personal liberty* and the co-ordinate term *self-realization* which are mainly pleas for personal license in more attractive forms.

Thus the advancement of civilization appears to be marked by the growth of the conception of the compulsory and inherent functional unity of society, both for the purpose of furthering a scientific analysis of social phenomena and for enforcing the findings of that analysis. The working-out of such a theory in its details, as a means of communicating ideas and information concerning the character of social activities and as a means of correlating and controlling these activities, is largely yet to be accomplished. In fact, it can be consummated only as the actual concrete social processes are analyzed and evaluated.

THE INFLUENCE OF NEWSPAPER PRESENTATIONS UPON THE GROWTH OF CRIME AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITY (*Continued*)

FRANCES FENTON
The University of Chicago

CHAPTER IV
METHODS USED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

Two kinds of fact regarding the influence of newspapers upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity have been collected in this investigation: direct evidence of newspaper suggestion, consisting of cases in which the cause and effect relation between the newspaper and anti-social activity is known to have existed; and analyses of the relative amounts of space devoted by newspapers to anti-social and other matter. The latter constitutes a study of the possible objective sources of the stimuli in the newspaper to anti-social activity; the former some of the responses to these stimuli. Both studies are necessary preliminaries to any adequate control of the anti-social activity under consideration here.

The direct evidence was collected from all the available sources, from newspapers themselves, from persons who came in contact with criminals or other anti-social persons, or with juvenile offenders, and from court records. In addition 201 question-lists[1] were sent out, 74 to prison and reformatory officials, 75 to juvenile court judges and other judges, 45 to chief probation officers, and 7 to other persons. In return, 20 replies

[1] The question-list sent out was as follows:

1. Do you know of any persons, young or old, who have received the idea of committing some crime or abnormal act from the newspapers?

2. If so, will you answer the following questions regarding them: (*a*) name and place; (*b*) description of act committed and circumstances; (*c*) newspaper from which the idea was obtained; date and place of publication; (*d*) if there is a court record, please cite it in addition.

3. Did you get your information from the person's own confession, from

were received, 7 from prison and reformatory officials, 3 from juvenile court judges, 8 from chief probation officers, and 2 from other sources.[2] The results from all these sources are collected in chap. vi, but they are too extensive for publication here.

The object in view in analyzing the material in newspapers was to get a clear and accurate idea of the relative amounts of space given to news and other matter relating to anti-social and other activities. This was undertaken not because the actual amount of anti-social matter in a newspaper is known to bear a direct relation to the growth of crime, or because we have any evidence to show that changes in the two bear a constant relation to one another. (A study of this matter would be an important one to undertake.) The value of the quantitative analysis undertaken here, which is based upon a qualitative analysis of the material measured, is conceived to lie first in its more exact characterization of the newspaper matter which we are considering as stimuli to activity, this characterization being indispensable to any changes in the newspapers. One of the first questions asked by those to whom this matter is being mentioned for the first time is, "But is there *much* of this news of crime in our papers and *how* much?" This question implies the second reason for the value of the quantitative study, that the amount of anti-social matter of certain types is a factor which enters (1) into the conscious, or unconscious selection of reading matter on the part of individual readers, and (2) into the possible length of time during which the attention is occupied with anti-social matter. For the purpose stated above it would not suffice merely to count all of the matter in the paper dealing with anti-social themes and to compare that amount with all the matter not concerned with anti-social subjects—a method which has been

the fact that the newspaper account and the act corresponded closely, from the fact that the act followed quickly upon the account?

4. Can you refer me to anyone else from whom information of this sort could be got?

Please number answers to correspond with questions.

[2] Mr. Anthony Comstock, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, and Mrs. G. H. Britton, superintendent of the Juvenile Protection Association, Chicago, Ill.

followed in previous treatments. Such a comparison, while it would have some interest, would not have any special significance, because, in the first place, it would be too general, and because in the second place, there is no real basis of comparison between matter qualitatively different. In other words, such a comparison does not make clear the fact that matter relating to anti-social circumstances and activities appears in different forms, some in the literary section of the paper, some in the "news proper," some in book reviews, and still other matter in advertisements, sporting news, and editorials. Nor does it take account of the fact that a definite amount of matter in newspapers is of such a nature as never to be anti-social in character—for example; market and financial news, legal, marriage and death notices, weather reports, and miscellaneous matter, such as "beauty talks," recipes for housekeepers, etc. Any adequate analysis and estimate of newspaper matter must be based upon a careful classification of the material in papers; and the percentages of matter dealing with anti-social subjects must be carefully classified and related to the total of that kind of material of which it is a part, and not to the whole of the matter. Only thus is an accurate picture to be made of the material in newspapers, and a working basis arrived at for changes in newspapers.

Consequently, newspaper matter was classified as follows: I, Regular news; II, Critical, including book reviews, theatrical news and criticism, musical criticism; III, Literary and illustrations (exclusive of illustrations which are organic parts of the printed piece and which are included with the printed matter with which they occur); IV, Editorial; V, Sporting news; VI, Market and financial news; VII, Notices, i.e., weather reports, marriages, deaths, society, and miscellaneous items. Advertisements were totally excluded from tabulation, and sporting news was excluded from among the tabulated sources of anti-social suggestion; the former, not because considered unimportant but because the limits of the present study precluded the special treatment which their qualitatively different effect demands; the latter not because it is held not to be the source of much brutalizing effect, but because again the limits of the present

study debarred a consideration of this type of suggestion which it is difficult, with our present evidence, to analyze and prove.[3] Material falling under some of the classifications, as VI and VII, would evidently contain little or no anti-social matter.

The unit used in measuring newspaper matter was the inch instead of the item, because the former gives a comparative quantitative space estimate, which the latter, a unit of varying size, does not afford.[4] The total amount of matter under each heading, as well as the total amount of anti-social matter under each heading, was measured.

The general basis for the definition of "anti-social matter" was explained above[5] in connection with the word *anti-social.* It was stated that this basis is founded on the objective effects of newspaper matter, its suggested consequences, rather than its intent. Any kind of matter, therefore, which may furnish suggestion to anti-social activity is considered anti-social. More specifically, it includes, on the side of content: (1) not merely such matter as would obviously and technically be regarded as dealing with crime juridically considered, but (2) all material which a scientific psychology and psychiatry would classify as affording simuli to anti-social, that is, criminal and immoral, acts.[6] This classification is not less true to the facts than one based on a juridical definition, but it is more specifically inclusive of the various types of matter which incite to anti-social activity, which, if not criminal, may be either immediately or indirectly criminal in its results. That is to say, it includes matter which not only describes acts criminal in the legal sense, but also those acts which are immoral but not legally criminal. And on the other hand, it also includes not only matter which stimulates

[3] A separate study of both advertisements and of sporting news should be made, the former with special reference to medical advertisements and their effect. Cf. Survey (June 25, 1910), 503. The efforts to prevent the exhibition of moving pictures of the Johnson-Jeffries prize fight, together with less widespread but none the less strong protest regarding the attention given by newspapers in news columns and pictures to the same fight, are evidences of the popular conviction as to the effect of sporting news.

[4] Cf. chap. ii.

[5] Cf. chap. i.

[6] It makes little or no difference in what form this material happens to appear—whether as news, stories, book reviews, etc. Cf. chap. ii.

directly to crime, but also such items as stimulate directly to immorality and thus indirectly to crime. There is no real divison line here between the legally criminal and the immoral, though the two are not coterminous and the latter is perhaps a wider category than the former. To stop with the legally criminal would be to underestimate the anti-social effect of much newspaper suggestion (as also of much suggestion from five-cent theaters and other dramatic performances), because descriptions of legally criminal acts may incite both to criminal acts and to immoral acts, and descriptions of immoral acts may incite both to other immoral acts and to criminal acts. In other words, a description of a criminal act may incite to another criminal act or only to an immoral act, while a description of an immoral act may stimulate not only to another immoral act but also even to a legally criminal act. On the basis of this explanation, therefore, the matter classified as anti-social was of two general sorts:

I. Descriptions of criminal acts: (*a*) inciting to other criminal acts; (*b*) inciting to immoral acts.

II. Descriptions of immoral acts: (*a*) inciting to other immoral acts; (*b*) inciting to criminal acts.

The criterion here worked out is not as definite as the one based on a juridical or legal definition, for it depends, in a larger degree, upon the judgment and experience of the person using it and does not work as automatically as does the juridical criterion or category. It depends for its utility upon the knowledge and use of psychological principles. A large body of psychological and psychiatric facts, however, are at the basis of it. It becomes, consequently, more useful than the juridical criterion, in that it includes all types of significant anti-social relation between the newspaper and activity, that is, it takes care of the social and ethical facts in the case. Moreover, it ultimately furnishes a basis for a legal or juridical definition. It is one of the fundamental principles of jurisprudence that formulations of law follow customs, that certain moral and social principles are recognized generally before they are formulated as law. "Moral notions progress faster and develop quicker than law. The latter presents, so to speak, a lower step in de-

velopment, a step which morals have already taken."[7] To leave out of account, therefore, a large body of activities classified as immoral but not illegal would be to ignore the important relation of this type of activity to law.

Of this anti-social matter, as just defined, three divisions or classes were made on the basis of degree of possible suggestiveness in order to show the qualitative differences in "anti-social matter." The first and narrowest division includes what may be termed obvious material for suggestion, that is, material dealing with crime or immorality in such a detailed and striking manner as to constitute what the psychologist and psychiatrist would recognize as a most probable medium of anti-social suggestion. Examples are: detailed accounts of murders, suicides, robberies, rape, abnormal sexual relations and exhibitions, etc. The Thaw trial is a specific example of this type.

The second division includes matter of a less detailed sort, in which details and bare facts of murder and other crimes, etc., are not directly presented, but indirectly indicated and perhaps called up quite vividly. Examples are: references to crimes and immoral acts which have been detailed at great length in the papers, or short, relatively undetailed accounts of the kind of fact mentioned in the preceding example. Ordinarily an item is classified on the basis of its immediate content, although its reference to previous related items must be taken into consideration.

The third division includes all other mentions of anti-social facts. The matter in this division *may* be suggestive in various ways which it is difficult to get at. A mere two-line mention of the arrest of a murderer may, for example, call up all of the anti-social images which a former detailed account of that same murder, or of another, has established in the neural set. Vague

[7] N. M. Korkunov, *General Theory of Law* (Boston Book Co., 1909), 63. See also on this same point: Roscoe Pound, "The Causes of Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice," *Report of American Bar Association* (1906), XXIX, 399; Carter, *Law, Its Origin, Growth and Function* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 320; Augustus Pulazky, *Theory of Law and Civil Society* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1886), 312; G. F. Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen* (Breitkopf und Härtel, 1850), Bd. I, S. 31.

statements concerning the illegal dealings of the Sugar Trust, or of the Beef Trust, may set up in the minds of young people and others standards of public and commercial dishonesty which have a vague but real effect upon later conduct. However, this cannot be taken for granted or too closely insisted upon.

The boundary line between these classifications of newspaper matter are not and cannot be either wholly distinct or exact. The categories are not made too inclusive, however. They are not so inclusive as to cover matter that is not suggestive within the limits established above. As a matter of fact, any news may be suggestive in an anti-social direction. Psychologically the criterion of this suggestiveness is exceedingly indefinite and shifting. No more definite one, however, is offered by psychology, and the present analysis can be pushed only so far as the psychological knowledge and experience already worked out admit. The difference between divisions III and II is a difference of the directness with which the stimulus can go over into activity. Stories of graft, as they are ordinarily told in the newspapers, are likely to go over into activity of an anti-social type less directly and immediately, while detailed accounts of murders or robberies, because of their stronger motor or activity appeal, may go over at once. The situation might, however, be reversed, and for this and other reasons given above, all of these categories are necessary to cover all possible stimuli to anti-social activity. The basis of I and II is *treatment* of anti-social facts; of III the mere mention of such facts.[8]

The following classification of the anti-social matter in one of the papers analyzed will serve to illustrate the kinds of items included in each of the three categories. Only the titles of articles are given. The reason for including each item under its

[8] The most inclusive classification, III, is that used supposedly by all other tabulators of anti-social material in newspapers—supposedly, because the basis of their classification is not made sufficiently clear by them. Qualitative distinctions in newspaper matter based upon the possible objective effect of such matter have not been made by previous tabulators. Their classifications have been, as has been pointed out above, on the basis of content of items. Classification III is based upon the mere content of items and is consequently most nearly like former classifications.

TABLE I

ILLUSTRATING THE CLASSIFICATION OF NEWSPAPER MATTER UNDER THE THREE CATEGORIES*

I	II	III
MOBS BEAT POLICEMAN (referring to Philadelphia car strike). (Miss Addams' statement.†)	INDICT DAVIES IN C. H. FOSTER EXTORTION CASE. (Unnecessary details.)	BETTS CHARGES PLOT IN COAL LAND CASE.
EXPERTS BATTLE AT STOUT TRIAL. (Murder trial; arousing curiosity, beautiful young girl exciting sentimental sympathy.)	GIRL'S ESCORT STABBED; CRAWLS MILE FOR AID. (Wording and situation arouse abnormal interest.)	MERCHANT SHOT, 5 IN JAIL: RESULT OF CARD GAME.
PICTURE OF MOUNTED POLICEMAN DISPERSING MOB. (Definiteness of act, firing into mob.)	ELECTROCUTE NEGRO SLAYER. (Instils admiration for negro criminal by quoting his sentimental prayer.)	GEM SUSPECT BROUGHT BACK.
NEW RIOTS IN PHILADELPHIA. (Miss Addams' statement.†)	HOTEL LASALLE WOMAN GUEST FOUND INJURED. (Sensational situation, mystery.)	BARON SLAIN IN PISTOL DUEL BY FORMER FRIEND.
CAR STRIKE LEADERS DECLARE DYNAMITE PRISONERS MARTYRS. (Part of car strike item above.)	FUGITIVE NURSE HELD AS THIEF RAVES IN CELL (Unnecessary abnormal details.)	MYSTERY IN DEATH OF FRIEND OF SENATOR QUAY.
"I SHALL GO FREE," SAYS GIRL ON TRIAL AS SLAYER. (Stout trial continued.)	WRAITH OF OLD LOVE DARKENS PATHWAY OF NEW. (Idea of immoral conduct.)	RAID SALOON AFTER THE FRAY.
MAN FORGING "LOAN" FROM RICH FACES COURT. (Details of getting money under false pretenses.)	PACKERS FEAR INDICTMENTS IN CITY THIS WEEK. (Disregarding legal summons.‡)	(All of these items are more or less bare statements of criminal or other anti-social acts.)
SEEK TO SET DAY FOR TRIAL OF REV. KEMP. (Recalls concrete abnormal details.)		

* Such items as the following, entitled "Woman Pinned Under Car Half-Hour, Dies," giving details of injuries, have not been included. A large class of items presenting details of deaths from epilepsy, etc., facts concerning insane asylums, as well as much sporting news, has not been included in any of these categories. Nevertheless, this class of items often have an abnormal effect (people occasionally becoming mentally unbalanced from reading them), and are quite unnecessary in the newspaper.

† For ten years I had lived in a neighborhood which was by no means criminal, and yet during October and November of 1898 we were startled by ten murders within a radius of ten blocks. A little investigation of details and motives, the accident of a personal acquaintance with two of the criminals, made it not in the least difficult to trace the murders back to the influence of the war. Simple people who read of carnage and bloodshed easily receive suggestions. Habits of self-control which have been but slowly and imperfectly acquired quickly break down when such stress is put upon them."—Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, 43.

‡ "Boys and girls read about graft and dishonesty among people in the supposedly higher walks of life, and the example is a powerful thing for evil in their lives. Children become calloused more or less to vice, and get really false notions, because what they read in the papers is after all the exceptional case, and too many of us are prone to judge the general condition by what is, after all, only an exceptional or special condition."—Ben B. Lindsey, *The Light*, September, 1906.

TABLE I—*Continued*

I	II	III
HOLD MAN FOR SENDING GIRL POISON. (Details of method.)	PHYSICIAN ENDS LIFE AS FAMILY LOOKS ON. (Sensational details.)	
$525 LOOTED FROM SAFE. (Method given.)	ARREST IN HOTEL RAID. (Description of disorderly conduct.)	
ELEANOR ROBSON IN HER LATEST AND HER FUTURE RÔLE. (Picture making sexual appeal.)	WIFE SHOOTS AT MAN SHE SAYS DENIED HER FOOD. (Sensational details.)	
HOW JACQUES CODELL DIED. (Short story describing how a spiritualist suggested idea of his death to a man until he killed himself.)		

particular category is given in parenthesis directly beneath the title.

In the following chapter the results obtained by the method outlined above will be stated and explained.

CHAPTER V

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF THE PAPERS STUDIED

With the definition of anti-social matter determined upon as explained in the preceding chapter, the measurement of papers was undertaken. The analysis was confined to an intensive study of a comparatively small number of representative American papers exclusive of Sunday issues.[1] The papers analyzed were, first, the daily papers taken by the Chicago Public Library for three different dates, November 1 and 30, 1909, and January 3, 1910. The issues for those dates were not selected by the writer, but were merely those which it was convenient for the library to give away. This set of papers comprised, in general and in

[1] Since the object of the analysis was to obtain comparative results as far as possible, the Sunday issues could not be included, because, (1) a large number of representative papers have no Sunday issues, and (2) the Sunday editions represent characteristics so diverse from the week-day papers in size, arrangement of matter, and apportionment of space that they could not be included in an average which was to be compared with another average in which a Sunday edition was lacking. They demand separate treatment, therefore; but it was not possible within the limits of this study to consider them.

the main, the more conservative newspapers of the country. Altogether they numbered 130 for the three issues, though some were in such mutilated condition that they could not be analyzed, and, therefore, data from only 103 issues appear in the tables. Second, the *Chicago E*——— and the *Chicago D*——— were analyzed for the month of February, 1910, and the *New York A*———, the *New York B*———, the *New York C*———, and the *Denver G*———, each for seven days in the same month, February 18 to 27 inclusive. These Chicago, Denver, and New York papers were chosen because they are not among those taken by the Chicago Public Library, because they are well-known papers of large circulation, and because they are said to represent certain characteristic types of the American newspaper.[2]

The newspapers were carefully read and the anti-social matter in them marked as follows: The matter falling under division I of Table I[3] was numbered (4), the matter falling under division II of Table I was numbered (3), and all other mention of anti-social activities was numbered (2). This numbering held for matter under all the headings except that marked "editorial," in which case a slightly different classification was necessarily used. The editorials dealing with anti-social facts from a constructively social viewpoint were marked (2), those dealing with anti-social facts from an anti-social viewpoint were marked (3).

The following form of table was used for tabulating the first results and for purposes of computation:

	Reg. News				Critical				Literary				Editorial			Sporting	Markets	Notices
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3			
No. Inches ..																		
Percentage ..																		

[2] With the exception of *Chicago E*———, a morning paper which has been characterized as one of the best newspapers in the country of the moderately conservative kind," these papers have generally been designated as "yellow journals" and some of them of the worst type. These papers were chosen for analysis on the basis of the popular classification given them. The results of the analysis in this chapter will throw some light on the justice of this classification.

[3] Cf. Table I, chap. iv.

Column 1 under each heading represents the total number of inches of that class of matter; column 2, all the matter dealing with anti-social facts in that class, including also columns 3 and 4; column 4 represents matter falling under division I of Table I; column 3 represents the sum of divisions I and II of the same table, that is, the sum of matter which constitutes an obvious medium of suggestion and of matter of a less detailed sort, as described in chap. iv. Divisions I and II were both grouped under 3 in order to show more graphically the total percentage of matter that should be removed from the newspaper in making any constructive change in it. The results were then combined in the tables that follow. These results may seem meager, but they were all that could be obtained from a study carried on accurately and intensively within the limited time of the investigation. They comprise, however, accurate averages from representative papers of a fairly wide range as to type, time, and territory.

Table II represents a comparison of the general news section of the papers taken by the Chicago Public Library for the three dates of November 1 and 30, 1909, and January 3, 1910, with averages for all the papers for the three dates taken together, and with totals for all the papers taken together for each date. Columns 1, 2, 3, and 4 under each date represent the total number of inches of news of the types described above as indicated in these columns.[4] The figures immediately below those in inches are the corresponding percentages, on the basis of the total number of inches of "news proper" taken as 100 per cent. The totals for November 1, 1909, in percentage terms, are: column 2, 7.63: column 3, 5.58; and column 4, 4.72, as contrasted with the percentages for January 3, 1910: column 2, 13.61; column 3, 7.65; and column 4, 6.24, and further with November 30, 1909: column 2, 15.25; column 3, 8.14; and column 4, 6.52. These total percentages and averages represent results from 103 of the rather more conservative papers in the country, ranging from 0.69 per cent for column 2 in the *Springfield H———* of November 1, to 21.27

[4] Newspaper columns vary in length in different papers. It was necessary, therefore, to reduce columns to a common basis of inches.

TABLE II

General News Section

	November 1, 1909				November 30, 1909				January 3, 1910				Average—Three Dates			
Number of papers 103...	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Total number inches	27,411.75	2,091	1,530.75	1,292.50	25,793.75	3,933.75	2,099.25	1,682	29,276.25	3,984.25	2,238.75	1,816.25	82,481.50	10,009	5,668.75	4,791.30
Percentages	100	7.63	5.58	4.72	100	15.25	8.14	6.52	100	13.61	7.65	6.24	100	12.13	6.87	5.80

TABLE III

	Regular News Section								Literary and Pictorial Section							
	Chicago D——				*Chicago E——*				*Chicago D——*				*Chicago E——*			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Total inches.....	10,222	3,799	2,364	2,046	19,972	3,775.50	1,694.5	1,417.5	6,267	906	906	894	2,749.5	12	..	..
Percentages.....	100	37.16	23.02	20.02	100	18.90	8.48	7.10	100	14.45	14.45	14.27	100	.44	..	..

TABLE IV

General News Section

	New York A——				*New York B——*				*New York C——*				*Denver G——*			
February 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.....	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Total inches.....	4,068	1,728	883	759	5,340	2,018	424	316	6,388	2,121	795	555	5,714	1,522	795	615
Percentages.....	100	42.47	21.70	18.65	100	37.78	7.94	5.91	100	33.20	12.44	7.71	100	26.63	14.08	10.76

per cent for column 2 in the *Toledo I*——— of the same date; for November 30, ranging from 1.04 per cent for column 2 in the *Springfield H* ——— to 29.61 per cent for column 2 in the *New York K;* and for January 3, 1910, ranging from 1.61 per cent for column 2 in the *Springfield H* ——— to 26.14 per cent for column 2 in the *Philadelphia L*———. The corresponding, or minimum and maximum, figures for column 4 on the same dates are: 0.32 in the *Louisville M*——— and 15.59 in the *Tacoma O*——— for November 1; 0.00 in the *Springfield H*——— and 14.65 in the *Philadelphia L*——— for January 3; and for November 30, 0.27 in the *Springfield H*——— and 12.68 in the *Omaha P*———.

Table III represents a comparison of the regular news section and the literary and pictorial section of the *Chicago D*——— with those of the *Chicago E*——— for February, 1910. The average percentages of anti-social news for the *Chicago D*——— are 37.16 for column 2, 23.02 for column 3, and 20.02 for column 4, as compared with *Chicago E*———*'s* 18.90 per cent for column 2, 8.48 per cent for column 3, and 7.10 per cent for column 4. The percentages of anti-social matter in the literary and pictorial section are, for the *Chicago D*———, 14.45 for both columns 2 and 3, and 14.27 for column 4, as compared with 0.44 per cent in column 2 alone, for the *Chicago E*———.

Table IV contains a comparison of the general news sections of three New York papers and of the *Denver G*——— for seven corresponding days in February, 1910. The *New York A*——— has the highest percentages in all three columns, 42.47 for column 2, 21.70 for column 3, and 18.45 for column 4 respectively. The *New York B*——— has the lowest percentage of news, in column 4, 5.91 as compared with 18.65 for the *New York A*———, 7.71 for the *New York C*———, and 10.76 for the *Denver G*———. The percentage of news which would fall under the second division of Table I, found by subtracting column 4 from 3, is lowest in the *New York B*———, 2.43, and is slightly higher in the other three papers: 3.05 in the *New York A*———, 3.38 in the *Denver G*———, and 4.73 in the *New York C*———.

Comparing the percentages of the New York papers and of the *Denver G*——— for columns 2 and 4 with corresponding percentages for the two Chicago papers here analyzed, and ranging them according to size of percentage in each column, we have the result given in Table V.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF ANTI-SOCIAL NEWS IN COLUMNS 2 AND 4

Column 2		Column 4	
Name of Newspaper	Percentage	Name of Newspaper	Percentage
New York A———	42.47	*Chicago D*———	20.02
New York B———	37.78	*New York A*———	18.65
Chicago D———	37.16	*Denver G*———	10.76
New York C———	33.20	*New York C*———	7.71
Denver G———	26.63	*Chicago E*———	7.10
Chicago E———	18.90	*New York B*———	5.91

Table VI is made up of the average percentages for sections I, II, III, and IV of all the papers studied. Thus it represents the average percentages for the three dates of the 103 papers in Table II, the averages for the *Chicago E*——— and *Chicago D*——— for the month of February, the averages for the *New York A*———, *New York B*———, and *New York C*———, and the *Denver G*——— for seven days in February, 1910.

Table VII is the most inclusive of all the tables. It represents a comparison of the six papers for certain common dates, February 18 to 27, inclusive, omitting the twenty-first for which date one paper was lacking. The first column, marked "Total Space," contains the total number of inches of matter, exclusive of advertising space, in each of these papers for the dates mentioned, that is, the sum of the first columns under each section. The upper figures for each paper under each section represent in the first columns the total number of inches of each kind of matter, and in columns 2, 3, and 4 the number of inches of anti-social matter under each category for each kind of matter. Under sections V, VI, and VII, as has previously been explained, only the total number of inches of that kind of matter appears. The lower figures for each paper in every case are percentages of the "total space." This table is significant as representing a

TABLE VI

	Regular News Section				Critical				Literary and Pictures				Editorial		
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
103 Papers for November 1, 1909; 30, 1909, and January 3, 1910	100	12.13	6.87	5.80	100	.17	.17	..	100	1.46	1.46	1.14	100	.68	.75
Chicago D	100	37.16	23.02	20.02	100	3.22	3.22	1.55	100	14.45	14.45	14.27	100	..	6.58
Chicago E	100	18.90	8.48	7.10	100	4.10	3.20	2.30	100	.44	..	..	100	1.54	..
New York A	100	42.47	21.70	18.65	100	25.93	25.93	25.93	010	11.37	11.37	10.78	100	22.11	10.53
New York C	100	33.20	12.44	7.71	100	12.43	12.43	8.38	*(687)	..	..	..	100	1.82	1.21
New York B	100	37.78	7.94	5.91	*(557)	..	..	..	100	2.93	2.93	2.93	100	10.37	4.07
Denver G	100	26.63	14.08	10.76	*(91.75)	..	..	..	(*2,276.5)	..	..	..	*(452)	..	..

* Inches are given here instead of percentages because there was no basis of comparison, i.e., no anti-social matter from which to estimate percentages.

TABLE VII

Name of Paper	Total Space	General News Section				Critical				Literary and Illustrations				Editorial			Sporting	Market, Financial, Etc.	Miscellaneous
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	1	1	1
Chicago D	6,862.5	2,909	899	550	467	360	3	3	3	1,451	130	130	130	300	..	64	1,538.5	311	93
	100	42.39	13.10	8.01	6.81	5.25	.04	.04	.04	21.14	1.89	1.89	1.89	4.37	..	.93	22.42	4.53	1.36
Chicago E	8,282.5	51.76	11.97	443	395	289	.14	14	14	602	12	..	..	380	19	..	974	1,376.5	485
	100	62.49	14.45	5.35	4.77	3.49	.17	.17	.17	7.27	.14	..	..	4.59	.23	..	11.76	16.62	586
New York A	6,883	3,502	1,427	747	663	54	14	14	14	1,871	263	263	246	270	50	40	1,165	21	....
	100	49.66	20.87	10.79	9.29	.58	.15	.15	.15	28.42	3.23	3.23	3.15	3.71	.91	.43	17.35	.31	....
New York C	7,953	5,598	1,827	545	450	264	22	14	8	482	..	..	..	274	9	6	631	514	190
	100	71.62	21.15	7.92	6.03	2.41	.22	.14	.08	6.26	..	..	..	3.60	.09	.06	8.53	5.03	2.55
New York B	9,425	4,650	1,737	378	287	378	..	..	..	672	24	24	24	208	28	11	1,008	1,612	897
	100	50.67	18.58	4.44	3.15	4.70	..	..	..	6.91	.20	.20	.20	2.28	.24	.09	9.87	16.90	8.68
Denver G	9,826	4,693.5	1,225	748.25	585	....	..	..	..	1,784	..	..	..	328.5	..	..	1,585.5	1,022.5	4,125
	100	47.77	15.52	7.61	5.95	....	..	..	..	18.16	..	..	..	3.34	..	..	16.14	10.41	4.20
Total inches	49,232	26,528.5	8,312	3,411.25	2,847	1,345	53	45	39	6,862	429	417	400	1,706.5	106	121	6,902	4,857	2,077.5
Percentage	100	53.88	16.88	6.93	5.78	2.73	.11	.09	.08	13.94	.87	.85	.81	3.58	.22	.25	14.02	9.87	4.22
Papers analyzed for the *Three*	154,841	82,481.5	10,009	5,868.75	4,791.75	4,802.75	8	8	..	11,610.75	170	170	132	9,617.5	65	72	16,081	20,391.75	9,855.75
Dates mentioned above	100	53.27	6.46	3.79	3.09	3.10	.005	.005	..	7.50	.11	.11	.09	6.21	.04	.05	10.39	13.17	.62

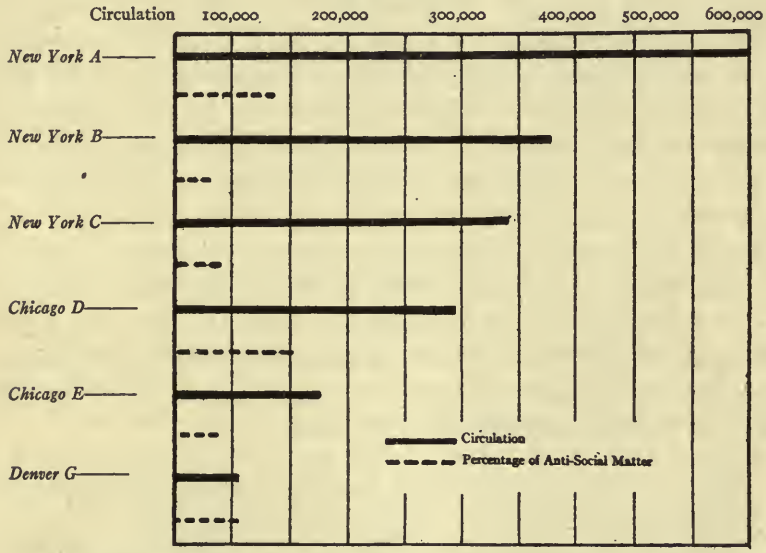
comparative intensive study of the relative apportionment of matter in these papers and of the percentages of anti-social matter in relation to the entire paper (exclusive of advertisements) rather than to each class section separately. In the general news section the percentages range for mention of anti-social facts (column 2) from 21.15 per cent for the *New York C*——— to 15.52 per cent for the *Denver G;* for column 3, from 10.79 per cent in the *New York A*——— to 4.44 per cent in the *New York B*———; and for column 4, from 9.29 per cent in the *New York A*——— to 3.15 per cent in the *New York B*———. It will be seen from these figures that even when the percentages are taken on the basis of the total reading-matter in the paper they are still high for this class of papers. It should be noted also that it so happened that the dates here analyzed did not include any special criminal "sensation" or "epidemic"; hence the averages are lower than they otherwise would be.

The figures so far given have not had any reference to the matter of the circulation of the newspapers. Consequently, the comparative potential influence of these newspapers with respect to the number of people by whom they are read has been ignored. The following diagram, Table VIII, indicates a more significant fact for purposes of comparison in that it shows side by side the approximate circulation and the percentage of anti-social matter in column 4 of each paper.

A comparison of the general news section and the editorial section of all the papers studied is especially to be noted in this table. It appears from these figures that whereas the *Chicago D*——— has 20.02 per cent of matter falling under column 4 in its news columns, none of its editorial space is devoted to a treatment of these anti-social facts in a socially constructive manner (column 2), while 6.58 per cent of the space in its editorial columns is devoted to editorials dealing with anti-social matter from an anti-social point of view (column 3). The *Chicago E*———, on the other hand, devoted 1.54 per cent of the space in its editorial columns to discussion of anti-social facts from a social viewpoint (column 2), and did not, within the period studied, deal with such matter at all from an anti-social stand-

point. The *New York A*——— leads all the other papers studied in the percentage of its editorial space (22.11, column 2) given to a constructively social discussion of anti-social matter, and likewise in the percentage (10.53, column 3) given to an anti-social discussion of such matter. The *Chicago E*——— and the *New York A*——— represent the extremes for the papers studied.

TABLE VIII



In this table the paper with the greatest circulation, the *New York A*———, is taken as 100 per cent and the circulation of the other papers represented as percentages of that. The figures for circulation were taken from Ayer & Sons' *Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1910.

CHAPTER VI
ANALYSIS OF CASES

Limitations of space compel substitution of a mere classification of the material for the actual evidence collected. The evidence consists then of exhibits of cases in which there is proof of the influence of the newspaper upon anti-social activity.

The actual number of cases of this sort cited in comparison with the number assumed to exist is small, but the purpose in gathering instances in which anti-social stimuli were received

from the newspaper was not to make an exhaustive list of such cases. That would have been impossible within the limited time and with the facilities available. The purpose was to establish the existence, not the full quantitative extent, of anti-social newspaper influence. The machinery for getting at these cases was very inadequate, because the questionnaire method alone was available, and because this method is not one likely to bring either numerous or detailed results. Few cases are, as yet, to be found in the literature of criminology[1] or in court records, because thus far the less obvious sources and causes of crime have been only slightly studied, and there was no means of getting information directly from persons influenced by the newspapers. Moreover, only cases of conscious suggestion[2] could be collected, that is, cases in which the relation between the newspaper as stimulus and the resulting response had been recognized at the time by the person involved and was thus remembered, that is, in which there could be introspective evidence of the relation. Of those that could be thus introspectively ascertained, only a certain proportion, in actual fact, would be remembered by the persons themselves, and still fewer by third persons to whom confessions of such connections were made.

People do not always remember the sources of their ideas, impulses, and acts. For example, they frequently do not remember why they buy certain kinds of goods, or go to certain tailors. They forget that specific advertisements induced them to go, or else they may never have established in consciousness the connection between the advertisement and their activity. (Cf. Scott, *Psychology of Advertising,* 142, 145, 220 ff.) Just as the connection between the advertisement and the act is frequently forgotten or

[1] Those cases which do appear in the literature of criminology are to be found chiefly in the work of the French and Italian writers. There are, however, statements by American authorities on criminology to the effect that the press is responsible for anti-social activities. Cf. Philip A. Parsons, "Responsibility for Crime, An Investigation of the Nature and Causes of Crime and a Means of Its Prevention," *Columbia University Studies in Political Science,* XXXIV, No. 3, p. 190; Maurice Parmelee, *op. cit.,* 260; C. R. Henderson, *An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes* (2d ed., enlarged and revised; D. C. Heath Co., 1893), 139. Criminal court and juvenile court records do not as yet include these data.

[2] Cf. chap. iii.

never recognized, so in the commission of crime the source of the stimuli is as infrequently recognized or as often forgotten.

Moreover, of the whole number of cases remembered, only certain ones would be confessed to other persons. This number would be likely to include cases of crime alone and few cases of other anti-social activity, the former being the more likely to come to official or public notice. Finally there are comparatively few reports or records of such cases, possibly because people dealing with offenders have not as yet had their attention on this unconscious cause of crime as much as on other more obvious, because more conscious, causes. The fact that a number of those to whom question-blanks were sent refer to cases of which they have not preserved any memorandum and which consequently they do not describe shows the lack of close attention to this cause of crime. Therefore, it is clear that the number of cases of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity which it would be possible to collect at the present time would be no adequate measure of the extent to which the newspaper has actually operated as a factor in causing anti-social acts.

The evidence of the existence of newspaper suggestion to anti-social activity which has been collected in the course of this study may be classified as follows:

1. Direct introspective evidence of such connection, confessed in every case to some third person, and the details of the act described by this person.

2. Direct introspective evidence of such connection, confessed to some third person, but the nature of the act and the details of the act not given.

3. Cases described in the newspapers themselves and stated by the newspapers to have been caused by reading newspaper accounts of similar crimes.

4. Statements from persons in close contact with criminals and other social offenders, to the effect that this suggestion exists, but containing no description of particular cases.

The exhibits which have been collected under these heads represent a mass of both direct and indirect evidence of the sug-

gestive influence of the newspaper on anti-social activity gathered from a wide range of territory and from many different sources. The evidence does not seek or claim to be coextensive with the actual extent of newspaper influence on anti-social activity, but it does establish its existence and indirectly suggests its extent.[3]

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

1. *Summary and conclusions.*—The object of the present study has been to show a causal connection between the newspaper and crime and other anti-social activity. In how far and in what manner this has been done a summary of the previous chapters will show.[1]

Chap. iii explains the psychological process by which newspaper influences operate on activity, and lays the theoretical basis for the consideration of cases of newspaper suggestion and of forms of newspaper stimuli. The conclusion reached in this connection is that the newspaper can enter into activity in all of the ways in which it can influence the nervous set, i.e., it may be the source of initial images, ideas, or impulses that are now either the fringe or the focus of a present act, or it may be a present stimulus calling out images, ideas, or impulses that are already present.

In chap. iv a method was worked out on the basis of these principles for analyzing the amount and kinds of anti-social matter in newspapers; a definition of anti-social matter was determined upon different from the definitions hitherto employed, and founded on an objective and socially constructive basis, that is, a basis that is able to take care of all anti-social relations between the newspaper and activity and based upon a body of psychological and psychiatral facts—a definition, conse-

[3] Chap. vi, as submitted for publication, contained a mass of evidence which the editor was compelled to omit for lack of space. What appears here represents the material so edited.—Editor.

[1] The concluding chapter was written to accompany chap. vi in its original form with the entire mass of evidence and detailed discussion of evidence included.

quently, both more and less inclusive, and more functional, than the juridical definition.

In chap. v the results obtained by an analysis of newspapers on the basis of the foregoing definition were given in several tables representing a comparative and intensive study of approximately 57 papers for three different dates, of the general news and literary and pictorial sections of the *Chicago E*——— and *Chicago D*——— for one month, of the general news sections of three New York papers, the *New York C*———, the *New York B*———, and the *New York A*———, and of the *Denver G*——— for seven corresponding dates, a comparison of four sections of all the papers studied, a comparison of the six papers above mentioned by name for common dates as to relative apportionment of matter and percentages of anti-social matter in relation to the total matter in each paper, and finally a diagrammatic representation of the relation between certain percentages of crime in the six papers mentioned by name and the circulation of those papers.

Chap. vi was concerned with an analysis of typical cases of American newspaper suggestion, as well as with a mass of evidence from foreign newspapers, from analogous sources of anti-social suggestion, such as the yellow novel, moving pictures, etc., and also with the presentation of the opinions of experts in penal, judicial, and journalistic matters tending to confirm the general thesis. Also an incidental account of movements initiated and practical steps taken on the basis of a belief in, or of positive proof of, the existence of this anti-social suggestion was given.

The results of the analysis of the anti-social matter in the six papers mentioned specifically above show the highest percentage of the kind of news which is an obvious medium of suggestion considered on the basis of a comparison of news alone, to be 20.02 and the lowest, 5.91; while an estimate based upon all mention of anti-social news makes the highest percentage 42.47 and the lowest, 18.90. The amount of news alone which should be withdrawn from the newspaper columns is more nearly represented by the figures shown in column 3 of

the tables, 23.02 being the highest percentage there, and the lowest, 7.94. This, however, is exclusive of forms of anti-social matter other than that included in the news proper. The percentage of all kinds of anti-social matter out of the entire paper which should be removed, a figure found by relating the sum of inches in column 3 in all the papers to the total space exclusive of advertisements, is 8.11.

One of the most significant results of this analysis comes out in the figures relating to the comparative percentages of anti-social matter in the editorial and news columns. Given a certain amount of anti-social matter in the news columns, the question arises whether the editorial columns are an adequate offset to this, that is, whether this anti-social news is so treated in editorials as to interpret it for those for whom it would be suggestive in an anti-social direction—provided, of course, that the editorial section can so offset the effect of the news columns. In the paper whose news columns contain the highest average percentage of anti-social news, i.e., 20.02 per cent, the editorial columns contain only 6.58 per cent of anti-social matter. But all of this matter is treated from an anti-social rather than from a socially constructive standpoint. Here, then, the reader gets no counter-evaluative stimuli to the news columns. The paper whose news columns contained the lowest average percentage of anti-social news—5.91—devoted 10.37 per cent of its editorial space to a discussion of anti-social facts from a constructively social viewpoint, and 4.07 per cent to a discussion of anti-social facts from an anti-social viewpoint. Here, also, the editorial columns are by no means an adequate offset for the anti-social effect of the news columns—granting that the editorials are as often read as are the news items, an assumption which is not borne out by fact.

It appears from chap. vi that the newspaper leads to anti-social activity in a number of ways. These may be summed up by saying that it influences people directly, both unconsciously and consciously, to commit anti-social acts. It also has a more indirect anti-social influence on public opinion during criminal trials through its accounts of these trials and through its partisan

selection of evidence; and, finally, it aids in building up anti-social standards, and thus in preparing the way for anti-social acts.

Finally, the results from the analyses of the papers are based upon a comparatively extensive number of issues of papers (203), comprising 57 different American newspapers. The percentages, therefore, constitute representative figures, both as to number and kind of papers and total number of issues studied.

The evidence collected for chap. vi unquestionably establishes the *existence* of suggestion to anti-social activity, and indirectly suggests its *extent*. Cases of direct newspaper suggestion to crime and other anti-social activity, cases of exactly analogous suggestion through the similar medium of literature, also similar cases of suggestion through moving-picture shows, theater representations, etc., along with a large body of facts testifying to a wide experience and conviction on the part of experts and others that the suggestion exists, were presented in support of the argument.

II. Newspapers and other interests are accustomed to object to evidence of the kind here presented, that the persons who are alleged to have been so influenced would have committed the anti-social acts any way. This objection, however, is either based upon the false assumption that criminals and other social offenders are born such, or represents a failure to raise the question of what makes the offender, if he is not born. Modern and scientific criminology does not recognize the existence of the born criminal or offender. If criminals are made, and not born such, they have to acquire their anti-social habits somewhere. The evidence here given has shown beyond question that the newspaper is one of the means by which people are set to acquiring anti-social habits and to committing anti-social acts.

Moreover, the newspaper itself admits an analogous suggestive influence in other fields.[2] The psychological principle, as well as the evidence of actual fact, is the same in both cases.

III. *Recommendations for Changes in the Newspaper.*—(1) The newspaper is a tremendous influence in the community. Its stimuli reach an enormous number of persons and reach them

[2] Instances were collected for chap. vi, but not published here.

frequently and insistently. It should, therefore, be an educative and dependable medium. Its possible educative value has scarcely been realized. Suggestive anti-social matter should be excluded from it. This does not mean that all mention of anti-social matters should be excluded. It is desirable that the public should be informed on all matters which they can assist in improving. But the news which gives them the information should not be couched in terms or presented in forms and details which make it criminally suggestive or factually misleading. It is possible to deal with anti-social matters in such a manner as to minimize the possibility of suggestion to anti-social activity by confining the treatment to bare statements of fact, by selecting such facts only as are necessary to constructive action in the matter.[3] It is likewise possible to use all of the media which contribute so largely to anti-social results in gaining increased social results. Many of these methods constitute a technique ready made for educative purposes. Large type, vivid and picturesque writing, illustrations, colored type, diagrams, etc., are just as easily the media of social as of anti-social suggestion and when the content conveyed by them is of a social character they are indispensable for readers who are fatigued, or who read in poor light.

(2) There are, however, strong forces working against such changes as have been suggested, at the present time. Commercial influences operating upon the policy of newspapers serve to suppress facts important to the public. Any accident, theft, crime, which is likely to react unfavorably on the buying public is not coupled with the name of the firm with whom it occurs. For example, if an accident occurs in a State Street department store in Chicago, whether due to fault of the company or to some other cause, the newspapers do not mention specifically where it occurred, because such mention hurts the store's trade.

The newspaper is also accustomed to play up or distort facts when such a course pays. An example of this is to be found in the fact that while the opera *Salome* was under fire in Chicago and not yet suspended, some of the Chicago papers and likewise

[3] See Clifford G. Roe's *Panders and their White Slaves* (Revell, 1910).

Cleveland papers (for which city the opera was booked after Chicago) took the side of the opera and minimized its suggestiveness.

The fact that the newspapers work for a margin of sales also strongly influences their policy in printing anti-social matter. There is a circulation which can be pretty definitely counted upon, i.e., a certain number of people buy papers constantly for the news regardless of the content. Beyond this, featuring, doctoring, and faking draw a wide circle of buyers who would not otherwise be attracted. For example, the sporting section is usually printed on colored paper and placed on the outside of the evening paper for the purpose of attracting this margin of sales among a class who are not generally interested in the political and social news of the day. Likewise there are girls who would not buy a conservatively gotten-up paper, i.e., one dealing with the essential and standard facts of life presented in an uncolored and dependable manner, who will buy a copy which bears the caption in large red type, *Turns Revolver Upon Woman, Shoots Self.*

In short, advertising columns and pecuniary reward muzzle the news columns and distort and color the facts which they contain, thus destroying their accuracy and utility and leading to anti-social presentations. When any argument is made for the control of newspaper presentations, however, it is met by the time-honored appeal to freedom of discussion. But, as an answer to this appeal, it should be remembered (1) that as a matter of fact the public does not get freedom of discussion in the newspaper. It gets discussion which is strictly censored in the ways mentioned above, in large part by special interests and the desire for gains at the cost of the public; and (2) that as a principle, freedom of discussion is useful and desirable only when it secures advantageous social results. Freedom of discussion apart from its results is not in itself a worthy end.

(3) Endowed and public-owned newspapers have been proposed as remedies for the present evils springing from a system of private-owned newspapers. While public-owned newspapers might secure the kind of news which is desirable—at least in

some respects—they are such a far-off contingency that it is more practical to consider proposals which can be put into operation more quickly. The endowed newspaper, as an adequate solution of the problem, is at present as impracticable as the public-owned newspaper. It would moreover be but a partial relief, so long as private-owned newspapers were in the field.

(4) Therefore it is important to consider methods possible at present.

(*a*) We need new and adequately enforced laws defining strictly the power of newspapers to deal with news, laws analogous to those already in operation in regard to the use of the mails, billboards, etc. Such laws would, as a matter of fact, in many cases be mere formulations of practices already in vogue. Courts both in the United States and England have already shown their power to restrain newspapers from, or to punish them for, detailing certain types of anti-social facts.

(*b*) Judges should recognize in their decisions the facts already known regarding anti-social suggestion.

(*c*) Public opinion needs to be educated to secure support for constructive legislation along this line and to support such laws as we have or as may be made.

(*d*) Further investigation of the relation of newspaper suggestion and other suggestion to crime and other anti-social activity should be made, and public officials, such as probation officers, juvenile court judges and other judges, superintendents of institutions, etc., should be encouraged and required to keep records of cases of such connection. In this way a better basis for activity regarding the newspapers could be established.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Führer und Masse.—Democratic suspicion of leaders in general, as implying a superior political intelligence of the masses, rests on two false premises: (1) that membership in an organization guarantees ability to decide all questions touching the purpose of the whole, and (2) that what concerns all should be decided by all. Both socialism and trade-unionism in Germany are opposed to these principles. While the second principle of primitive democracy above mentioned finds more general application in trade-union practice, the Webbs have pointed out the logic of the growing restriction of the initiative and the referendum. The inherent contradiction between a leader's equipment for his administrative and financial duties and his ability to interpret the common worker's feelings, whose representative he is, has been solved in England by the parliamentary program of the unions, in which the masses surrender their right of giving immediate expression of their will. Not they but their representatives decide about what concerns all. The delegate becomes a specialist and as such, not as a passive instrument, he represents his constituents.—Ludwig Quessel, *Sozialist. Monatshefte,* October 27, 1910.

P. W.

Kartell und Arbeitsvertrag.—Some leading representatives of the trusts squarely refuse to deal with labor collectively. This extreme position is insupportable in the long run, because labor disputes not only injure the parties immediately concerned but jeopardize the national welfare. For the instrument of peace, we are forced to look to collective bargaining between organized groups of employers and employees. The opposition to the labor contract on the ground of its "minimum wage" and "restriction of output" features and on account of the abridgment of individual liberty it entails, must give way to the perception that the combination of employers' and employees' organizations on the basis of wage agreements cannot but produce benefits for both and for all: the economic elevation of the proletariat by means of a certain and minimum wage, the prevention of undercutting by competing producers, the increase of the wage-earners' purchasing power, the reduction of the risks of unnecessary interruption of production, standardization of prices, etc.—Dr. Otto Utsch, *Kartell Rdsch.,* October, 1910.

P. W.

Zur Kenntnis der Psyche des jugendlichen Verbrechers.—Innate unsocial tendencies are falsely attributed to the child. It is rather the qualities predisposing the child in the general direction of crime, that are innate, viz., violent impulsiveness of temper with underdeveloped inhibition, strong emotional tendencies not yet controlled, a normally high suggestibility without the power of selecting between stimuli, physiological or pathological mental defects that prevent him from clearly distinguishing between good and evil. Besides these organic factors the kind and degree of educational influences play an important part in juvenile delinquency. The favorable occasion, or temptation, is a far stronger stimulus to crime in the case of the juvenile than in that of the adult, since the power of inhibition is so much weaker in proportion to his appetites. Deliberate crimes are for this reason foreign to the young offender and are practically excluded in the case of girls.—Helene F. Stelzner, *Zeitschrift f. Jugendwohlfahrt,* September, 1910.

P. W.

Das Problem der sozialen Reformen in Indien.—The immense pariah population furnishes the breeding-ground for all the misery and disease of the empire. It is the very constitution of Indian society with its aristocratic

stratification of castes and its principle of selection on the basis of strict occupational heredity, that has decreed for the out-caste the lowest possible standard of life. The degradation of the masses is freely accepted as the divinely ordained order. The social question in India, therefore, is in last analysis a religious question. It has three main social roots, viz., the caste system, child marriage, and pariah degeneration, the first being central to the whole. Three indigenous schools of reformers are endeavoring to overthrow this rigid caste system or to reconcile it with a powerful democratic trend that is imperceptibly undermining the moral foundations of the old order.—Dr. von Mackay, *Zeitschrift f. Sozialwissenschaft*, October, 1910. P. W.

Burg- und Haftpflicht im Chinesischen Volksleben.—An essential trait in Chinese character is the individual's marked adaptability to his fellows and to the mores of his people. The Chinese state is a replica of the Chinese family, both being founded on respect toward parents. The latter is patriarchal in structure and incomparably more compact than the western type. For several generations no separation occurs. The family is, like all patriarchal families, an economic unit, all wealth being owned and used in common. As a logical corollary, legal responsibility fixes upon the family instead of the individual. The family is liable to the full extent of the law for the offense of any of its members. The law vigorously suppresses all dangerous variation. It punishes disobedience with terrible ostracism. The system of bond given by the family or by a business firm places all liability for the good behavior of an employee upon his surety. The ignoring of this custom by Europeans in dealing with Chinese labor has led to growing moral evils.—Dr. R. v. Budberg, *Globus*; November 10, 1910. P. W.

Movement for International Legislation.—Two views conflict: the principle of the Brotherhood of Man and that of Nationalism. Involved with these are the theories of foreign competition—tending to check labor legislation that cannot be made general—and of free trade. The theories of internationalism are much confused; and practical interpretations of such legislation as has been passed throw little light on the subject. International convictions seem necessary, chiefly as a safeguard. In so far as the question is one of employer against employee, international federation seems necessary; but in so far as it is actual wage-earning within a country, there is a tendency for exclusion on national lines. But "there is a growing popular feeling that after a certain point social advance must be by means of international regulation."—D. S. Potter, *Economic Journal*, September, 1910. A. D.

The Modern Press and Its Public.—The modern press contrasted with the older journalism which was actually an "organ of thought," aims at the satisfaction of popular demands. Its psychology is the psychology of the people, while at the same time it helps to form the shock-craving mentality of its readers. There are many attendant dangers; but after all, the popular dailies, with their world-wide interests, tend to achieve a "measure of unity for mankind." Unprejudiced, with well-informed reporting, their columns open to all kinds of opinion, they may become a "forum of democracy."—H. W. Massingham, *Contemporary Review*, October, 1910. A. D.

Division of Labor and the Ballot.—The conservative cannot insist upon "division of labor between the sexes" without insisting also upon suffrage for women. Politics and law affect every department of women's activity from industrial business to home-making business. In the home, women are business managers, profoundly affected by tariff, industrial combinations, railway rates, good food laws, sanitary regulations. To deny woman the ballot is "putting upon man political obligation not connected with his business of earning money-capital for the home, or denying the home, political opportunity to secure law and administration favorable to its interests."—R. V. Phelan, *Westminster Review*, October, 1910. A. D.

Middle Classes and Social Progress.—The renegade middle classes form a great obstacle to social progress. They are thoroughly selfish and have neither

intelligence nor desire for any movement toward the common good; they are smug imitators, without thought unless they are hit by financial or social misfortune. The working-classes, on the other hand, are developing a class-consciousness which sets ideals in art, music, science and literature far higher than those held by the middle classes. The working-class feeling is really national.—R. G. Davis, *Westminster Review,* October, 1910. A. D.

The Control of Immigration as an Administration Problem.—We have been thoroughly unscientific in our dealing with immigration. Statistical information as to *departure* of aliens, illiteracy, classification of races (notably "Slavic") has been needlessly defective; government investigations have been spasmodic and superficial; and private investigation, similarly, has been inadequate. Some progress is being made along these lines; but immigration still needs more attention in intellectual and social centers. Primarily, there should be a permanent federal commission of experts devoted to the scientific investigation of all phases of immigration. Ultimately there will be international co-operation.—Paul S. Pierce, *American Political Science Quarterly,* October, 1910.

A. D.

Sur quelques erreurs de méthode en criminologie.—One set of errors have their primary cause in the psycho-social sentiments which are rendered useless by a-priori views based on a popular belief in the efficacy of voluntary effort, in free will, in moral responsibility, and in other conceptions that are tied up with public prosecution of crime and application of punishment. This class of errors may be offset by a scientific research to determine under what conditions the cerebral activities function normally and, in particular, to find out what are the somatic defects (tares) which can reveal those mental defects that often are so difficult to observe directly. Another set of errors are of a theoretical order and constitute some simple digressions from principles which may be better established by the experimental method.—G. Papillault, *Revue L'Ecole D'Anthropologie,* October, 1910. E. S. B.

A Federal Department of Health.—The proposed federal department of health has been attacked as a "medical trust" by various organizations. But claim has been made that the opponents of the Owen bill are interested in the production of patent medicines, and it is certain that the most vociferous opponents of the bill are "doctors" and "healers" not thoroughly trained for the practice of medicine. It is precisely such departments (as the proposed one) that have made possible in France and Germany the work of Pasteur, Koch, Ehrlich and Behring.—Adolph Knopf, *Popular Science Monthly,* October, 1910.

A. D.

Le rôle et les limites de la science sociale.—Social science has for its object the necessary relations of cause and effect which rule the social groups (even temporarily). This excludes individual action except in so far as it is related to group action. The laws of society are relative to particular circumstances and are often only hypotheses, provisionally stated. We delegate the application of exact science to specialists, but manage our own social affairs. Social science can show the good resulting from an effort; metaphysical and religious convictions determine the aim and direction of effort. The result is social, the motive is moral. In the pure science only causality is postulated; in practical work, some more definite view of life is taken.—P. de Rausiers, *La science sociale,* August–September, 1910. D. I. P.

The Classification of Criminals.—In order to deal scientifically with the problem of crime, it is necessary to recognize three distinct types within the criminal class: (1) the instinctive, or mentally defective; (2) the habitual, or professional; and (3) the single, or occasional offender. Corresponding to the three types, there are three different sets of causes at work in producing crime: (1) the biological, affecting the hereditary equipment of the individual; (2) the social, influencing his social training and adjustment; and (3) the individual-psychological, acting upon the person's moral decisions momentarily. These

sets of causes indicate three different ways by which crime may be controlled, if not eradicated.—Charles A. Ellwood, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* November, 1910. E. S. B.

Some Recent Advances in Sociology.—Advance in sociology has not been confined to the elimination of old problems, to the foundation of societies and journals, to the development of a synthetic tendency in theory and to the attainment of a greater recognition among the sciences; but the related data appear to show, also, that sociologists are beginning to investigate the problems of their science, instead of confining their discussions to its fundamental concepts or to its scope and its methods.—Alvan A. Tenney, *Political Science Quarterly,* September, 1910. E. S. B.

Present Tendencies of Class Differentiation.—The class structure of English society has within the last century, undergone alterations due (1) to the results of economic development, and (2) to the movement toward democracy. These alterations are (*a*) the destruction of the old basis (that of family) of determining class; (*b*) alteration of the old class grouping according to three divisions, namely, the laboring, the shopkeeping, and the gentry class; (*c*) the change in normal environment (from rural to urban districts). The present class structure is based upon the different standards of life, while the economic ability of the individual tends to become the factor which determines class.—F. G. d'Aeth, *Sociological Review,* October, 1910. E. S. B.

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THE RELATION OF SOCIAL THEORY TO PUBLIC POLICY

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS
Columbia University

"To censure," said Demosthenes, "is easy, and in the power of every man: but the true counsellor should point out conduct which the present exigence demands."

It is an interesting circumstance that the makers of social theory in all generations have aimed to be true counselors in the sense contemplated by the Athenian orator. Like other men, they have reacted to the greater exigencies of their day. With fellow-citizens they have played their part in the collective struggle for existence and advantage. By one sort of thinking or another, their theories have been derived, at least in part, from observations or reflections upon large issues of public policy, and upon public policy they have left an impression by no means insignificant.

If their counsel has been not always wise, not always salutary, imperfect knowledge, more than any defect of patriotism, has been at fault. Until social theory became sociology, it was highly a priori and speculative. A conclusion much desired for fortifying a policy predetermined more often than not was the actual base of intellectual operations. Knowing what he ought to prove for the glory and safety of the state, the pragmatic political philosopher discovered adequate premises therefor as unerringly as any soothsayer to Cyrus or Alexander found

the right flock of birds to deliver a prognosis of promise for expeditions then afoot.

It would be rash to assume that speculative methods have forever faded with the nobler intellects that used them "into the infinite azure of the past." In an age which is witnessing, in supposedly educated circles, a revival of every cult of magic and demonism known among men from Gadara to Salem, we cannot feel sure that any absurdity or obsession may not again mask under the austere name of "science." But for the time being, social theory of the speculative sort is discredited. The very name "sociology" was invented and is used to lay stress upon inductive method. To find the facts first, to sort and array them with a fine discrimination, to observe differences, resemblances, and dimensions closely, to generalize with caution, and only then to ask what suggestions, if any, the approximations to truth so obtained offer us for guidance in private and in public conduct, is now the only reputable procedure among students of social, as of physical, phenomena.

Of the founders of sociology it may be said that in a preeminent degree their interest in practical affairs was deep and continuous and directed upon the weightier matters of the law. The "mint, annise, and cummin" of administrative reform they did not despise, but, one and all, they entertained the high ambition to mould public policy. Comte wrote *The Positive Philosophy* in part that he might fashion *The Positive Polity*. Spencer never lost sight of his initial purpose to formulate the principles of justice. Walter Bagehot, in whatever by-way of science or criticism he wandered, did not forget that his self-appointed task was to increase and heighten in the public life of his age that "animated moderation" which he held to be the unique excellence of English character.

We cannot doubt that these men, like their forerunners, were tempted to lay philosophical foundations in the good old manner, for preconceived political systems. That they never dallied with the temptation need not be claimed. But to whatever extent they yielded to it, they impaired the value of their total achievement. Their abiding fame rests upon so much of their ac-

cumulation and classification of facts as was unprejudiced and so much of their generalization as was inductive in quality. If any one of the three did not fully realize that his contribution to thought would be so measured, he at least did not fail to shape his intellectual life by scientific standards. In mature years each one frankly revised the dogmatic political creed of his youth by the objective light of abundant knowledge. Comte began as the fervid disciple of the social revolutionist Saint Simon. He became the prophet of a progress as smoothly projected as a parabolic curve. Spencer's hatred of aggression proclaimed in *Letters on the Proper Sphere of Government* was formulated in his earliest book in the language of finality. But, mellowed by his historical study of social evolution, the author of *Social Statics* arrived at a perfect understanding of the part that war has played in political integration, and a clear perception that equal liberty can never be established among men while militarism survives. Bagehot, described by the friend of his college days as an intellectually arrogant and supercilious youth, became *par excellence* the scientific man of the world, the trusted adviser of ministers of state and the one psychologist who has ever succeeded in explaining the mind of the average Englishman to the average English mind.

To recall these origins of inductive social theory is to realize that the work remembered was not only ground-clearing and ground-breaking; it was also superlatively constructive.

Comte not only insisted that completeness of description is a requisite of method, he also, making contribution, demonstrated the successive mutations of the human mind. Going forth from the barbaric feast of credulity, to be "long fed on boundless hope" of metaphysic, the race of man must, in the end, content itself with the "simpler fare" of verifiable knowledge. In that day reason may qualify the passions which dogma has denounced and damned, but never yet repressed.

Spencer's sociological theories were formulated as a part of his evolutionist conception of the world. That conception has become an integral part of the mental equipment of every educated man. Those writers who would convince us that

Spencer is forgotten are of all philosophers most miserable. They must either avoid the post-Spencerian problems or think about them in terms of Spencerian ideas.

As Comte taught students of social science to expend their energies within confines of the knowable; as Spencer compelled them to see every process as evolution or dissolution; so Bagehot, examining more closely than any predecessor had done the strictly social phenomenon of a collective struggle for existence, demonstrated, once for all, that in the last analysis sociological explanation is psychological interpretation. Bagehot, rather than Tarde, was the true founder of the so-called psychological school. *Physics and Politics* is one of those rare, excessively rare, books that the critic who has some sense of moral responsibility may daringly call original. As sociology, the chapters on the "Preliminary Age" and "Nation Making" forestall *Les lois de l'imitation.* As psychology, the chapter on "The Uses of Conflict" more than foreshadows some of the brilliant generalizations that we associate with the name of William James. And he would be a remarkable writer indeed who, desiring to set forth the social interplay of instinct, habit, and reason, could put it all so luminously as Bagehot has put it in the chapter on "Government by Discussion."

It is a fair presumption that work of such enduring influence upon theory has not yet spent its practical power in suggestion. It is reasonable to think that, were we now to re-examine it, we might find it still an unexhausted fund of wisdom, as of correlated knowledge. It may afford us guidance today, not less than it did yesterday, for a rational criticism of public policy. To that possibility, it may be well to give attention.

The problems of public policy do not become simpler with advancing civilization. To speak for the moment of our own nation, the questions that vex us are of bewildering variety and complexity: questions of territorial expansion and of rule over alien peoples; questions arising out of race conflict within our older continental domain; questions of the restriction of immigration, of the centralization or the distribution of administrative authority, of the concentration or the diffusion of

economic power. Well may the skeptic ask if any science of human relations, however wide its generalizations, can offer even presumptive answers to questions so far-reaching and so diverse. Yet every citizen, whether he be instructed or ignorant, is expected to help answer them.

Before we admit that the objection is fatal, let us remember that an overshadowing question has still to be named, and that when one question overshadows all others the relative values of the others are determined. That question is the world-old query—older than science, older than any record of history—the question, "Is it War or Peace?"

After ten thousand years of so-called progress, is reason still so ineffective against instinct that only minor issues can be removed from fields of battle to arenas of intellectual conflict? Must sovereignty—the ultimate social control—forever prove and declare itself in government by slaughter, or may international relations also be brought under government by discussion? By this "previous question" of world-politics every question of domestic politics is qualified. With war a possibility, the restriction of immigration is one problem; with war made impossible it would become an entirely different problem. A further democratizing of the social order, which might be safe if world-peace were assured, may be fraught with peril if the greater nations are again to challenge one another's right to live. It is not an accident that international socialism is unalterably opposed to militarism under every guise and pretense.

These considerations might be dismissed as academic if it were certain that war must indefinitely continue. Happily that is not the fact. Utopian and wholly ineffective not longer ago than the generation of Fox and Penn, opposition to war has become organized and determined. The antagonism of nearly ten millions of socialistic voters is formidable. The best professional and business intellects of the world are ranging themselves on the side of peace. Funds with which to wage aggressive attack upon eradicable causes of war have been provided.

It is true that public appreciation of Mr. Carnegie's gift

has been qualified by skepticism. There are sincere and able men who doubt if the cessation of war should be desired. They exalt its disciplinary value, believing that the world yet needs a measure of sacrifice, of daring, of endurance and of superiority to materialistic aims which only war can give. A larger number of men, also sincere and able, reject every defense of war as invalid, but are incredulous when ways and means of disarmament are proposed.

It is precisely upon these two interpellations, namely, the desirability of world-peace and its possibility, that the verdict of sociology may rightly be demanded and should carry weight. And as a sort of preliminary report, the conclusions of Spencer and of Bagehot assuredly deserve a profoundly respectful consideration.

As all students of Spencer know, his most important sociological generalizations pertain to the characteristic differences between what he calls the militant and the industrial types of society. His theory of social causation is stated mainly in terms of war-habit and peace-habit. And, like Mr. Carnegie, who was his loyal friend, Mr. Spencer looked upon war as the most monstrous of social ills, as the most formidable obstacle to the complete evolution of man. Mr. Bagehot, on his part, believed that in government by discussion we have an agency attained through immeasurable effort and suffering for the inhibition of hasty action, for the subordination of brutal passion to a reasonable expediency, for the final settlement of disputes by reason instead of force. Surely, then, we should ask these scouts of inductive social science whether in their opinion the cessation of war at the present stage of social evolution is a thing to be desired, and, if it is, by what policies the consummation may be attained.

Sentiment, doubtless, and the abhorrence of suffering move most of those who are participating in peace efforts now. Mr. Spencer shared these feelings, but he did not rest his case against militarism upon sentiment alone. His faith was in the improvability of man, the final and superlative product of cosmic evolution. He saw that improvement involves adaptation to conditions on which life depends, and ever nicer adjustments

of differing interests. He believed that improvement consists in an expanding sympathy of man for man, a continuing differentiation of powers, a better and always better co-ordination of life-activities and therewith an ever-deepening joy of living. It has proceeded through a social process. In this process war has played a great and recurring part. In breaking down the barriers that separated primitive men, in bringing savage camps together into tribes, in hammering tribes together into nations, war was inevitable and it was useful. Nevertheless, war achieves results through frightful cost and waste. It is incompatible with those more delicate processes of evolution which we associate, or should associate, with high civilization. This is a point of such fundamental importance, and the Spencerian demonstration of it is so complete and so irrefutable, that we may well linger for a moment to note wherein the demonstration consists.

Evolution is simple or compound.

Simple evolution is swift, direct and business-like. It occurs whenever a group of units of any kind, from white-hot iron to the professors of a faculty, discharge energy promptly and without indirection. Let the heated iron be cooled with least possible waste of time and in the most economical way. The molecules will draw together. Integration, the initial process in evolution, will quickly be completed. There will be no secondary, no incidental changes. Close crystallization will uniformly characterize the mass. There will be no differentiation. The product will be a bar of iron contracted, instead of expanded; nothing more. Let professors attend strictly to the business of teaching, withholding no energy that can freely be discharged upon the environing student mind. Let there be no day-dreaming and no sauntering, no dallying with research by the way, nor idle discussion of the cosmic, or the social, order. As before, there will be integration. The units of the mass will get together. There will be no disturbing differences of opinion, no disquieting differentiations of aptitude or ability. The product will be a coherent, standardized, teaching force, depend-

able to turn out standardized Masters of Arts and intellectually pasteurized Doctors of Philosophy, at a minimum unit cost.

Compound evolution is slow, tortuous, uncertain, halting, and unbusiness-like to the last degree. Energy, instead of discharging itself in a straightforward way, goes maundering about in crooked currents and incalculable eddies. Some Quixotic mind imagines that it would be interesting to trifle with the cooling bar of iron. He interferes with the simplicity of its habits, with the honest promptitude of its crystallization, exposing it to charcoal fumes, hammering it on an anvil, thrusting it now and again into boiling oil, reheating it in his forge and hammering it some more. Very slowly its molecules draw together. They arrange themselves in strange, fibrous shapes, no two alike. Infinitely minute changes work their way upon and through that iron bar. It integrates, but it also differentiates. It becomes tense, pliant, elastic, vibrant. It sings, when you strike it, with a clear full note, and the Quixotic workman, touching it lightly with one last tap of his hammer, no longer calls it a bar of iron; it has become a Damascus blade. Quixotic faculties there have been, teaching effectively but not too much; not incoherent and not anarchistic, though united by little else than a common interest in intellectual pursuits and a kindly thoughtfulness of man for man. Their energy has freely been given to their chief task, instruction; but some of it, unguarded, has escaped into by-ways of science or creative thought. Exposed to the play of many forces, not always equal or alike, members of such faculties have become different from one another. They have become individuals, each with his own view of life and its problems, each with his own distinctive work and record of achievement. Some of them have become absent-minded and detached, some absorbed in researches which neither colleague nor intrusive tourist could fully comprehend. This compound evolution of the loosely integrated faculty has, therefore, been scandalously irregular, and costly withal. It has made the business man thank God that he, at least, is not as these professors are. And yet, because of it, and by means of it, and chiefly through its very irregularity and freedom, have those

discoveries been made which have multiplied the business man's thousands and millions into billions of ingots of good red gold. Through and by means of it students have been tempered and tested as well as taught, and sent forth into life to be leaders of men. Above all, this idling compound evolution, seemingly so loose and irresponsible, has sustained the pristine faith of man, which happily shall live when every other faith is dead, the faith, to-wit, that the world is still "full of a number of things."

All this is but a way of saying that growth, and the art which simulates growth, are not manufacture. Nature knows nothing of standardization. Within some given range of variation she creates types, that is to say, resemblances, but no two individuals are precisely alike. But growth, with its possibilities of correlated difference, of diversity in unity, requires freedom and takes time. It can be hastened, but only with some sacrifice of results. Some strength of fiber, some delicacy of adaptation, is missed. Hastened evolution is crude evolution. Massiveness of parts and brutality of power may be attained, but not completeness of life.

Now of all ways of hastening social evolution, war is the most obvious, the most effective, the most absolutely business-like. A well-organized and well-drilled army is the best example of standardization that we know. Conquest and a rigorous military rule over conquered foes are the quickest way to integrate and standardize vast populations. The product is a militaristic empire. It is massive and imposing. It brings together the materials from which civilization may be evolved, but it is not itself an example of compound evolution. The notion that war can perfect the internal adaptations of national life, the finer adjustments of sectional, racial, or class interests, has no historical justification. Two concrete illustrations will suffice.

Writing of Bismarck's inflexible purpose to consolidate the German empire, Emile Ollivier, minister to Napoleon III, says:

> The cause of the Franco-German conflict was one of those artificial fatalities born of false conceptions and the unwholesome ambitions of statesmen, which time might wear out, transform, and often extinguish.

But there existed a man to whom it imported much that this factitious fatality should subsist, and should finally burst forth into war. It was this puissant genius, unwilling to leave to time the glory of accomplishing the task of unification, the triumph of which would have been inevitable, who wished to make short work of evolution and impose upon the present what the future would have freely established, and to keep for himself the glory that his successors might have shared.

And M. Ollivier might have added that the ceaseless activities of a generation of statesmen and writers have not sufficed to complete in the hearts of the German people that unification by divine right which was outwardly and politically established by Bismarck's crass attempt to hasten social evolution.

Can it be said that the attempt of our southern brethren to solve by war, or of the federal government to solve by the essentially militaristic policies of reconstruction, the terrible problem of race interests were more successful? Can any sane man expect that that problem will ever be solved in any other way than through the infinitely slow process of a social evolution so complex as to baffle analysis?

This, then, is the evolutionist's case against war. It can hasten social integration, but in the measure that it succeeds, it prevents or postpones those finer and endlessly varied adaptations which require freedom and time, and upon which completeness of life depends. War has rudely assembled the factors of civilization, but the possible recurrence of war menaces civilization from this time forth.

Can war then be outlawed and generally prevented? These terms are used advisedly, because no wrong has ever been completely abolished by penalizing it, or by adopting resolutions to discountenance it. We do not, however, on that account think it useless to penalize or to resolve.

I suppose that there is substantial agreement among economists and historians that the prevailing causes of war have been hunger and greed. Primitive men, made desperate by impending famine, have pushed into productive regions already occupied, there to contend for a share of nature's bounty. Modern men do as savage and barbarian did, but in ways so devious that the actual process is rarely seen or understood. Whole

peoples or nations no longer move *en masse,* but, like the ancient Aryans at springtime, of whom Festus, describing the *ver sacrum,* tells us, they mitigate the bitter economic struggle by sending forth their youth and maidens into distant parts. Nations that live, grow. They must work more intensely, keying up the strings of life to higher pitch, or they must expand. Either way, the struggle for existence within nations becomes a struggle for advantage among nations. Emigrants from one may not be welcomed as immigrants by another. Colonization is an intrusion of the strong upon the weak. An acceleration of domestic industry is correlated with an expansion of foreign trade. With colonies and profit by trade, greed enters, adding its insatiable demands to those of primal human need.

These conditions create tension and provoke contention. They do not, however, inevitably produce war. The sociologist may go far with economist and historian in recognizing economic causes in history, but he may not lose sight of other factors, which it is peculiarly the province of his own science to analyze and evaluate.

These factors are psychological, and without their co-operation war does not begin. The passions of men must be consolidated. Consuming hatred or fierce exaltation must merge individual wills in the collective fury of the psychologic crowd. Even then war does not follow if the fury merely bursts. An explosion may make hell writ small, and war is hell writ large, but there resemblance ends. An explosion in the open does no work, and war is systematic work. To make war, the public fury must so far be controlled that it can discharge itself only through the mechanism of a military organization, in a series of regulated explosions, directed upon a definite object, until its infernal task is done.

Failure to remember this incontrovertible fact has had unfortunate consequences for historical theory and for political ethics. How does the control of public wrath arise? In what does it consist? Through what agents or agencies does it direct this fearful power, dissipating it in peace, or aggregating it for war?

Answer to these questions I find in Bagehot's chapters on "Nation Making," and it is at variance with those notions of the insignificance of great men in history which, for twenty years or more, have reigned unchallenged in the domain of historical criticism.

A nation is more than a population. Millions of individuals, differing one from another, compose it; yet, although not standardized, they are alike. In ways not easy to describe, Englishmen are Englishmen and Frenchmen are Frenchmen. Their resemblances are not merely physical. Englishmen are blue-eyed and dark-eyed, florid and brunette. Nor are they merely racial. The Frenchman may be Picard or Gascon, Breton or Provençal. The similarities that we note lie within a well-defined range of mental facts. They are not phenomena of instinct, nor yet of reason. If men were creatures of instinct only, that is, if all their activities were narrowly determined by heredity and began at birth, there would be no distinctions of nationality. Or, if we never saw Englishmen or Frenchmen, nor heard them talk, and if we knew them only by scientific writings, we could not easily tell them apart. The resemblances that constitute national type or national character are tricks of expression, ways of doing things, preferences and antipathies, criteria of taste, views of life and conduct. They were not imparted at birth; they have all been learned. They cannot be discarded at will; they are things of habit.

Now habits are acquired, we say, by doing things or thinking things many times over. That is true, but it is not all. The repetitions that make up habit are imitations; they are copies of models or examples. Many of our elemental and most useful habits are imitations of parents; but plainly, if we imitated parents only, there would be no national traits, and, in the strict sense of the word, no nations. There would be only some millions of families, each abiding by its own mental and moral law. National habits, and therefore national traits and character, are copies of those relatively conspicuous models that are widely imitated, irrespective of kinship; imitated locally at first, perhaps, but at length throughout a population.

If so much be granted, a further and profoundly significant

truth is granted by implication. Conspicuous or dynamic men, who become models to thousands or millions of their fellows, are true social causes, and centers of social control. As they think, the multitude thinks; as they do, the multitude does, and for the most part unconsciously, every man believing that he thinks or acts spontaneously, and because it is his nature to think or to act so, and not otherwise.

Is not the conclusion obvious? Men in positions of authority, whether, as they believe, by divine right, or, as others think, by human choice, are necessarily conspicuous. Often they are men of power, and whether they would have it so or not, their decisions become to some extent the popular decision, and their voice becomes in part the people's voice. Without dictation or argument, and solely because their choice is spontaneously copied and their course of action is uncritically followed by multitudes that swear the choice was theirs, these men control. and controlling direct, the public complaisance and the public wrath. In the final throwing of the dice of fate, they are causes of peace and war.

From this sober conclusion of inductive science I confess I see no escape. That it is in harmony with an unsophisticated moral prejudice is not, I wish to believe, a reason for distrusting it. The conscience of civilized mankind has never yet admitted that deliberately declared war has been irresponsibly begun. Rather has it held, that great men in all ages, as moulders of opinion and ministers of state, have been moral agents, rightly to be branded with infamy when, for their own aggrandizement or glory, they have drawn the sword.

One rule of policy then, it would seem, may fairly be derived from sociological theory for the discouragement of war. It is right and expedient to teach that exceptional men, and especially all emperors and presidents and ministers of state, are not puppets of the *Zeitgeist,* but, in a scientific sense of the word, are true social causes, and, as such, are morally responsible for the maintenance of peace.

Beyond policies to restrain the makers of war, are there policies which might render the making of war more difficult?

The conditions preventive or inhibitive of war have been

three, namely: isolation, the inclusion of minor states within confederations or imperial systems, and the so-called balance of power.

In the past mere inaccessibility of territory has assured the relatively peaceful development of many peoples, among whom some have made priceless contributions to civilization. There are no inaccessible nations now. Political integration has continually widened the areas within which domestic peace prevails, and the work is so far done that no important lands or peoples remain to be appropriated. Further integration will be redistributive only. There remains the balance of power, as the one important objective condition upon which the maintenance of peace will largely depend.

I am using the term in a general or descriptive, not a technical or diplomatic, sense. I mean by it political forces in approximate equilibrium throughout the world. In this sense the balance of power is a sociological phenomenon of peculiar interest, for two reasons.

First, it is interesting because of its nature or composition. It is a distribution of forces roughly in accordance with what the mathematician calls "chance occurrence." If as many as a thousand shots are fired at a target, those that miss the bull's-eye are distributed about it with curious regularity. Of those that miss it by three inches, about as many will hit above as below, about as many to the left as to the right. Of those that miss it by six inches, about as many will hit right as left, about as many below as above. In like manner a balance of power is a symmetrical distribution of forces about a central point. An international balance of power exists when, with reference to any interest or question upon which states may differ, as many strong powers range themselves on one side as on the other, and the weak ones are symmetrically distributed with reference to the strong ones.

Does this bit of exposition seem too elementary or too academic to bring into a discussion of world-peace? Let me then ask if a corollary from the principle stated may be taken for granted? The probability of a symmetrical distribution of shots or of forces about a central point increases with their

number. Fifty shots about a bull's-eye would not be so regularly distributed as a thousand. A million shots would make a nearly circular pattern. If, then, an International Court of Arbitral Justice should be established at the Hague, or elsewhere, would the chances that the political forces represented there would remain in approximate balance be increased, if, meanwhile, a number of the now independent small states of Europe and the East should be absorbed in one or more of the great imperial systems? Or need we fear that the chances of equilibrium would be diminished if one or two of the more heterogeneous imperial systems should some day be resolved into independent states, each relatively homogeneous and individual?

The balance of power is of interest, secondly, because it is correlated with government by discussion. Bagehot's chapter on this subject deals chiefly with the nature of such government and its consequences. Like compound evolution, government by discussion is a slow, irregular, and unbusiness-like procedure: and therein lies its value. It inhibits ill-considered action. It gives passion time to cool, it makes for moderation and for poise. Bagehot does, however, ask how government by discussion arises. His answer is, on the whole, the least satisfactory part of his book, but it is essentially correct. Government by discussion arose, he says, in those nations that had a polity, that is to say, a constitution. Greeks and Germans had what Aristotle calls the mixed government. King, aristocracy, and freemen participated in it. Here, then, were distinct political forces in balance, and because they were in balance they had to talk before they could act.

Our modern account of reason and its relations to instinct enables us to generalize Mr. Bagehot's guess and to verify it. Government by discussion depends upon a balance of power and necessarily proceeds from it. It is a social expansion of the reasoning processes of the individual mind.

Reasoning begins when instinct fails or is inhibited. So long as we can confidently act, we do not argue, but when we face conditions abounding in uncertainty or when we are confronted by alternative possibilities, we first hesitate, then feel our way, then guess, and at length venture to reason. Reason-

ing, accordingly, is that action of the mind to which we resort when the possibilities before us and about us are distributed substantially according to the law of chance occurrence, or, as the mathematician would say, in accordance with "the normal curve" of random frequency. The moment the curve is obviously skewed, we decide. If it is obviously skewed from the beginning, by bias, or interest, by prejudice, authority, or coercion, our reasoning is futile or imperfect. So, in the state, if any interest or coalition of interests is dominant and can act promptly, it rules by absolutist methods. Whether it is benevolent or cruel, it wastes neither time nor resources upon government by discussion. But if interests are innumerable, and so distributed as to offset one another, and if no great bias or overweighting anywhere appears, government by discussion inevitably arises. The interests can get together only if they talk. So, too, in international relations. If in coming years these shall be adjusted by reason instead of by force, by arbitration instead of by war, it will be because a true balance of power has been attained. If any one power or coalition of powers shall be able to dictate, it will also rule, and the appeal to reason will be vain.

By what policies can an equilibrium of international power be established? I shall only name those that the foregoing considerations suggest, and not attempt to describe or to analyze them. They must of course be policies that will tend both to differentiate interests and to disintegrate coalitions of power that create an overwhelming preponderance of strength. The great superiorities that now preclude effective government by discussion throughout the world are, (1) technical proficiency based on scientific knowledge, and (2) concentrated economic power. If we sincerely wish for peace, we must be willing to see a vast equalizing of industrial efficiency between the East and the West. We must also welcome every change that tends to bring about a fairer apportionment of natural resources among nations and within them, and a more equal distribution of wealth. If these conditions can be met, there will be a Parliament of Man. If they cannot be met, a nominal government by discussion will be but a tournament of words.

THE RACIAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL ASSIMILATION

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY
Indiana University

There are three historical stages in the evolution of organized society, the tribe, the state, and the nation. Corresponding with these stages are three principles of organization, kinship, authority, and citizenship. The order of these principles conforms in general to the Spencerian law of growth, for they represent a progressive change from simplicity to complexity and an increasing integration and heterogeneity. In the kinship period civilization is wholly genetic, in the ethnic period largely so. In these two periods social growth is in some degree analogous to the growth of animal species. Primitive contacts are confined largely to kindred. Now ideas of contact, as Crawley has so conclusively shown, are at the basis of all conceptions of human relations at every stage of culture. Contact is the single general test, as it is the most elementary form, of mutual relations.[1]

In the kinship group a high degree of intensive association is generated through mere propinquity, while a corresponding avoidance of outside contacts prevents the growth of that sympathy between groups without which even the most elementary forms of co-operation are impossible. "To primitive thought a stranger is a potential foe."[2] Social standards being fixed wholly within the group itself, that which does not conform to these is regarded not only as alien but as immoral. Ethical dualism, the illuminating phrase for which sociologists are indebted to Professor Ross, exactly defines the conventional status of the individual with reference to his own group and with reference to outside groups. It is not true, however, that ethical dualism ceases with the end of the kinship period or even the ethnic period. In his social relations modern social-

[1] Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 76, and *passim*.

[2] *Ibid.*, 141.

ized man is still largely influenced as to his choices and his contacts by special preference for the members of his own class, party, fraternal order, church, or country. The word foreigner or outlander still carries something of its original significance of disassociation and antipathy.

In the historical period race always connotes something more than an enlarged family group, for it represents a positive advance toward cultural unity.[3] As Bauer puts it, race involves both a *Naturgemeinschaft* and a *Kulturgemeinschaft*.[4] When a race has sufficiently emerged to become a recognized entity its members have already developed a consciousness of kind which, while retaining something of the narrow exclusiveness of the kinship period, is nevertheless increasingly dominated by cultural rather than physical forces. Gumplowicz declares that "a race cannot now be at all thought of as a mere natural concept in the narrow sense of the word, but it is everywhere a historical concept; it is not a product of the bare natural process in the present meaning of that term, but is the product of a historical process, which nevertheless is also a natural process. A race is a unity developed in the course of history in and through social evolution."[5]

Every great historical race is therefore a composite of originally separate elements merged into a unity whose ruling characteristic is an increasing integration of culture rather than of blood. This process of merging (*Verschmelzung*) is believed by Gumplowicz to constitute the very essence of world-history. "Throughout the whole history of man stretches a continuous process of amalgamation which, beginning with the smallest primitive synthetic groups and following a race-building law to us unknown, binds together and amalgamates small heterogeneous groups into ever larger unities, into peoples, races and

[3] "It may be doubted whether any character can be named which is distinctive of a race and is constant. Savages, even within the limits of the same tribe, are not nearly so uniform in character as has been often asserted."—Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 174.

"Le fait race, capital à l'origine, va donc toujours perdant de son importance."—Renan, *Discourses et conférences*, 2d ed., 297.

[4] *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemocratie*, 20, 21.

[5] *Der Rassenkampf*, 193. Both this and the following citation are from the first edition of *Der Rassenkampf*, Innsbruck, 1883.

nations, perpetually bringing them into conflict against other similarly constituted and amalgamated peoples, nations and races, and through this conflict into ever new fields of conquest and culture, which again consolidate and amalgamate the heterogeneous elements."[6]

Both Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer have undoubtedly exaggerated the importance of conflict in the process of socialization. The state of "absolute hostility" which Ratzenhofer thinks the prime characteristic of primitive periods must have been moderated, even in very early stages, by the need for some form of co-operation in economic interests.[7]

In the formation of races the same law holds as in the formation of animal species, that of multiplication by division. Races are progressively differentiated, and, during the early period of isolation, the differences constantly augment. But after race-contact begins, and especially after amalgamation commences, the original sharply accentuated types gradually dissolve. If amalgamation is unchecked there finally survive in any group only general resemblances or even only traditional ideas of physical homogeneity. Rigid ethnic unity has perhaps nowhere survived in the period of advanced culture. On the cultural side conflicting or uncongenial traits are, through the process of attrition and accommodation, blended into a common mass, and this mass will be more complex in scope than was the case in the period of isolation. In an advancing civilization there is room not only for an ever larger degree of variation but for a growing tolerance of variation, since the forces of social integration tend constantly to work over more and more into the field of psychic sympathy. The fiction of blood-kinship, long retained with jealous care, shades gradually into loyalty to a common sovereign and ultimately into devotion to a common cultural system. Ethnic association thus merges into sympathetic likeness, and the race becomes the nation.

[6] *Der Rassenkampf*, 254.

[7] To counterbalance the extreme views of those who apply an exaggerated interpretation of the Darwinian principle of struggle to social evolution Prince Kropotkin has worked out many interesting proofs of early co-operation. See his *Mutual Aid a Factor of Evolution*, especially chap. iii.

In the larger field of loose conquest and subjection of heterogeneous peoples, such as is found in the case of the oriental dynastic empires or Rome, there is little tendency toward ethnic amalgamation. Chamberlain speaks of the "raceless chaos" within the Roman empire. The Roman world-state took little account of the ethnic character of its elements. Chamberlain also finds that the influence of the Roman Catholic church has been in the direction of race fusion, because it has kept before men's minds the ideal of a brotherhood of universal humanity as the kingdom of God in which all races are equal. In so far as this has tended to destroy "the sanctity of pure race" it seems to him a misfortune, for he contends that "race possesses not alone a physical-psychic but also a moral significance."[8]

The emergence of separate dynastic states at the end of the Roman period did not immediately place political union on a racial basis, but by making the units smaller it lessened the danger of universal fusion. The period of the French Revolution may be assigned as the time when racial unity was first exalted into a state-making principle. In the first half of the nineteenth century the concept of race, now merging into that of nation, becomes the dominant militant agent of political unity. It is not difficult to prove the existence of the nationality principle in the eighteenth century; witness the incipient rebellions that greeted the attempt of Joseph II to Germanize all the Hapsburg lands. But it was not until the specious promises of Napoleon had vitalized the latent self-consciousness of the peoples that the easy-going transfer of blocks of population from one state to another by diplomats began to be clearly regarded as an outrage on fundamental rights. The Restoration of 1815, by reverting to the old system, seemed to put a check on the nationalist movement but it really only augmented it by driving the new aspirations deep into the consciousness of the European peoples. No principle was so popular in the period immediately before 1848 as the right of each nation to

[8] Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, I, 350, 367; II, 793 ff. Mr. Bryce points out that the Spaniards and Portuguese have fused with the indigenous races of their colonies more successfully than have the Protestant Teutonic nations (*Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind*, 42).

form a state, but the nation was still conceived to be an ethnic group which had become conscious of its cultural unity.

So gradual is the transition from one social stage to another that it is difficult to note the exact line of demarkation between the ethnic and national periods. It is easier to point out the steps in the whole process of change from the beginning than to distinguish chronologically their particular limits. Thus we know that initial hostility was succeeded by toleration, toleration by formal co-operation, this by sympathetic co-operation, and that the final stage is complete fusion. The nationalizing process is complete when the things of the spirit are held in common and cherished by all, even if some specific ethnic or linguistic differences survive.

From the point of view of its ethnic composition a nation may arise in three ways: (1) It may be composed of an unmixed stock; (2) It may spring from a fairly equal blending of two or more races which produces a mixed stock; (3) It may arise from a political union of two or more racial masses without blood intermixture. Generally, of course, the beginning of the process is conquest and subjugation, a process which Ward has called compound assimilation as contrasted with pacific assimilation resulting from volitional union.

Vico defines a nation as "a natural society of men who, by unity of territory, of origin, of customs and of language, are drawn into a community of life and of social conscience." Recent Italian sociologists have also included community of habitat, origin, language, and religion as necessary factors in nation-making. But in nearly every example among well-defined modern national groups one or more of these elements is wanting. It is desirable then to discover a simple characteristic which is not only inclusive but universal in application. Maurice Block denies the necessity of insisting on any of these objective elements and says:

"The nation, therefore, is not a physical body or unity, but a moral body; it is not always determined by external facts nor by them alone, but by sentiment."[9]

[9] Lalor, *Cyclopaedia*, II, 931 ff. Burgess, in a definition often quoted, calls a nation "a population of an ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity." Burgess evidently has in mind a purely political nation (*Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, I, 1).

Similarly Renan:

> A nation is a spiritual principle resulting from the profound complications of history; a spiritual family, not a group determined by the configuration of the soil. . . . . Two things, which in truth make only one, constitute that spiritual principle. One is in the past, the other is in the present; one is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire of living together, the disposition to continue to give value to the undivided inheritance they have received. . . . . To have a common glory in the past, a common will in the present; to have done great things together, to desire to do still more: these are essential conditions for being a people.[10]

Similar in content, but less rhetorically expressed, is J. S. Mill's assertion that the most potent factor in creating a nation is "identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past."[11]

Briefly defined, then, nationality is a thing of sentiment growing out of community of past experience and present cultural interests. It is not sufficient that peoples should merely have undergone similar experiences. They must have undergone them together. Most of the great modern nations have passed through the same processes of social change, but in actual adjustment to such change each has had its own separate career. The solidarity of Protestant and of Catholic interests in the religious struggles of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods did indeed for a time seem to transcend national lines, but this common interest was soon lost in the narrower range of particular state interests.

The essence of national sentiment is found in patriotism. The term usually connotes devotion to a political state, but racial patriotism, while less definite, has been a notable factor

[10] Lalor, *Cyclopaedia*, II, 923 ff. Auerbach likewise insists on the subjective view of national sentiment. It "has its roots and its *raison d'être* not in a combination of these (material) factors, but in the conscience and the will of men who group themselves under its standard, if these men, whatever their origin, language, or religion, live the same life, have the same institutions, respect the same traditions, and aspire to the same ideal."—*Les races et les nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*, 18.

[11] *Representative Government*, 308.

in recent history.[12] It is to racial patriotism that the appeal has been made in the crusades for Pangermanism and Panslavism. As a patriot man transfers the stress of his loyalty from individuals to the group itself as an idealized personality. Patriotism can exist only when the group has become a separate entity capable of definite differentiation in thought and associated with clearly marked interests. It is weak where social unity is weak. Dr. Johnson's characterization of patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel was not inappropriate for the eighteenth century, nor was Comte's relegation of patriotism to the theological stage of social evolution unnatural in view of his large ideas of the future of humanity. Bagehot's definition of patriotism as territorial sectarianism, on the other hand, confines the meaning of the term to geographical boundaries that are too narrow for present ideas of group loyalty.[13]

But the very possibility of higher patriotic sentiment is evidence that the transition from the genetic interests of the ethnic period to the profounder sympathies and choices of the culture-group period has already occurred. "Whatever its faults," says Ward, "it marks the disappearance of the last vestige of the initial social dualism. It means the end of the prolonged race struggle."[14] Although most of the great national movements of the nineteenth century were theoretically based on the rights of race, the real working principle was not racial but national. Even before the discoveries of modern ethnology it was known that not all of the European peoples were of unmixed stock. It is now established that there exists very little genuine racial unity in any single people, and the greater divisions like the

[12] It is possible to show that there is in recent times even a color patriotism, leading to a setting off of interests between the white and colored races. This is the thesis of Weale's *Conflict of Color*, London, 1910. A German traveler in East Africa reports that he found, soon after the Russo-Japanese war, that a native chief had heard with elation that a colored race somewhere had beaten a white race in war (Weale, *Native Life in East Africa*, 125). In the early part of the Boer war news of British defeats spread with incredible rapidity among the natives throughout the whole of Africa.

[13] The English word "fatherland" and the German *Vaterland* imply this material, geographical conception. The Latin *patria* (French, *patrie*) carries something more of the psychic significance of the group sense.

[14] *Pure Sociology*, 212.

Teutonic and Slavic are found to be, at bottom, linguistic and cultural rather than physical unities.

Whereas racial qualities are by their nature more or less immobile, patriotic sentiment is easily transferable. Just as the modern processes of transportation have rendered easy a change of habitat, so the decline of ethnic interests has augmented the fluidity of psychic choices. This fluidity of volition has forced on our attention the principle of elective nationality, and has brought about a halting recognition of the plebiscite as a prerequisite to the transfer of a population. It has also raised the question whether, even when the principle of elective association is granted, any given generation has the right to fix for all time the affiliation of its successors. Untried experiences or new events may in the future alter the whole basis of choice. Corsica was hostile to French domination until the glory of Napoleon's career made her enthusiastically French. Alsace remained for a century of French rule an indifferent foreign district until pride in revolutionary heroes like Kellermann and Kleber carried the Alsatian heart over to the republic.

A change in national character or ideals will alter the attractive force of a nation and draw or repel according as different types of mind find congeniality or antipathy in the new character. German democrats were the most ardent patriots while hope survived of a liberal reorganization before 1848, but with the coming of reaction numerous Germans transferred not only their allegiance but their enthusiastic loyalty to democratic America.[15] There is little doubt, also, that the dominant militarism of the present is driving out many Germans besides those who seek to escape military service.

A nation, in the sense before described, may and often does exist apart from the political state. The state necessitates geographical as well as political unity. Now when two or more uncongenial racial groups occupy the same district they cannot under existing conditions belong to different states, nor can scattered fragments of the same stock be united into a single

[15] The recently published *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* threw a flood of light on the enthusiastic idealism of the German immigrants who sought a home in the United States after 1848.

body for common political action. The present racial muddles in Austria-Hungary arise from the fact that Germans and Slavs, Magyars and Slavs, Magyars and Wallachs, and different bodies of unassimilated Slavs are mingled in the same territorial divisions. Each group insists, if not on hegemony at least on autonomy in local administration. Mill is right in declaring that "free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities." "When the sentiment of nationality exists in any force," he continues, "there is a prima facie case for uniting all the members of the nationality under the same government, and a government to themselves apart."[16] The ethnological map of central Europe shows that the realization of this principle would involve a wholesale sorting-out and redistribution of the populations between the Baltic and the Adriatic.

Two fundamental rights pertain to a nation which has validated its separate existence: that of internal sovereignty and that of independence toward other nations. Bohemia is a good example of a modern political division where such rights are impossible of achievement because of racial heterogeneity. Germans and Czechs have each a well-developed sense of solidarity as well as antipathy, and yet they are inextricably mingled in many separate districts of Bohemia. So incongruous have the two elements become that members of the Young German party have refused to call themselves Austrians and have openly agitated for union with Germany, while the young Czechs have looked longingly toward Russia as the hope of the Slavic race.[17] Local autonomy with universal suffrage would reduce the minority party to the position of a subject race. A dual government or a federal type of organization would be possible only if each group had an approximately separate territory.

As the process of assimilation to a new group was typified in the kinship period by the material fact of blood-transfusion or ceremonial adoption, so in the national stage the transformation is marked by a formal acceptance of certain new cultural elements, chief among which is usually reckoned language. The

[16] *Representative Government*, 310.

[17] *Annual Register* (1890), 53.

process has been named by Novicow denationalization.[18] Now denationalization may be coercive or it may be voluntary. When the process is undertaken by governments in the interest of national uniformity it is usually coercive, and Novicow is of course right in declaring that such attempts in Europe have been not only bunglesome but generally unsuccessful. To attempt to compel a people to give up culture elements which have become intimately associated with its inner life is to enhance the value of those elements and to give them something of a religious sanctity.

First among the factors of denationalization, both as a test and as an instrument, is language. Several of the great ethnic groups speak different languages, and there are well-developed nations which are polyglot, yet the nationality movements of the mid-nineteenth century assumed that language was the criterion of both racial and national unity. Little heed was given to the historical process by which the language had been acquired, since present language is a definite fact more easily verified than even physical traits. The making of grammars has doubtless done much to promote ideas of unity. Freeman goes so far as to say that the doctrine of race itself is essentially a learned doctrine, the offspring of the scientific study of philology in recent times.[19] But the revival or the coming to self-consciousness of a language often follows rather than precedes the arrival of the national group-sense, or, as Grasserie says, "when a people becomes conscious of itself it creates or rediscovers its language."[20]

As a mere instrument of communication, as a carrier of common ideas, language is more important than dress or other expressions of formal like-mindedness, but it is not all-important. It is necessary of course that members of a society be able to communicate freely with one another, but if ideas themselves are already alike the most essential basis of social cooperation is present even if the instrument of expression be

[18] *Les luttes entre les sociétés humaines*, 128, 152.

[19] *Historical Essays*, 3d series, 196.

[20] Grasserie, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, XIII, 446.

not uniform. It is as a culture good that language takes rank as a potent factor in the psychic unity of a people.[21] The possession of a language already vitalized by a great literature was a central fact in the national movements of Germany and Italy. Several of the lesser national movements were slower in gathering momentum because their languages had been for centuries neglected or discredited and had never had a great literature.

Hence for some of the newer nations the first problem has been the organization of expression. In 1823 there were no publications written wholly in the Magyar language and but four partially so, while in 1906 there were one thousand wholly in Magyar and five hundred partially so. The rapidity of Hungarian national development after the founding of the National Academy in 1825 and of the National Theater in 1834 is a matter of history.[22] The Croatian national movement was very largely the outgrowth of an intellectual crusade, headed by Bishop Strossmayer, which resulted in the founding of the University of Agram, a Croatian academy of science and belles-lettres, and a national academy of music, all of which raised the Croatian language to the level of a culture speech which supplanted the ruling German.[23] Kollar, the Slavonian nationalist, proclaimed as his program in 1837 Slavic unity, not through political independence but through cultural unity, to be achieved by means of book depots, free libraries, the collection of popular songs, proverbs, and folk-lore, and through chairs of Slavic literature in the universities.[24]

[21] "It is safe to affirm that the social transformations which are brought about in a given territory in the direction of the leveling of all classes and localities by the introduction of locomotives as substitutes for wagons are as nothing compared with the same kind of social changes that are due to the overflow of one great dialect over several petty ones, of one language over several dialects. Linguistic similarity is the *sine qua non* of all other social similarities, and, consequently, of all those noble and glorious forms of human activity which presuppose the establishment of those similarities and which work on them as a canvas."—Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 263–64.

[22] Colquhoun, *The Whirlpool of Europe*, 136–42. All the important racial-national groups of Austria-Hungary have magazines as organs of the national movement. See Auerbach, as above cited, 5, note.

[23] Tissot, *Unknown Hungary*, I, 116.

[24] The influence of national heroes as a factor in vitalizing national sentiment is usually considered as pertaining to literature, but it may be and often is an entirely distinct agency.

These attempts to vitalize the social self-consciousness of groups depressed and disintegrated by political subjection have come from within the groups themselves. Over against them are to be placed the efforts of governments at coercive denationalization by imposing the language of a ruling race. The modern state demands administrative uniformity. Language is held to be the best means of standardizing populations, not only because of its use in official activities but because of its supposed power of breaking down the separatist tendencies of alien masses. Thus in Hungary the Magyars, since establishing their autonomy, have adopted a rigid policy of language unification which attempts to wipe out the Slovak and Roumanian tongues, and which has gone so far as to Magyarize the names of the Slovak towns and villages. The realization of the Hungarian state idea is held to be bound up with the obliteration of all vestiges of culture-difference in the populations of the country.

It is therefore no accident that the fiercest nationalist struggles have centered about the question of the official language to be used in the school, the army, and the courts. When Alsace was annexed the first task in the process of nationalization fell to the German schoolmaster, as has been the case in the American occupation of the Philippines. Prussia's poor success in Germanizing Posen is rightly attributed to the stubbornness of Polish children in refusing to learn and use German.[25] Russia's policy of leveling down all her heterogeneous and heterodox subjects in Poland and the Baltic provinces has likewise followed the lines of suppression of non-Russian speech in the schools and universities and the forced use of Russian in all official procedure.

In democratic societies unity of language has the additional advantage of furnishing a medium of public opinion without which the social will is impotent. An apparent exception to this principle is found in the case of those bilingual or trilingual states where the heterogeneous elements were originally and

[25] This and other aspects of the Polish national movement have been brilliantly set forth by Hans Delbrück in an article, "Das Polenthum," in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LXXVI, 173 ff.

effectively equilibrated when the states were formed. If no linguistic controversies occur in Belgium or Switzerland it is because the Teutonic and Gallic divisions entered the union already compactly organized or at least with their position clearly recognized and guaranteed. This again was possible here, as contrasted with the districts farther east, because the racial and linguistic regions were and are clearly set off from one another. Quite in contrast stand the Ruthenians of Galicia, whose position with reference to the Poles is approximately that of a subject race and whose desire for annexation to Russia is openly expressed. Similarly the Wallachs of Transylvania find themselves overridden by the Magyars and desire to unite with their brethren of the kingdom of Roumania.

In the complex system of modern exchange and economic interdependence community of language is almost as important a factor as it is in cultural and administrative concerns. Commerce was always a breaker of barriers and a standardizer, but never so much so as now. Kossuth, in founding the society for the promotion of Hungarian manufactures in 1844 did more for the national cause than he could then realize, for Hungarian economic independence has forced upon business interests the necessity of using the national language. Economic interest cannot of itself develop a contagious national enthusiasm but it can break down the original barriers of particularism and leave the way clear for psychic forces to do the rest later. If in the present generation Germans and Jews in Hungary not only speak Magyar and Magyarize their names but are also the most ardent of patriots the reason may be found in the formal acquiescence of German and Jewish merchants in the demand for the universal use of the Magyar language that followed the Hungarian national exhibition of 1875.

Almost without exception the problems of racial assimilation in Europe are those arising from the contacts of considerable masses where antagonistic types compete within the same political area and where the ultimate issue is one of mastery or subjection. The massing[26] of populations in homogeneous

[26] Cf. Durkheim, "La densité dynamique," *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, 139.

social groups makes the enforcement of a change of cultural standards difficult, as did isolation in the primitive age. Social forms and forces acquire self-sufficiency through their own volume and inclusiveness. Massing keeps alive traditions, it gives continuity to fashions and habits, and it perpetuates a reputable set of orthodox ideals and choices into which each generation grows unconsciously during the plastic period of childhood. If protected by the "cake of custom" group types retain their characteristics as persistently as masses of physical matter retain moisture, color, or odor when unpenetrated by light and air. Scatter a thousand individuals of a certain type among a thousand villages and they will soon resemble their neighbors. Mass them in a single village and they remain largely unmodified in the essentials of personal and social character.

But when we turn from the static groups of Europe and Asia to the nascent social bodies of the United States, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand or Australia the situation is changed because the conditions of social accretion are different. In each of these cases the original settlers formed a fixed kernel which has pretty definitely shaped the later standards of social action through language, traditions, and social ideals. Whatever accretions of population have since come in have not come as large bodies with fixed characters but have filtered in as individuals or small bodies which, percolating through the original mass, have been swallowed up by it. Lacking the momentum of organic groups they have usually conformed easily to established standards. If immigrants into the United States have, to use a current phrase, been easily "absorbed," it has not been because there has existed here a physical stock with superior fusing power, but because the immigrant has found a set of social forms and ideals to which he has usually been glad to conform but which in his isolation he could hardly have resisted if he would.

One need only instance the Jew to prove this point. Every device known to human ingenuity has been employed in continental Europe to compel him to conform to dominant standards and he has only become more obstinately a Jew.

In America, with full liberty to retain cherished interests, so far as legal and administrative measures were concerned, Jewish separateness has immediately and rapidly disintegrated. Judaism has been dealt with in Europe as a racial fact, which it is not, while in America it has been treated as a civilization, which it is. So eager are the Jews to become Americanized that many of their people labor persistently from the start to efface all traces of their alien descent.

This is of course particularly true of the younger generation. Children are morbidly sensitive to that ridicule to which variation from the ruling fashion subjects them. To speak a strange tongue, to wear strange garb, is to expose oneself to contumely among one's mates. Children of a dominant type also retain something of primitive man's aversion to the unfamiliar, and they are as merciless as primitive man or as animals in buffeting an oddity. It is not unusual to find children of recent immigrants refusing to speak the language of their parents even in the home. The fact that migration to a new land has occurred suggests the inferiority of the old speech, customs, and values. To speak English and to wear American clothes is taken as a mark of belonging to the superior culture, since these things pertain to the ruling class. "When a people dominates others through its brilliancy," says Tarde, "others, who heretofore had imitated none but their forefathers, imitate it."[27] On the woman's side of life, also, conformity to type is promoted by the desire to get into "society" where the standards are likely to be even more rigorous than those of the general community. The process of accommodation in this case is almost invariably unilateral rather than reciprocal, for the purpose is to cover up or erase all traits not in harmony with the prevailing type.

This strong pull toward conformity, however, is not wholly due to ambition for economic or social advancement. It is in most cases the mark of real psychic assimilation to a type deliberately chosen and ardently admired. In the later years of life there may come a mild revival of affection for the ances-

[27] Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 368.

tral type but this is little likely to become a ruling motive. Ratzenhofer's prediction that there may come in America a revival of national groups when population shall have become more dense and the struggle for existence more keen will arouse little fear in those intimately acquainted with American social forces. Such a contingency might arise if American nationality were based wholly or chiefly on ethnic instead of cultural and social interests. It is conceivable that particular racial bodies may retain a shadowy existence, but they are not likely to acquire anything but a conventional form, nor is their active influence likely to extend beyond the first or second generation.

Because denationalization has been voluntary and because assimilation has been welcomed with a zeal born of eager desire for assimilation, there has hitherto been little need for governmental action in any of the newer countries looking to its regulation. This state of affairs will continue only so long as and to the extent that native standards continue to dominate the population. Any pronounced attempt at coercive assimilation would probably result, as it has resulted abroad, in arousing that sort of reaction which exalts the principle of the oppressed nationality into a sacred cause. Opposition is the only agency that can drive national sentiment into the very core of a people's heart, for, like religious enthusiasm, patriotism flourishes on persecution. Almost the only attempt of this nature in the United States, that of the school laws of Wisconsin and Illinois in 1889, showed clearly the unwisdom of coercion in a democratic community.[28] The use of coercive methods would destroy much of the spontaneous loyalty which now takes possession of the immigrant after a short residence in America.[29]

This does not imply that society may safely assume a passive attitude toward assimilation. It is true that conditions in the United States have hitherto been such that little specific action was needed, for abundant land and a sparse population

[28] See an article by Mapel in the *Educational Review*, I, 52; also Vilas in the *Forum*, XII, 198.

[29] The enthusiasm for American ways shown by immigrants who have returned to Europe to reside after some years in America and their influence on their home communities has been graphically pictured by Mr. E. A. Steiner in his recent book, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*.

have made possible the process of percolation without special guidance. But with the coming of greater bodies of immigrants of markedly alien types and particularly with the growing aggregation of population in urban centers, the massing of unassimilated groups is not only possible but is already beginning. Thus in 1900 the proportion of foreign population in certain cities was most striking:

	Foreign Born	Of Foreign Parentage
New York	37 per cent	76.9 per cent
Chicago	34.6	77.4
Philadelphia	22.8	54.9
St. Louis	19.4	61
Boston	35.1	72.2
Baltimore	13.5	38.2
San Francisco	34.1	75.2
Cleveland	32.6	75.6
Detroit	33.8	77.5
Fall River	47.7	86.1
Duluth	39.6	79.8

The situation is not so serious in these cities as it is where unassimilated populations meet in the districts of central Europe, owing to the fact that in nearly all cases the alien elements are of many stocks instead of two. But, while no one racial group predominates, it is nevertheless true that within single groups there is a growing tendency toward a separate, self-sufficient life little affected by American social influences except as these are brought to bear on children in the schools.

Furthermore, while in 1880 forty-one per cent of all immigrants came from English-speaking countries, in 1909 only ten per cent came from such countries. The mere numbers, however, are not necessarily significant. Between 1880 and 1909, 17,142,280 immigrants arrived, but the proportion of foreign-born in the whole country did not perceptibly increase between 1880 and 1900.[30] The significant fact is that the newer immigrants, who are more remote from the American type than the Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians of the earlier period, are not so diffused that spontaneous assimilation will readily occur.

[30] 1880, 13.3 per cent; 1890, 14.7 per cent; 1900, 13.6 per cent.

In 1908, sixty-six per cent of those entering were destined for the five states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, the great majority, of course, to find a home in the "foreign colonies" of the larger cities. Governmental action is not called for to enforce assimilation or to dictate its methods, but rather to insure a proper environment for it, by preventing massing and by so adjusting distribution that assimilation will take care of itself.

In the world-contacts of independent racial groups the process of accommodation differs from that where two racial masses are struggling for the mastery within the same area and where the end sought is immediate absorption. Easy and rapid communication, along with the spread of education, is making over the peoples of the earth into a world-community. The adjustment among them is still far from complete, nor is cooperation sympathetic or harmonious. The volatile urban community, with its quick response to numerous and simultaneous stimuli, is coming to set the tone for all modern societies. Among groups as among individuals the subjective type of mind is becoming the characteristic one. Lamprecht designates the recent period as the age of nervosity. As the great races have become better acquainted with one another they have developed a certain degree of self-satisfaction and a corresponding touchiness. Doubtless the asperities of mere race animosity are already softening and are destined to still further soften, and if so it must be through the same process as that by which individuals are accommodated to each other, by common contact through a long period with a given set of cultural institutions. For if any one fact in recent world-history is clear it is that the institutions of civilization are being standardized. Tarde has said that civilization has gone around the world and come back again, so that its chief phases are no longer local but planetary. For individuals this may result in a sharper differentiation, but for societies the consequence will be gradual integration.

How far this process may lead no man can foresee. Ward believes that pacific assimilation, now that war is ceasing, will

ultimately bring about a blending of the separate races into a single generalized type or world-race.[31] Assimilation of races, however, implies some elements not involved in the assimilation of cultures. The one denotes primary association, the other secondary. And since in primary association physical elements furnish the chief basis of attraction, these are likely to retain their old dominance long after a fair degree of cultural unity has been attained. The consciousness of physical kind, for one thing, is more elementary and primitive than cultural affinity, and its movements are slow for the same reason that the processes of natural selection are slow.

While, therefore, this century seems destined to be a period of internationalism and of a limited degree of cultural cosmopolitanism, just as the nineteenth century was the age of nationalism, there is no reason to believe that the races will be merged in a universal melting-pot.[32] Both the ethnic and cultural differences between certain human groups are so great that general amalgamation is for the present out of the question. Ward himself admits that "the only kind of social assimilation that is increasingly fertile is that between races that occupy substantially the same social position. The case is very similar to that of sexual reproduction. For successful crossing the individuals must belong to the same species and not be too different."[33]

Ward says further:

"There are some races whose culture differs so widely from that of others that they seem to form an exception to this law [of amalgamation]. They are theoretically but not practically assimilable."[34]

[31] *Pure Sociology*, 215 ff.; *Applied Sociology*, 108; *American Journal of Sociology*, VIII, 733.

[32] The forces antagonizing the assimilating process are enumerated by Sarah E. Simon in the *American Journal of Sociology*, VI, 822.

[33] *Pure Sociology*, 215.

[34] Dealey and Ward, *Textbook of Sociology*, 213. Bryce points out the physical difficulties in the way of general amalgamation: "The mixture of whites and negroes, or of whites and Hindus, or of American aborigines and negroes, seldom shows good results. The hybrid stocks, if not inferior in physical strength to either of those whence they spring, are apparently less persistent, and might, so at least some observers hold, die out if they did not marry back into one or other of the parent races."—*Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind*, 24, 25.

One phase of extra-racial and extra-national assimilation is beyond controversy. Racial and geographical solidarity is already to a limited extent giving place to interracial and international class solidarity. Tolstoy says that the laboring classes of the great modern states are destitute of patriotism, that they have become indifferent to the state as such. Social classes will increasingly consolidate as the consciousness of common class interests grow more general. The socialist ideal of an international class-conscious industrial group is typical of what other classes may ultimately attain. The higher aristocracies of all countries already have this class-sense well developed, as royalty long has had.

A summary of the processes of contact and assimilation, so far as they relate to racial elements, yields certain principles which have some of the characteristics of established laws: (1) the law of isolation and hostility; (2) the law of inequality and stratification; (3) the law of superior attraction; (4) the law of attrition and accommodation; (5) the law of massing and numbers; (6) the law of diffusion and percolation; (7) the law of the standardization of cultures; (8) the law of the increasing fluidity of culture; (9) the law of persistence and survival.

The rough test and proof of race assimilation lies in the possibility of general and successful intermarriage.[35] Wherever orderly race-crossing becomes a settled practice it will be found that the types are so near to each other in both physical and cultural character that no serious problems arise from their blending. The offspring will no longer constitute a special class of half-breeds or mongrels, and there will be no clash of conflicting types, with resulting discredit to one or the other. Variation is now confined within limits which cause no rift in the social structure. On the physical side there is a normal degree of vigor and permanency, and on the cultural side there is an orthodox body of cultural interests equal or superior to those of either of the parent elements.

[35] The writer has discussed some of the social aspects of race-crossing in a paper on "Race and Marriage" in the *American Journal of Sociology* for January, 1910.

THE "SOCIAL FORCES" ERROR

EDWARD CARY HAYES
University of Illinois

At the World's Congress of Arts and Sciences which was held at St. Louis in 1904, I ventured to enter a protest against the loose way in which the word "force" is employed by sociologists, saying among other things that sociologists have no more occasion to refer to any "social force" than the biologists have to speak of a "vital force."

There is a concept of force in general, to which I raise no objection, and there is a concept of social forces in particular, which is the object of my criticism. The former is the general metaphysical concept of power. In this sense according to prevalent modern philosophy there is but One Force which underlies and continuously causes all things that do appear, and is operative in the swinging of the spheres, in the bubbling of gases, and in the chemistry of growth in every grass blade. According to the theory of evolution the operation of The Force appeared first in the simplest phenomena, not however absolutely without differences among themselves. These simple phenomena became the conditions of other phenomena which, being added to the first, made a more complex situation and afforded the conditions for still other manifestations, or as we say, other phenomena, every new kind of phenomena being added to those which had preceded to form the conditions of still higher manifestations of the One Power. Scientific explanation is the description of the situation out of which a new kind of phenomena emerges a statement of those conditions which are the necessary logical antecedents of the phenomena explained.

Now as often as we come across a kind of phenomena the conditioning of which we do not understand, we are tempted to say it is caused by a force. It is indeed caused by *The* Force

as all phenomena are, if we accept the metaphysics just outlined; but what we are tempted to say is that any particular phenomena, the conditioning of which we cannot unravel, are caused by *a* force. And if there are many kinds of phenomena which we cannot explain we suppose a large number of forces, one for each great unsolved problem in causation. This is the second meaning of the word "force," and the one to which I object. Every time that we solve one of these problems we get rid of a supposed force and replace it with a statement of the recognized combination of conditions under which the One Force operates in the causation of the phenomena thus explained.

It is in this way that we pass from what Comte called the metaphysical to what he called the positive stage of explanation. We are in the metaphysical stage as long as we imagine a number of forces, about which we know nothing save that each is the supposed cause of a kind of phenomena, the real causation of which we do not understand. We are in the scientific stage when we have replaced these "forces" with explanations stated in terms of antecedent phenomena, or when we have at least gone far enough to become convinced that such explanation is possible, so that we give up talking about the supposed force which we had used as a false denial of our ignorance and offered as a stone to the hunger of the mind. Thus biology completes the passage from the metaphysical to the scientific stage when it ceases to talk about a vital force and becomes convinced that the phenomena of life are really explicable in terms of kinds of phenomena already studied by antecedent sciences, particularly physics and chemistry. Thus also sociology will pass from the metaphysical to the scientific stage when it ceases to talk about social forces and becomes convinced that social phenomena can be explained in terms of logically antecedent phenomena.

I have referred to biology because biology is the most recent science to pass from the metaphysical to the scientific stage;*

* While sociology has only begun to free itself from the doctrine of "forces," biology has gone so far in the direction of actual scientific explanation that only a remnant of reactionaries, with hardly any representatives among American biologists of standing, continue to make use of the concept of "vital force." The leader of the reactionaries—or as an American biologist

this is because its causal problems are in general more complex and harder to solve than those of the sciences which were earlier able to attain their intellectual majority, and because it was obliged to wait for the development of those antecedent sciences which explain the kinds of phenomena which biology must use as terms in its more complex explanations. But even physics and chemistry had to make a similar transition from explanation by reference to supposed "forces" or "principles" and imaginary "substances" to actual scientific analysis and synthesis; concerning chemistry, with its "phlogiston" and "caloric," an authority in that science writes: "Until comparatively recent times the principles of metaphysical philosophy were not recognized as distinct from those of chemistry." And sociology has not yet made the transition. Notwithstanding that Comte who first pointed out the nature and necessity of the transition from the metaphysical to the scientific stage is called the first sociologist, and all other sociologists are familiar with his views upon this point, yet not all sociologists are even yet convinced that sociology can hope to pass from the metaphysical to the scientific stage in the sense of ceasing to talk of social forces, and exchanging that futile substitute for explanation for an actual statement of the conditions under which social phenomena arise, made in terms of logically antecedent phenomena.

For example, in the last *Proceedings* of the American Sociological Society (p. 195, note) Professor Ward asserts that the "social forces are the true causes of all social phenomena," and that all who deny this form of expression thereby deny

has expressed it, the arch-heretic—is Hans Driesch. It is interesting to notice that Driesch, while attempting to show that "entelechy" (a recondite name for vital force) presides over the building of hereditary traits into an organism, remarks that "of the organization, chemistry, and physics of reproductive cells scarcely anything is known at present" (*The Science and Philosophy of the Organism*, 236). The obvious reply is that if we knew more "of the chemistry and physics" of reproduction he might not feel any need to imagine this mysterious addition to the explanation which that knowledge would afford, and that in the present state of knowledge it is much too soon to give up the quest for explanation in terms of the observable and remand us to the outgrown doctrine of "vitalism." I notice also that Driesch welcomes, as the most incontrovertible confirmation of his teaching from any other writer, Noll's doctrine of "morphaesthesia," or feeling for shape, which he attributes to vegetation, as what causes the branches of a tree "to resume their proper angle with regard to their orientation on the main axis, if this orientation has been disturbed" (*ibid.*, 146 and 157).

that sociology can be a true science. I would say rather that only by denying this can they successfully assert the claim of sociology to be a true science. In that connection Professor Ward referred to some statements of mine, one of which is as follows:

> It seems probable that a large part of the divergence and uncertainty concerning the scope of sociology has been due to a reluctance to treat the problems of human life and activity by strictly scientific methods. . . . . Sociology has nothing to do with any metaphysical concepts that may be thought to underlie social phenomena. Sociology has to do only with phenomena and with relations among phenomena. . . . .
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> In order to secure agreement as to the scope of a science, it is first necessary to agree as to what phenomena the science is to describe and explain, but it is no less necessary to agree as to what is meant by explanation. . . . . It is only by explaining how things are caused that we acquire ability to cause anything desirable; by such enlightenment we are enabled to discern the courses of action that lead to good and those that lead to evil, and are supplied with motives to pursue the one and shun the other.
>
> I wish to protest against the idea that we can explain social phenomena by referring them to various "social forces." The habit, almost universal among sociologists, of referring frequently to "social forces" I believe is a bad one that ought to be broken. The temptation to use it lies in its metaphysical quality of drugging the mind's hunger for explanation with a false satisfaction by yielding the complaisance of understanding without the labor of obstinate analysis. . . . . Explanation of the phenomenon x (in the case of sociology oftenest a prevalent mode of activity) consists in showing the phenomenon x in its relations to the conditioning phenomena a, b, c, etc.. in the presence of which x emerges, by the increase of which x increases, and by the diminution of which x diminishes. . . . . Sociological explanation can relate prevalent modes of activity to the conditions by virtue of which they become prevalent at one place and time and not at another, with the increase of which, in passing to another place or time, they increase in prevalence, and with the diminution of which they diminish in prevalence.
>
> We may never be able to predict which individual will become a drunkard, but we can tell that with variation in certain conditions of climate, diet, domicile, employment, social approvals, and beliefs, the prevalence of drunkenness will vary. We may not be able to predict which individuals will act in a certain way, any more than the actuary can predict which man out of a thousand will die within a year, though he does know that the average death rate for a year will fall within certain limits; or any more than the student of physiology and hygiene can predict which indi-

vidual in a neighborhood will die of typhoid fever, although he does know that the prevalence of typhoid fever in that neighborhood is due to certain conditions, and that the abatement of such conditions would diminish its prevalence or stamp it out entirely. The importance both practical and scientific of similar knowledge with reference to social phenomena is not to be disparaged.

Does not an adequate basis for a working agreement among sociologists require concurrence as to these two points? First, the phenomena studied by sociology are explicable; that is, a sociological phenomenon—as really as any—is conditioned by other phenomena; second, to enable us to see the sociological phenomena in their relations to the conditioning phenomena is to afford the explanation sought, etc.[1]

The dependence upon "social forces" for the explanation of social phenomena is carried throughout the works of Professor Ward; as he himself puts it, this doctrine "underlies his entire philosophy."[2] Indeed in his view

the principal characteristic of a true science is that it is a domain of natural phenomena produced by a special class of forces. The forces producing social phenomena are the social forces, and taken together they constitute the dynamic agent. . . . . The dynamic agent consists wholly in feeling. . . . . The social forces are wants seeking satisfaction through efforts. . . . . They are all primarily physical or physiological, even those classed as spiritual, for the organism is the only source from which they can emanate. . . . . All the social forces represent the innate interests of mankind, and whatever interests prompt to action. . . . . The fact which it is important to note just at this point is that feeling constitutes the dynamic agent. . . . . Now feeling is a true cosmic force.[3]

Professor Ward agrees with all that was said above about the One Force, except that instead of saying a new class of phenomena which rises as a result of the combination of previous phenomena is in turn added to its predecessors to form with them the conditions necessary to the appearance of yet higher manifestations of the One Force, he would say that the properties or behavior of a new class of phenomena although only a new "modality of the one universal force" may not only with convenience but with practical correctness be treated as a new force,[4] and that the new and "distinct" forces thus coming into operation cause the phenomena which are to be studied by

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, XII, 652.

[2] *Applied Sociology*, 43.

[3] *Pure Sociology*, 99, 256, 261.

[4] *Ibid.*, 99.

the distinct sciences, and that there cannot be a distinct science which is not devoted to the field of operation of a "distinct force."

Further, he says that above the "vibration" of ether there are four of these distinct forces, "chemism, bathmism, zoism, and psychism";[5] these are the demiurges of this mythology. But feeling is the fundamental form of psychism and the only one which is a "true force" and "the feelings had a much earlier origin than the intellect" belonging "to all creatures above the protozoa certainly, and perhaps to these also,"[6] so that "during a prolonged period they constituted the only psychic manifestations, and do so still throughout practically the entire animal world."[7] Feeling, we are thus told, is the force which underlies the animal consciousness that so long preceded intellect, which underlies all psychology, and also sociology. Where, then, is that "distinct" force which is to underlie a distinct science of sociology, defined as the study of "human achievement"? If there are but five cosmic forces, where does he obtain a distinct force to underlie each of all the sciences? Especially if feeling is the only psychic force, where does he get a distinct force to underlie sociology as distinguished from psychology? This is answered by saying[8] that as the one cosmic force manifests itself in five cosmic forces, so also the psychic force or feeling manifests itself in various ways, a part of which are the social forces, so that it is "practically correct" not only to speak of a "social force" but of "a plurality of social forces." The "distinct" force upon which the science of sociology is based is a *portion* of the operation of feelings, and this "distinct" force is itself divisible into as many distinct "forces" as there are modes of human feeling. This is the justification offered for the claim that sociology is a study of the sphere of operation of a distinct force, and for the declaration that those who deny that sociology studies the operations of a distinct force thereby deny the possibility of a science of sociology! No one is likely to submit to being "read

[5] *Pure Sociology*, 94, 101.
[6] *Ibid.*, 107.
[7] *Ibid.*, 101.
[8] *Ibid.*, 99.

out of the party" of sociologists on any such ground as that, but one is more likely to be enough of an "insurgent" to raise the question whether any foundation for a valid system of sociology can be afforded by a body of teaching, learned as it is and wise in many other respects, which is grounded upon the dogma that sociology can be a science if, and only if, its explanations are made to consist in ascribing its phenomena to so-called "distinct forces" thus conceived.

Let us observe more precisely what this is which we are asked to regard as the cause of social phenomena, reference to which is said to constitute adequate scientific explanation, in order that it may appear clearly whether it is well to call it the social force, or even force at all, and also whether the reference of social phenomena to it does constitute their scientific explanation. It is not "inducement or purpose,"[9] not any specific desire or aim, it does not involve any thought of a definable good. Such motives—e.g., the desire to be governor, or to escape the penitentiary—are social products rather than social forces. The definite wants which move society are, in fact, among the most characteristic of the phenomena which are to be explained by sociology, rather than to be taken as data, or given terms from which explanation may set out. Says Professor Ward, the "desire" which is "social force" is "a psychic condition resulting primarily from restraint, exerted by the impinging environment, to motor activity, and when strong enough it overcomes these barriers and causes activity. It is a sensation, and it must be regarded as an unpleasant sensation."[10] Thus he states the essence of his "philosophy of desire." This definition of the so-called "social force" includes reference to the following phenomena: (1) action caused when (2) a restraining environment impinges upon (3) motor activity occasioning (4) a "sensation" or "feeling," a more or less unpleasant accompanying state of consciousness.

It is this fourth, this more or less unpleasant feeling or sensation, which is *the* social force, and to deny that it is the

[9] *Ibid.*, 102. [10] *Ibid.*, 103.

"distinct force" which causes all social phenomena is to deny that there can be a science of sociology!

If any of the four phenomena referred to in this definition of social force deserve to be called a force it is not that which he defines as such, but that which he calls "motor activity" upon which a restraining environment impinges, or in other words the functioning psychophysical organism. In a passage quoted above Professor Ward recognizes that the so-called forces "are all primarily physical or physiological, for the organism is the only source from which they can emanate."

In the mode of thought which I am proposing nothing is omitted which is included in his statement, but all of the four elements which he mentions in his "philosophy of desire" are included. Only I maintain that instead of talking of feeling as a cosmic force and *the* social cause, we ought rather to say that the living psychophysical organism, the consummate biological product, is the last complex resultant of the cosmic process to be added to the conditioning phenomena before the final and most complex phenomena of all can emerge, namely, those studied by sociology; that the psychophysical organisms of men with their inherited and acquired tendencies to react upon stimuli are the physiological conditions of social activities; and that the "impinging environment" is made up of geographic conditions, such as pinching or genial climate, hungry desert or bountiful forest and plain, mountain barriers or inviting harbors; of technic conditions such as roads, tools, and houses, the products of the past invention and labor of mankind; and of the present social activities which lap us round and appeal to our imitativeness. And it is only by identifying all these divers kinds of conditioning phenomena and observing how they form into effective causal combinations that we can scientifically explain the emergence of the corresponding varieties of social activity, and not by attributing them to an uncomfortable disquietude which is felt when the impinging environment restrains our organic tendencies to activity, said discomfort being designated a "cosmic force" and the "distinct cause" of all social phenomena. The general forms of causation which ex-

plain the differences between the practices of Romans, Turks, and Frenchmen, which separate contrasting civilizations, or contrasting centuries, or contrasting social classes, cannot truthfully be stated in terms of differences of feeling, feeling being so defined as to omit all ideas of objects desired or purposes regarded. Feeling, *in that sense,* need be included in the explanation only as we regard the universal organic tendencies of human nature or the differing organic tendencies of separate races and temperaments or of the children of the well-housed and the well-fed as contrasted with those of the children of the devitalized and debauched as *among* the *conditions* (not forces) which are to be included in the explanation. Putting on the one hand that so-called explanation which consists merely in attributing social activities to feelings, as above defined by Professor Ward and by him designated social forces, and on the other hand that explanation which is sought by unraveling the complex conditioning out of which social activities arise, and to the modifications in which the modifications in such activities correspond, we have before us two extremely contrasted views of the proper task of sociology.

The mischief of the error under consideration does not consist in calling *The Force* by one name as it produces one class of phenomena and by another name as it produces another class of phenomena, but it consists in thinking that in ascribing a given class of phenomena either to the One Force or to a "distinct" force we have accomplished anything of scientific importance. Scientific explanation does not consist in referring phenomena back to a metaphysical abstraction, but in revealing the causal or conditioning relationships between phenomena. To insist that there can be no distinct science save as it corresponds to the sphere of operation of a "distinct force," and to construct a "pure science" which consists in discussing how we should conceive the operation of the "forces" involved is merely a substitute for science, and real science is not achieved until the conditioning of the given phenomena by antecedent and accompanying phenomena is set forth. To pursue concepts of "forces" to correspond to the phenomena observed and satisfy

the mind instead of their explanation is to delay and postpone the pursuit of actual scientific explanation.

A knowledge of the causation or conditioning of phenomena by each other enables us to secure practical modification in results by properly disposing the conditions, but explanation of the metaphysical sort proposed by Professor Ward is capable of no such practical application. Upon the title-page of his *Applied Sociology* Professor Ward has placed this quotation: "L'application est la pierre de touche de toute doctrine." It is significant that in this volume of "applied sociology" he makes no practical use of his "pure science" of social forces, though he reiterates that doctrine. His practical suggestions relate entirely to the modifying of activities by means of modifying the conditioning environment, especially in such a way as to diffuse knowledge, the diffusion of which he declares to be the only live problem for applied sociology.

To note a few minor inconsistencies not essential to the main argument: he says that feeling is the essence of the highest of the five cosmic forces, psychism, yet realizes that psychic phenomena begin with sensation, which is the incipient stage of intellection quite as much as of feeling.[11] He might have said that psychism is the force underlying both intellection and feeling. He does say it is feeling.

Further, the question is not so much what in the remote evolutionary genesis gave rise to the first social phenomena, as what in every stage of history, and every day of the present, causes the rise, continuance, and change of social phenomena. He answers, it is the social force or feeling, and says that feeling is the cause of prevalent ideas or beliefs, but that "belief does not cause desire."[12] Yet he also says, only a page away, "ideas give rise to feelings, or prompt, or cause, or occasion emotions,"[13] and his one practical counsel is to diffuse ideas, declaring that if scientific ideas are sufficiently diffused *they* will save the world.[14] The truth is that ideas condition feelings and feelings condition ideas, *each* playing its part in the mutual

[11] *Applied Sociology*, 458.

[12] *Ibid.*, 46.

[13] *Ibid.*, 45.

[14] *Ibid.*, 43.

conditioning of phenomena by each other, which is the scientific conception of causation, but neither is a creative force, which is the erroneous, anachronistic, and metaphysical conception of causation.

Any attempt to say which, feeling or thought, plays the more dominant rôle in the continuous process of social causation is useless, but if such an attempt is to be made then it is at least equally justifiable to reverse his statement and give the dominant place to thought. Indeed, as just pointed out, he seems forced to that reversal, when he turns from "pure" theory to application in real life. And in fact without intellection the feelings which are called social forces or causes cannot exist, so that it would be nearer to a truth to say that intellection is the antecedent cause, the *sine qua non* of feeling, and that feeling modifies thought only by secondary reaction, in so far as intellection winces and tends to turn aside or stop when the resulting feelings are painful, and to proceed when they are pleasurable. According to what is, to say the least, a plausible psychological hypothesis, intellection is the inrush of the objective world impinging upon the organism, and feeling and action are the resultant outgo.

Again, Professor Ward might have devoted a paragraph to reconciling the doctrine of "social forces," or "feeling as the dynamic agent," with the curious declaration which he reiterates in other connections,[15] that "matter alone is dynamic." The truth is that material things play a mighty part in the conditioning of social phenomena, that no force affords their causal explanation, but the totality of related facts, material, i.e., geographic and technic, as well as physiologic and psychic.

Once more: one root of confusion in thought seems to be the failure, by no means peculiar to any one writer, to distinguish, consistently, between feeling or feelings or desires, as psychic realities, that is, as existing in consciousness, and conditioning and conditioned by other psychic realities, on the one hand, and on the other, the physiological capacity for or tendency toward the various feelings; but even the latter is not

[15] *Ibid.*, 48; *Pure Sociology*, 30, 32, 254, 255.

a force, but like the nervous system as a whole, or even the hand or the stomach, is *a condition* of the social activities.

In discussing the doctrine of social forces, and contrasting it with what seems to me the scientific conception of sociological explanation, I have taken my text from Professor Ward, partly because his pronunciamento against all who dissent from this dogma invited a reply, and partly because his writings, saturated as they are with a view which to me seems so erroneous and so obstructive to scientific progress, have attained so great an influence; but the importance of the subject is indefinitely heightened by the fact that so many other sociologists entertain the same view, that indeed extremely few have wholly escaped out of the blind alley of semi-metaphysical quasi-explanation by means of reference to supposed forces, into the high road of scientific explanation by reference of problem phenomena to conditioning phenomena.

To summarize: The most obvious, not to say superficial, way of accounting for human actions is to refer them to "motives." In this way "feelings" or "interests" are regarded by a large class of writers as "the social forces" or "causes." According to the view which I present this is an error. The feelings, as conscious experiences, are not causes antecedent and external to the social activities, any more than digestion is an external cause of physical life, but are integral parts in the human activities which are to be explained; while the organic capacities for feeling, together with the capacities for intellection, are both included in one out of the four kinds of causal conditions of social activity, namely, the organic, geographic, technic, and social. To account for social activity by reference to man's organic capacities alone, and only one portion of the organic capacities at that, or to account for such activity as caused by one element in the activity itself, is unscientific. The organic capacities or tendencies of human nature, besides being the most obvious conditions of social activity, are perhaps, in spite of individual and racial variations, less variable than the geographic conditions, still less so than the technic, and yet less so than the causal relationships

between social activities themselves.[16] Must we add that being less variable they are to the same extent less important in explaining the variations or specific concrete manifestations of social activity, and especially that by being not only less variable by nature but less modifiable by human effort they are less important objects of study with reference to the possible applications of sociological knowledge? At any rate we must say that reference of social activities to the "social force" does not constitute a proper idea of sociological explanation and that sociology abandoning quasi-explanation by reference to so-called forces must adopt the method of other sciences and account for its realities in terms of conditioning phenomena and relations between phenomena. If its explanations should become complete enough to justify prophecy, its forecast would be framed like this: given a population whose psychophysical *organisms* have such and such recognized tendencies, set in the midst of such and such a *material* environment, supplied in part by nature and in part by the labor of man, and in such and such a *social* environment, consisting of the already prevalent activities, then such and such further activities will on the whole thereafter prevail, and if given modifications are now introduced into their physical or social environment such and such changes in the prevalent activities will ensue.

No amount of reference of social activities to feelings can constitute a scientific explanation of them, or open the way to the desired practical applications. "L'application est la pierre de touche de toute doctrine." Rather, in given physical and social environment, men of given organic predispositions will in general and on the whole respond with certain feelings, which are a part of the activity to be explained by science and to be induced or repressed by social practice, and not the causes antecedent to social activity.

[16] That which we call social psychology is mostly a study of this conditioning of social activities by each other.

LEADERSHIP IN REFORM

FRANK W. BLACKMAR
University of Kansas

Leadership in social evolution as an essential element is best observed in the early ethnic or racial groups when race morality was a controlling factor. The centralization of efforts of the individual in one person as an expression of the power of all was essential to the preservation of the group. This is best exemplified in the so-called patriarchal group largely controlled by tradition and social habit. In a demographic society in which each individual is supposed to bear the same relation to the whole group as another individual, the idea of leadership receives less recognition in theory, yet in practice, in a somewhat different way, it appears as a potent factor. Even in a conservative non-progressive democratic society, leadership is actually a powerful agent of social control. A few brains out of the whole group of people do the thinking for the rest who follow through imitation or lack of powers of initiative. In any given community what A or B thinks, says, or does establishes the status of law and order, and inaugurates and controls the social activities of the whole community. When one searches for the independent citizen who acts in community affairs on his own judgment he is difficult to find. What the people want is a common ideal in our political and social democracy, but it usually means what the leaders of thought and opinion have made the people think that they want. In all reform movements this idea of leadership is made most prominent because such movements contemplate in theory at least a radical change in the social régime.

The processes of reform mean an attack on existing institutions, a breaking of old forms and the institution of new ones, for the purpose of reaching a desired result in accordance with the ideal conditions. The difficulties to be overcome are tradi-

tion, social habit, and the conventions of social practice. To overcome these an attack on existing institutions and an agitation which will develop a following is necessary. It is here that the social reformer of the day shows off his greatest power.

A bold, independent individual impressed with a strong belief in the defectiveness of institutions, customs, and laws, by his iconoclastic utterances may reap a large return for a small effort. This is the anarchistic state of social reform. Nine-tenths of self-styled reformers seldom get beyond the anarchistic stage of reform. Here their great power ends and others gifted with constructive power must take up the work where the agitator leaves it. This is especially true of political reform where men even in high places are good image-breakers but have no power of reconstruction. A few reformers go a step farther and set up ideals of a higher plane of action which gradually mold public opinion, causing it to focalize its desire to accomplish certain ends. Others have sufficient constructive force to establish a program of action, and the result of their work is found in laws which are framed to give opportunity to carry out the reform. But at this juncture the reformer passes from view and the reform must take its chances with an inert social life over which the wave of reform has passed. For seldom it is that an individual possesses all of the qualities necessary to carry a reform to completion.

Our sociologists have pointed out the difference between achievement and improvement, which is valuable in estimating a reform movement. It is doubtless an achievement when the agitator arouses people to attack tradition, and forms of social life that are from his standpoint supposed to be bad; it is an achievement when the ideals of a community are elevated and moved forward in progressive lines; and there is a possible means of improvement in this; it is a great achievement when the program in the form of good laws is made; but the real improvement of the reform comes in the efficient carrying-out of the program in social life. It is in this last phase that every other element of reform must be tested in the human laboratory. It is in this human laboratory of social practice that the im-

provement test must be made, and until it is made by experimentation, the value of the reform cannot be estimated. It is in this last phase of social reform that a democracy, especially an American democracy, is weakest. It is strong in anarchism, agitation, and the setting forth of ideals; it is doubly strong in making of laws, although the application frequently shows the weakness of the law; but it is weaker in the laboratory of practical tests. It is easy to cry liberty and equality, but in the social laboratory, liberty and equality are difficult to approximate. It is easy to cry out for social justice; to achieve it in actual practice is a difficult task. It is easy to cry out against the trusts, the railroads, the powers of monopoly, race prejudice and race servitude, white slavery, poisonous foods, foul city government, and the evils of the liquor traffic. It is comparatively easy to make programs and laws. But to work out the reform in practice is the difficult problem of the age. To eliminate the evils by the laboratory test in the actual human workshop is the crux of modern reform. The chief reason is that leadership in reform is not sufficiently equipped to continue to this stage of progress; it has worked out its energy before the test comes, and the people for whom the reform was ostensibly made are left to go their individual ways, lacking in organized energy to use the opportunity. The reformer has returned to his first principle. It is so much easier to agitate than it is to become a member of a committee on ways and means; it is so much easier to legislate than to execute; so much easier to throw stones through old houses than to build new ones.

There are enough laws on our statute books to furnish programs of social action for a hundred years of progress if they would be carried out; there are enough benevolent, eleemosynary, remedial, corrective, and reform societies to redeem all Africa and the South Sea Islands from errors. There are enough theories advanced for the purpose of changing the old to the new to cause the whole social world to turn a somersault. My old friend Doctor Cordley used to quote that, "the trouble with this world is that there is a fool born every minute." The trouble with the social world is that a reform society is born

every day. The trouble is that our reform is heavy at the top. There are few leaders that can get down into the human laboratory and teach people how to live justly and harmoniously, how to take advantage of the practical application of reform measures.

Take the primary law as an example of how a reform fails to work out to its final conclusion. For many years a few people in a convention made up the slate for the people. On account of the close organization of the political party which the convention represented, they were enabled to control both the nomination and the election of public officials. This was so contrary to the ideals of a free government that objections were constantly raised by certain classes of people, particularly those who were left out of the government at a time when they thought they should be in it. Finally, the agitator entered the field of politics and by uniting the people in one common sentiment broke down the convention and established the method of nomination by direct primary. The old institution was thus broken and a program in the form of a law established.

The result of this was to take the concentrated political power from the hands of a few people and redistribute it among the many. It was but a repetition of the process of every reform in a democracy, namely, to take the power which has been concentrated in the few, or the rights vested in them, and redistribute the power and rights among all citizens. But there comes with this distribution an increased responsibility of voters. The responsibility of the convention has been transferred to the people, and the final success of the primary law depends upon whether voters will feel this responsibility and take sufficient interest in choice of officials. No doubt, the old system was against our ideals of democracy and involved the exercising of arbitrary power by a few. No doubt the agitation against it was a good political measure, and no doubt the establishment of the program in the form of a law was a great achievement. But the improvement, on account of the reform, has not yet been determined. The theory that voters should be absolutely and completely individualistic and independent in their choices gives some strange results. For example, in a certain county, four

men were running for one office. Three of them were supported by the better class of voters. The fourth in addition to a few of the better class of voters had control of the floating or irresponsible vote. As a result of the primary, the man who controlled the vote of the doubtful citizens was nominated in the primary, while any one of the other three would have better represented the sentiment of the majority of the voters of the community. An example illustrative of another phase of the subject is in the case of a bright young man of ability, and a fine official, being defeated by a man with a lame leg, who had nothing else to do but to go up and down the street on a crutch and work upon the sympathy of the people whom he met, and he was enabled to "buttonhole" enough people to get the nomination. He was chosen by the people, but did not represent the sentiment of the people in regard to the standard of efficient service. In the same state, outside government officials, very few of the voters know anything about the state officers for whom they vote. The primary presumes that the individual shall be intelligent on his own responsibility concerning measures and men. As a matter of fact he is not intelligent in this, and does not take pains to inform himself. Therefore we may look for many vagaries of government under the primary law. It has already been demonstrated that the rich man who has money and leisure, and the poor, incompetent man who has nothing but leisure, are the people who are most sure of success under the primary system. The same variations exist in the practical application of the laws for the initiative and the referendum.

The point is that there must be a systematic, organized, local leadership in the affairs of a voting community to keep them aroused and united in regard to ideals of government and choice of officials. This requires specific knowledge and specific action. General propositions are insufficient. The expense of electing has more than doubled, and the time and money of the office-seeker are all taken. Newspapers have more power than ever before. For what they formerly received through political graft they now demand in hard cash of the nominees. It requires double the time and attention of the voters and an inter-

est in government which they never have felt before. It will be necessary, therefore, in this fourth phase of reform that there be organized leadership, or the responsibilities assumed by the people will fall to the ground and the individual voters be left as the prey of political wolves and jackals.

Most of the reform laws of modern times tell the same story. The juvenile court law is a wise measure, a grand achievement, and a grand program for reform, but unless juvenile judges are equipped for their work, sympathetic with boys and girls, willing to sacrifice as true servants of the public; in other words, unless they are willing to exercise parental care over other people's children, the fourth phase of reform is unproductive. It is in this human laboratory where the work is actually accomplished that those tests are made whose reactions show social improvement or social failure.

Let us return once more to the great number of associations, organizations, and reform agencies made in recent years. No doubt about our ideals, no doubt we need organization, no doubt that these agencies are of some service, but we are organized at the top, without being able to organize at the bottom. We have the ideal, the initiative, the agitation, and the program, but we do not carry out the program. The actual results discount the ideal 95 per cent.

We are about to establish a Federal Children's Bureau for the gathering and disseminating of information about children. This will prove a benefit, but it is only the beginning of reform. What is needed is an organized leadership for the utilization of information. In the organization of bureaus and departments, the federal government has not been deficient. It has bureaus of mines, plant industry, animal industry, soils, chemicals, entomology, commerce and labor, education, manufactories, and others not mentioned. Granting that these bureaus have been well organized, and the work well done, the result of their work is comparatively small, so far as it affects problems of practical civilization. If we estimate the bureaucratic service at 100 per cent, the utilization of their work as an element of reform would not be over 10 per cent. What is needed is an effective

machinery which shall make this service an education among the classes of people to which it relates. This factor of civilization is very weak. It is social action in contact with social reality that is needed to enable us to carry out our ideals. The genius of the reformer should appear not only in the proposition to do but in the fact of doing. Leadership to organize people into doing associations rather than resolving associations is the great need. It is easy to bray at the railroad and to roar at the trust and to get elected to Congress, but not easy to accomplish a practical reform. It is easy to go slumming; it is easy to gather statistics; it is easy to write questions; it is easy to make laws, but it is difficult to organize society for actual improvement. The world is suffering not from too much achievement, but from too little improvement; not from too much theory and too many programs, but from too little actual service: too much organization at the top of our economic, political, official, and educational systems, and too little work at the bottom. To know conditions is valuable, but to establish an organized work with efficient leadership to take advantage of this knowledge and to carry on an actual transformation of society is the great need.

But, if you ask me how this organization in the laboratory of humanity is to be carried out, I wish to say this project is in the first stage of reform. It has an ideal and is being agitated, but has not gone far enough to make a program, and consequently has made no effort to carry out one.

I can only say that our trained men must work less in libraries and offices and more in the field where they come in contact with humanity as it is, to lead and to teach men how to do. There are such leaders in the field, but their number is small compared with the leaders who sit in bureaus and offices, draw salaries, and ask questions of people who are doing the work.

In some towns and rural communities, as well as in our large cities, united effort exists under efficient leadership for social sanitation. There are attempts at organization to teach people to take advantage of science, of law, of education, of the

ideals of social betterment, but their leadership is fitful, uncertain, and usually inadequate. The single purpose of this paper is to emphasize social leadership in the art of right living.

DISCUSSION

JEROME DOWD

Complete social assimilation cannot take place without racial amalgamation. Races that do not intermarry do not mingle freely socially, and without the stimulus of free social life complete assimilation or socialization is impossible.

One race acquires the thoughts, emotions, and habits of another by imitation, of which I distinguish two kinds. The first is personal, i.e., one individual assimilates the emotions, thoughts, and habits of another by more or less long contact and association. This kind is the more important. We all know from experience that we do not imitate the emotions, thoughts, and habits of another particular individual as a result of casual meeting. We may meet momentarily with an individual of very elevated character or very base character and be influenced scarcely at all, whereas we know that an extended association with such person will have a profound molding influence upon us in spite of all of our efforts to resist.

The second process or kind of imitation is social, i.e., we imitate the emotions, thoughts, and habits of the multitude. The impressions communicated are all momentary, but they come with the combined suggestibility of so many individuals that they are difficult to resist. I would not deny the thesis of Tarde that all imitations are primarily those of a single individual copying after another, but in what I call social imitation the thing momentarily suggested for imitation by one individual is followed immediately by the same suggestion from a multitude, so that the force of the suggestion is social rather than personal. The most striking fact about social imitation is the rapidity and ease of its movement. The response to suggestion is prompt and takes place spontaneously.

Now, this distinction between personal and social imitation has a vital bearing upon the possibility of racial assimilation. For example, in our own country an ostracized race or one which does not intermarry with the native is cut off from our social life and must find its intimacies within its own group. Thus it is excluded from any close and prolonged contact with individual natives. Personal imitation is therefore so restricted that the avenues to higher culture are obstructed or closed. It is a matter of common observation that the acquisition of higher culture of any individual comes through personal imitation. The finer emotions, ideas, and habits are not often found in the street nor in concerted movements of the masses—but are hid away in the domestic circle or otherwise not apprehended except

through intimate personal association. If they are sometimes revealed in the action of the crowd their influence is apt to be lost for lack of a personal example to reinforce them.

The elevation of one individual to a higher moral plane depends upon the assimilation through long personal association of the finer emotions, ideas, and conduct of another. On the other hand, an ostracized race or one which does not intermarry with the native often is extraordinarily susceptible to social imitation. In matters of fashion, food, industrial technique, and in ideas and habits which intrude themselves upon the public, the power of suggestion is great and the imitation rapid and complete. But unfortunately social imitation alone does not enhance personality, but on the contrary, unless restrained by personal imitation, either results in the degeneration of the ostracized race or leaves it on the same moral level. To dress and eat in the fashion, to catch on to native industrial methods and technique, to patronize American public amusements, and to acquire something of the current knowledge of the time does not carry a race very far in the direction of assimilation.

The American Negro under slavery, especially the domestic slaves, developed in some respects a very high degree of morals. They had opportunity to be molded by emotions, ideas, and habits of their masters and mistresses because of the close and prolonged association with them. As a result, the superiority of the ante-bellum Negro to the Negro of today in a moral sense and rectitude has become proverbial.

A fact of very great importance is that wherever personal imitations are excluded by failure of one race to mingle freely with another, the excluded race is all the more susceptible to social imitation. It takes on an exaggerated and intensified interest in the suggestions of the crowd and on account of the inferiority and often demoralizing character of such suggestions it is made worse instead of better by the contact. I believe that the principles I am laying down explain the almost universal phenomenon of the degeneracy and dying out of inferior races in contact with the superior—a phenomenon which we observe in Africa, India, and Polynesia where the Caucasian has come in contact with the native population. These principles also explain the moral retrogression of the Negro in America since emancipation, the backward trend of many of our Indian population, and the moral peculiarities of the Jew.

Where a lower or weaker race succumbs in competition with a stronger one it is not because the weaker race is physically inferior or has any natural mental incapacity to assimilate, but because of the sociological law that races of marked unlikeness do not intermarry and freely associate with each other. But for the barrier of this sociological law the other difficulties of assimilation might be overcome.

Furthermore, the considerations above presented have an important

significance for the future of the American type and character. The immigrants we have been receiving for the past two decades have a tendency on account of differences of language and traditions to form isolated masses. Their unlikeness to us precludes free associations and therefore they are not being assimilated to the American type to the extent of the immigrants received prior to 1890. As the foreign element increases by immigration and multiplication the process of assimilation to the American type will cease and the reverse process set in of an assimilation of the native to the gradually evolving foreign type. The amalgamation between the foreign elements themselves will be more rapid than between those elements and the natives, for the reason that unlikenesses between the foreigners are less marked than the unlikenesses between the foreigners and the natives.

In the meantime the arrested process of assimilation to the American type will have injurious consequences for the foreign elements, since being in a measure socially isolated they will be greatly susceptible to the vicious social imitations and little accessible to the more elevating personal imitations.

This condition of things will make the problem of moral progress in America somewhat difficult and discouraging for the present century.

There are three tentative laws which seem to follow from this distinction between personal and social imitations: (1) That social democracy is the only condition of complete assimilation of the higher culture; (2) That races on a high but different culture level may assimilate each other's culture to the advantage of both, but a complete assimilation of the highest of the two races will be impossible without intermarriage; (3) That a high and a low culture race without intermarriage cannot come in contact without injury to the latter because the social imitations will take on an excessive development and result in physical and moral disintegration.

U. G. Weatherly

Professor Blackmar's paper points out most clearly the central weakness of present social reform movements and opens up an interesting field of speculation as to the functions of sociology in constructive social work. The very fact that reform movements are so thoroughly haphazard is fair proof that expert knowledge of social conditions either does not exist or has been but imperfectly organized for efficiency. It is unfortunately only too true, as Professor Blackmar asserts, that serious reformers have generally not advanced much beyond the stage of denunciation, but exposure and denunciation after all constitute the first step and a necessary step in social change. Agitation is not itself a dynamic agent but it is proof that a dynamic agent exists. On the other hand, most of the constructive programs of the present are the work of quacks and cranks. Reform has even come to be a matter of commercial exploitation. Whatever may be the value of the exposure of abuses by cheap magazines and sensational news-

papers, there can be no claim that they represent either expert knowledge of fundamental social principles or efficient skill in constructive reform.

But however clearly he has depicted the defects of the present situation, Professor Blackmar has stopped short with a statement of symptoms and has indicated little in the way of remedies. Perhaps he has seen more clearly than I can that a frank exposure of the symptoms is at present the more useful course. Indeed none of us is yet ready with a comprehensive program. But it seems to me that if sociology is to validate its claims as a science it must also show that it is capable of becoming an art. Ward has shown us in a general way the possibilities of social telesis. It remains for sociology to translate theory into practice, and this can never occur if it must wait for events to work themselves out in the "human laboratory" by the slow processes of unguided selection and struggle. There ought to be as much reason for sociological laboratories in university departments and in the government service as there is for chemical or pathological laboratories. Just as matters affecting public health are submitted to trained experts, so may questions of social policy come to be referred to the expert in social practice, to be settled in the light of all available knowledge and experience. Science is valid only to the extent that its abstractions, which must first be the product of experimentation and observation, are capable of being translated back into terms of practical utility. To make programs of social action, and to take the leadership in carrying them through to fulfilment, to substitute the expert for the rampant agitator and the commercial hack writer ought to be the task, for the near future, of scientific sociology.

Carl E. Parry, University of Michigan

This paper of Professor Hayes falls, of course, in the field of methodology. Work in that field, I think, springs from a common desire we have, and one we share with other scientists, to assure ourselves that we are on the right road, to get some short cut to professional self-confidence. I am not sure I should think much of a scientist who never had any doubt of himself, or any doubt of his science. It is close to the very impulse that leads him to study deeply, and to weigh carefully, while he woos the scientific ideal. And I believe it is worth while for one to have as good a knowledge as possible of methods, so as to be able to discriminate between those likely, and those not so likely, to be scientifically fruitful.

There is surely no better way to learn good method than to come into close personal and professional contact with a master in the science, one studying conscientiously the concrete facts of society. By this means method is learned unconsciously, and one has the chance to equip himself to contribute to his science, which, after all, is the only satisfactory way to add to his professional self-confidence.

In my own limited experience, I am afraid I never got much help from the methodology put forth as methodology by sociologists. I have drawn more, however, from that put forth by the philosophers. I am told by friends of mine who teach philosophy that the methodology of science really falls in the field of metaphysics, specifically in the field of inductive logic, in which John Stuart Mlll's treatise of that name is the great classic. Workers in that field, with whom I have studied and held discussions, show such a mastery of it, and such a familiarity with all its terms and concepts, that I am ashamed to submit any amateur effort of my own in competition with them. In philosophic language, for instance, the attack on the social-forces error, presented by Professor Hayes, would seem to be merely calling attention to a moment in our scientific progress; namely, that as hypothesis the theory that there is a distinct social force has served its time, just as any hypothesis in any science—such as the theory of vital force in biology—serves its time, and that it is now ready to be supplanted by a better hypothesis, one recognizing more consciously the complexity of the phenomena. This is a thesis with which I think few will disagree; in fact, I think most of the actual workers with concrete facts have discarded the theory of a distinct social force already, and are attempting to explain their phenomena on the assumption that no one condition sets all the others in motion, but that the conditions mutually determine one another. I think an examination of their work would show this, but if it be desirable to reach the same conclusion by some other route the one by way of inductive logic would seem to have the most legitimate claim.

It is my own conviction that it is a real advantage for a sociologist to have his attention directed away from methodology. I am afraid the pursuit of it tends to unfit a man for good observation of the concrete facts of the social life about him. I have no desire to be personal, but I may say that I looked in vain in Professor Hayes's paper for a single fact, relating to the society around him, that he had *observed himself*. Just such observation is the first business of a sociologist, if he aspires to be a scientist, and absorption in methodology turns a man away from it; it cultivates just exactly the habit of mind manifested in Professor Hayes's paper. This is one of the main reasons, to my way of thinking, why sociologists who dabble in methodology do it at their peril, and why, in spite of my clandestine liking for it, I commonly avoid long draughts of it myself.

Finally, I may say that next to working under the eye of a master, and to keeping in more or less close touch with men versed in the metaphysics of science, I have gotten most help on method from workers in a fellow social science—namely, history. It was my good fortune, in my graduate days, to be able to take a short course in history under the direction of a man proficient in the so-called historical method. All semester we studied together a single Latin document, relating to a single mediaeval city—

patiently, carefully, and most painstakingly. It was most inspiring to see how anxiously the professor scanned each bit of evidence, to see just how much it was worth, and just how much it told of what the people of the time were really driving at. From this work in history, of which I wish I had been able to take more, I think I absorbed a little of the scientific spirit, and am sure I learned principles of method, such as the necessity for distinction between fact and inference, that I find myself employing every day in my own work. And why, indeed, should any scientists be better fitted than the historians to guide us wisely? Have they not, for a great many years, been working conscientiously with the concrete facts of human society?

With reference to this whole subject of methodology, I would repeat the expression of my conviction that it is better to manifest good method in one's work, and to absorb it from the work of master sociologists and historians, than it is to devote much of one's own special attention to it, especially since, in itself, methodology is not sociology at all, but logic, and is so much better done by trained metaphysicians.

Maurice Parmelee, University of Missouri

I am very glad that Professor Hayes has read this paper at this time because it emphasizes the great importance of connecting sociology with its antecedent sciences, in particular psychology and biology. Sociologists cannot afford to forget that social phenomena are continuous with other natural phenomena, so that Professor Hayes's emphasis upon the identity of the forces at work in society with other natural forces is most timely. The recognition of this fact will, I believe, result in the introduction of the genetic method into sociology just as it has within the last few decades been adopted by biology. Sociology is still using to a large extent the classificatory and systematizing method which characterized biology a century or so ago when biology was in its Linnaean period. Not until sociology connects its peculiar phenomena with the phenomena of its antecedent sciences can it attain its full development as a natural science.

As to Professor Hayes's criticism of Professor Ward I quite agree with him that Ward is mistaken in insisting that the desires are the only true social forces. It is, furthermore, unfortunate that Ward should have used such terms as chemism, bathmism, zoism, psychism, etc., because he seemed to imply by the use of these terms that in each field of natural phenomena there is a peculiar force quite distinct from the forces at work in other fields of natural phenomena. However, it is well to remember that Ward is a thoroughgoing monist. It is therefore inconceivable that he believes in any such peculiar forces which are absolutely distinct from each other. Whatever may be the implications of his terminology, he must believe that all these forces are manifestations of the one universal force.

ALBION W. SMALL

Although I think Professor Hayes has a case against Professor Ward, I am not convinced that the latter is as far wrong as the former would have us believe. We all wish Professor Ward were here to speak for himself, and there is not much room for doubt that he would be able to make a strong showing for his side of the argument.

Since I was among those whom Professor Ward read out of the ranks of the sociologists last year by special mention, because we did not accept his version of the social-forces idea as closing the case for sociology, I am naturally inclined to protest against such relegation. On the whole, however, I may be pardoned for referring to the ancient case of the bishop and the judge arguing the question which was the bigger man, and the clincher of the judge: "When you say to a man, 'You be damned,' he may not be; when I say to a man, 'You be hanged,' he will be." So long as Professor Ward is only the bishop, while the Sociological Society is the judge, we may all escape being either damned or hanged for differences of opinion about the social forces.

Speaking seriously, it seems to me that Professor Ward's psychology is vulnerable at more than one point, but Professor Hayes has asked us to support his attack at a point where much ammunition might be used without effect. To put it briefly, Professor Hayes's contention raises a false alarm. At the present moment certainly the sociologists are not putting into the concept "social forces" a vitiating ratio of the metaphysical preconceptions against which he warns. On the contrary, if I understand the trend of our thinking at the present time, Professor Hayes's challenge of the conception "social forces" is very much as though he were attorney for one of the parties in litigation over Chicago traction properties, and should take issue with another attorney's phrase "electricity *hauls the cars.*" It might immediately be agreed by all parties concerned that when predicated of electricity the term "hauls" means a different series of technical antecedents and consequents from that which connects the generation of force with the movement of the cars in the case of a cable, or in the more ancient case of horses. Yet in the absence of a more convenient phrase it might also be conceded, without danger to anything at issue, that for the purposes in question the word "hauls" is a sufficiently precise symbol for what takes place, whether in the use of horses, cables, or dynamos. The essential thing is that, so far as transportation and the nickels that pay for it are concerned, we tell the story by the word electricity in the one case, just as we did by the words cable and horses earlier; and the word "hauls" doesn't claim anything not in the facts.

It seems to me that the like is true of the phrase "social forces" in sociological parlance. That is, Professor Hayes has made the phrase "social forces" responsible not only for all the possible flaws in Professor Ward's

psychology, but also for all the metaphysical vagaries which we might today conceal under the words if our thoughts in connection with them were other than they actually are.

To take a case of cause and effect in society for illustration: The individuals who represent the type *American academic man* do not all act alike. But they are alike the products of certain cosmic and biological forces. These latter, however, may be taken for granted and canceled from the reckoning when we are trying to locate the differentiating factors which account for the behavior of certain specimens of this type in one way, and of certain other specimens in other ways. For instance, certain of that type have this week pilgrimaged to Providence, certain to Indianapolis, certain to Minneapolis, certain to St. Louis. Why did they not all stay at home or else go to the same spot? The answer is not to be found in the remoter terms in the series of causation back of the phenomenon *American academic man.* It is to be found in the variants in the case of different varieties of the phenomenon. One *American academic man* is stimulated by psychology, another by history, another by geology, another by sociology. In each case responsiveness to a particular type of stimulus is all that is necessary in the way of explanation of the psychologists seeking their kind, the historians theirs, etc. The sociologist strictly as such need not at any rate press back farther for explanation. To my mind, therefore, it is a very innocent verbal device to say that our interest in sociology was the *force* that brought us here, our colleagues' interest in chemistry was the *force* that carried them to Minneapolis, etc. We *might* mean that this mental circumstances is a force of the same order as that which produces horns on oxen or inhibits them on horses. We *might* mean that it is a force of the same order which produces combustion when oxygen and hydrogen meet under certain conditions. We *might* mean that it is a force of the same order which keeps Niagara in motion. No one of us really thinks that any other of us has any such connotation in mind while using the phrase "social forces." When we refer to a valuation in men's minds as a "social force" we of course mean that it is a *psychical* force, whatever a psychical force may turn out to be.

I do not know of a more important range of problems than those which are called up by the question, What may be found out about the genesis of mental states? Perhaps I should modify what I said a moment ago about the limitations of strictly sociological search by admitting that all the answers we shall ever get to the question will probably contain contributions by both psychologists and sociologists. Meanwhile it seems hypercritical to challenge the proposition that mental states once in existence are *real social causes.* This does not mean that they are final causes, any more than the locomotives that drew our trains were final causes. The locomotives and the mental states are factors back of which it is needless

to go for certain reaches of explanation. That being the case, it would seem to me an altogether needless and profitless self-limitation if we should deny ourselves the convenience of referring to these social causes as "social forces."

EDWARD A. ROSS

I shall not attempt to defend Dr. Ward's use of "forces," for he is well able to take care of himself. But on behalf of the serviceableness of the social forces idea in sociology, I am ready to break a lance at any time. I do not feel that a social fact is explained until it is traced back to human beings functioning under the given conditions. When a phenomenon such as a falling off in births, an increase of suicides, a growth in the solidarity of labor, an increase in the number of elopements, or a shrinkage in crimes against the person is followed back link by link along the causal chain until we arrive at some impulse, appetite, propensity, passion, desire, or purpose of human beings in a specific situation, then, and not till then is it *explained* from the point of view of the sociologist. Of course, the psychologist steps in and presses the investigation still farther back.

While in China this summer certain strange social practices continually challenged me. Why do the mothers cruelly bind their daughters' feet? Why do many young wives commit suicide when the opium crop is harvested? Why are the Chinese so prone to opium smoking and gambling? Why are female infants made away with, but never male infants? Why do they sacrifice a cock at the boat's prow before starting on a risky voyage? In each case my curiosity was unslaked until I had traced the practice to some urge or demand of human nature, such that I could imagine myself following it if I had Chinese ideas, and were acting under Chinese conditions.

It is fallacious to argue that the notion of "forces" is to be given up by sociologists in case it has been found valueless or misleading in other sciences. We may give up trying to find why the molecules of chemical compounds, or the cells of living bodies behave as they do, and content ourselves with stating "this regularly precedes that." As regards our comprehension, molecules and cells are as remote from us as Sirius. We have no inside information about them, and probably never shall have. But the ultimate units which give rise to social phenomena are human beings, sufficiently like ourselves that by close study of their mental content and their situation, and by a little use of the imagination, we can usually discover what motive prompts them to act as they do. This is a higher and completer explanation than the chemist or biologist can hope for in his field, and it would be foolish for us to put up with his limitations. We are on the inside of society. The key of its interpretation is in our hands. Why then should we throw away all the advantages that come to us from this fact?

EDWARD C. HAYES

Dr. Parry objects that the invention of methods is a task already discharged by logicians and the practitioners of developed sciences. He is quite right, and if I had proposed any new method his criticism would have a bearing upon my paper; but I merely pointed out that it behooves us to become aware how far we have been from following the method which is the common property of all sciences, and to observe the path which scientific method requires us to pursue.

It is with great regret that I am obliged to have any point of difference from men whom I hold so high in honor and to whose leadership I owe so much as I do to Professor Small and Professor Ross, but they belong to the great majority, which I believe is at this point in the wrong.

Professor Small's illustration of electricity and the street cars is adequate defense of our right to use the expression "social force" as a figure of speech. That figure is no more objectionable than a biological analogy, or rather no more so than biological analogies were when they still carried misleading connotations. He has misunderstood my intention if he regards my objection as directed against the use of that phrase as a figure of speech. It is against the idea of sociological explanation which that expression is used to convey; it is against the view just stated by Professor Ross that sociological explanation is reached when prevalent activities are attributed to a motive.

It seems to me on the contrary, that motive, instead of being the explanation sought, is the thing to be explained if by motive is meant any *specific desire existing in human consciousness;* and that the motive is *only one* omnipresent condition of social activity if by motive is meant a *trait of human nature.* To Professor Small motive means the former, to Professor Ross and Professor Ward it means the latter.

Accordingly to the question why are, say, five hundred men attending the meeting of the American Sociological Society, and why are, say, one thousand attending the meeting of the American Psychological Society, Professor Small would answer: Because five hundred wanted to go to the one place, felt the motive or desire, were sensitive to the sociological stimulus, and one thousand wanted to go to the other. This seems to me merely a restatement of the problem and no explanation at all. What we want to know is *why,* at the present stage of academic progress, do five hundred feel the one desire and why do a thousand feel the other? The sociological problem in this case, as indeed in most, is the problem of prevalence. In every sociological problem of which this can serve as an illustration the feeling, motive, or desire is part and parcel of the activity to be explained; it *is* the activity in one of its aspects, as it exists for the actors, while the bodily presence here of these men is another aspect of it, and no sociological explanation of any scientific significance can consist in saying: a thousand

or ten thousand or a hundred thousand people do so-and-so because they want to.

What could more emphasize the need of the considerations which I have attempted to present than does the fact that such a teacher as Professor Small can tell us that naming "the mental state" of the actors, that is, describing the activity as it exists for the consciousness of the actors, is "as far back" as sociological explanation needs to go? If that were true then everyone who has the activity would have the sociological explanation of it, and there would be no scientific task.

What, indeed, could more emphasize the need of these considerations than the remarks of Professor Small unless it be the position just affirmed by such another teacher as Professor Ross, that prevalent social activities are explained when referred to some propensity of human nature, which he has in common with the Chinaman? In emphasizing the universal validity of such explanation he says that he would do as the Chinaman does, if he had Chinese ideas and lived under Chinese conditions. Then does it not follow that it is Chinese ideas and conditions, and not the propensities of human nature, that explain why the Chinamen act as they do, and not as Professor Ross does? He says he would commit suicide about the end of May, as so many Chinese wives do, if he were in their place; then it is not the conditions of their cruel lot, as well as the abundance of poison when the opium crop comes in, and not the propensities of human nature that he claims to have in common with them, that explains the prevalence of suicide among Chinese wives at that season?

Propensities of human nature are among the conditions of social activity always to be taken into the account. I did not and would not advocate omitting them from the explanation, any more than I would advocate that the meteorologist should omit from his explanations the alternations of the seasons, or that an engineer should disregard gravity. But what should we say of a meteorologist whose explanations consisted in saying: "Now it is winter, now it is summer," or of an engineer, who when asked why a bridge had fallen should say, employing the words just used by Professor Ross, "when we come to the real reason that explains why" this bridge fell we find that it was gravity? The engineer who can tell us why one bridge fell and how another can be made to stand must know other conditions than gravity, which acts equally upon that which falls and that which stands.

While we shall by no means "throw away the advantages" derived from our common consciousness of human nature, neither shall we think the scientific task of sociology to consist in attributing prevalent activities to them. The scientifically and practically important knowledge is not chiefly, what propensity is aroused, but far more by what conditions is an activity evoked, or by the presence or absence of what conditions is it prevented,

for example, what removable conditions or the lack of what attainable conditions are responsible for the higher per cent of the illiteracy in one social group as compared with another having the same human propensities, or for an increase of immorality in a given population whose human propensities have not changed? Far from finding the explanation required in the propensity which is active in a given case we very commonly have that knowledge before the task of scientific explanation is begun, as the engineer might know the weight of steel and yet not know why one steel bridge had fallen or how to make another that would stand.

If anything is important to sociology at its present stage of progress is it not this, to divest itself of the now accepted notion that sociological explanation consists in the reference of acts to motives, whether regarded as the feeling side of the acts themselves, or as propensities of human nature, and to adopt instead the pursuit of explanations that consist in reference to conditions geographic, technic, psychophysical, and social?

THE DRIFT TO THE CITY IN RELATION TO THE RURAL PROBLEM[1]

JOHN M. GILLETTE
University of North Dakota

It is commonly estimated that the cities of the United States are built up in population at the expense of the country. If this is so it must have a very important bearing on the "rural problem." In so far as it is true, to that extent it is a factor to be considered in relation to the latter.

It is the business of this paper to demonstrate the degree of the movement from country to city, to indicate what the significance of this movement is for rural communities, to seek its more trenchant causes, and to touch upon preventive agencies.

I. FACTS AS TO THE DRIFT TO CITIES

In the beginning it is necessary to examine the fact of city drift as a fact. First, it is a fact. In 1900, 31.1 per cent of the population of the United States lived in cities of 8,000 or more persons, while in 1790 there were but 3.3 per cent of such urbanites. There were 6 cities of 8,000 inhabitants in 1790, 545 in 1900. There was no increase in the number of such places until the census of 1910. Then the increase in such places by decades was 5, 2, 13, 18, 41, 56, 85, 60, 161, 98.[2]

The United States Census now recognizes three classes of population: urban, semiurban, and rural, the urban consisting of incorporated places of 4,000 or more persons, the semiurban of places of 4,000 to 2,500 inhabitants, along with certain New England towns, and the rural of those places having less than 2,500 inhabitants together with strictly open country. In 1900 37.3 per cent of the people lived in urban communities as

[1] This paper is based quite largely on a study by the writer which appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for October, 1910, and January, 1911, under the title "City Trend of Population and Leadership."

[2] *Eleventh Census*, 1900, Vol. I, Table XXIX.

against 32.9 per cent in 1890; in 1900, 10.8 per cent were semiurban as against 9.8 per cent in 1890; and in 1900, 51.9 per cent were rural as compared with 57.3 per cent in 1890. In that time the rural lost 5.4 per cent relative to the urban and semiurban, the former having absorbed 4.4 per cent of it.[3]

Second, decrease of rural population is relative, not actual, for the country as a whole. The actual loss of rural population is small. In the North Atlantic division from 1890 to 1900 there was a net loss of 238,865, three states having gained 86,943, while six states lost 325,808 rural inhabitants. In the South Atlantic division there was a gain of 830,739 for country districts, only one state, Delaware, having lost, to the extent of 2,404 persons. The North Central division had a rural gain to its credit of 458,149, notwithstanding the fact that five of its states sustained a rural loss of 138,315 inhabitants. The South Central and Western divisions showed large net rural gains, the former gaining 67.7 per cent in the decade, the latter 36.9 per cent.[4] Maine sustained a rural loss of 13.3 per cent of its total increase of population; New Hampshire 44.9; Vermont 214.9; Massachusetts 2.2; New York 16.4; New Jersey 13.9; Delaware 14.8; Nebraska 125.2; Kansas 51.0; Ohio 17.1; Indiana 0.1; and Illinois 2.9 per cent. In the case of Kansas and Nebraska the rural decrease was of a temporary nature, being due to droughts in the western ends of those states in the earlier part of the decade. Fragmentary reports of the Census of 1910 show that Kansas has gained over 20 per cent in population since 1900, largely of a rural nature; that 50 rural out of 102 Illinois counties lost population; that 39 rural out of 88 Ohio counties, and 15 rural out of 61 New York counties lost population; that the Missouri gain of 6.0 per cent is more than offset by the growth of its larger cities alone; that Iowa lost 0.3 per cent while its eight chief cities made an average gain of 37.7 per cent.[5]

Third, the tendency toward the relative decrease of rural

[3] *Twelfth Census*, Vol. I, p. lxxxix.

[4] *Twelfth Census*, Vol. I, Table XXXVI.

[5] Census information given out through the press, and *Recapitulation of Census Population Announcements*, Washington, D.C., November 23, 1910.

and the relative increase of urban population seems likely to continue, judging from decennial statistics. The increase of population of cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants from 1790 to 1820 was 50.9 per cent, from 1820 to 1850 it was 83.1 per cent, from 1850 to 1880 it was 58.4, from 1880 to 1900 it was 48.6. The percentage of increase of city populations touched its maximum from 1840 to 1850 when it registered 99.3 per cent. The other highest point was between 1820 and 1830 when the per cent was 82.0. The average since 1850 has been 53.5 while before 1820 it was but 50.9 per cent. While we may not witness another such spurt in city increase as that between 1820 and 1850, we find little encouragement from the record to expect a near decline.

Conversely, the percentage of increase of rural population has steadily decreased. The percentages run as follows: from 1790 to 1820, 34.1; 1820 to 1850, 30.3; 1850 to 1880, 24.2; 1880 to 1900, 14.3 per cent. The decade from 1870 to 1880 shows the only increase in the rate, one from 15.6 to 27.2. But the two following decades fall to 14.5 and 14.1.

The ratio of increase of city to rural population was 1.6 per cent from 1790 to 1820, 2.7 from 1820 to 1850, 2.6 from 1850 to 1880, 3.4 from 1880 to 1900.[6]

Fourth, the increase of city as against rural population is localized. It is connected with industrial regions or regions becoming industrialized. The facts given above on rural losses show that they occurred in the North Atlantic and North Central states almost exclusively. The most industrialized states have the largest percentages of urbanites: Rhode Island 81.2, Massachusetts 76, New York 68.5, and so on, while southern and western states have small ones: Kansas 14, Mississippi 2.6, Tennessee 13.4.[7] For recent times the law could be safely formulated: the increase in rural population is in inverse and that in urban population is in direct proportion to the degree of industrialization.

Partial reports from the *Thirteenth Census* of urban growth

[6] *Census Bulletin No. 4*, 1903, Table XXIII.

[7] *Twelfth Census*, Vol. I, p. lxxxii, and Plate IX.

indicate that the past rate of increase is being sustained. During the decade just closed eleven cities passed into the 100,000 class with others likely to be added as compared with ten for the preceding decade. The largest gain made by any city of that class from 1890 to 1900 was 103.4 per cent while from 1900 to 1910 two cities gained over 200 per cent, one gaining 245.4 and the other 211.5, while a third gained 124.3 per cent. During the decade 1890 to 1900, 36 cities gained access to the 25,000 class while in the last decade 69 cities secured that promotion. The percentage of increase of the cities of the 25,000 class rose from 32.5 for the decade ending with 1900 to 39 for that ending with 1910; that of the cities of the 100,000 class sank from 32 in the former to 31.8 in the latter decade. Cities under 25,000 had not been reported when this was written.[8]

II. SOURCES OF CITY GROWTH

In consideration of the fact that modern populations possess a large degree of fluidity both within the confines of particular nations of the more advanced type and between nation and nation it would not be safe to assume that the cities of America have gained their inhabitants at the direct expense of country districts. We have shown that certain rural regions sustain actual losses of people but we would have to prove that the equivalent number above city gains from all other directions had been absorbed by cities before we could assert that the rural migrants had been stolen by urban communities. Our recourse must be to statistics.

There are four possible modes of swelling urban population: by excess of births over deaths, by migration from farms, by immigration, and by incorporation of smaller cities. The last, incorporation, is insignificant. Excess of births over deaths is likely to be of considerable importance, but our data regarding vital statistics are wanting or untrustworthy. Relative to New England this statement is made:

The summary of vital statistics for the New England cities for 1902 shows that the natural increase, due to the excess of births over deaths, of

[8] *Recapitulation of Census Population Announcements*, Washington, D.C., November 23, 1910.

towns of 10,000 and upward is 8.67 per thousand; whereas in places below 10,000 the rate was only 1.28 per thousand.[9]

Generally, municipal mortality statistics are untrustworthy.[10] The rural and urban mortality averages of the total registration area of the United States show slight differences, 9/100 for city and 8/100 for country.[11] Birth-rate averages are lacking so that as to the resulting gains or losses of either locality we are in the dark.

Immigration as a source of urban population deserves more attention than it has been given. In my estimation it accounts for 65 to 70 per cent of city increase. It is easy to show that the immigrants are settling in industrial regions. The North Atlantic and North Central divisions of the United States received the preponderating number of incoming Irish, French, Germans, Bohemians, Scandinavians, Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, and Russians in 1890 and 1900. The percentages by divisions for the two decades were these: North Atlantic, 42.7 and 49; North Central, 43.9 and 38.6; Western, 6.8 and 6.2; South Central, 4.2 and 3.9; South Atlantic, 2 and 2. The average percentages of the distribution of foreign born by divisions from 1850 to 1900 were, in the same order: 47.2; 39.3; 5.6; 4.4; and 3.1.[12] According to the report of the immigration bureau of the Western Passenger Association four-fifths of the aliens admitted in 1904 and 1905 settled in the eight following states: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, and California. Of these New York and Pennsylvania in 1905 received about 550,000 against a little over 300,000 received by the other six states.

The same idea may be gained from an inspection of the *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* relative to the intended future permanent residence of aliens admitted and last permanent residence of aliens departed for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909. After deducting the total

[9] Kinley, *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, IV, 116.

[10] Irving Fisher, *Report on National Vitality*, 21.

[11] *U.S. Statistical Abstract*, 1908, p. 75.

[12] *Tenth Census*, 1890, Pt. I, p. cxxxvi, and *Eleventh Census*, Vol. I, pp. clxxiv and civ.

number of both emigrant and non-emigrant aliens who departed from the total number of both immigrant and non-immigrant aliens who did not depart there was a balance of 544,563 who remained in this country. Of these, twelve states, namely, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin, received over 10,000 each, or 95 per cent, and six states, namely, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, received over 25,000 each, or 78 per cent of the total.[13]

The larger industrial centers absorbed the vastly larger portion of migrants to industrial states. Chicago absorbed 91.3 per cent of the Poles and 84.2 per cent of the Italians settling in Illinois; New York City absorbed 47.1 per cent of Poles, 79.8 per cent of Italians, and 93.7 per cent of Russians settling in New York; Boston absorbed 17.8 per cent of Poles, 47.7 per cent of Italians, and 55.6 per cent of Russians settling in Massachusetts; and Philadelphia absorbed 56.8 per cent of the Russians settling in Pennsylvania. In 1900, cities of 25,000 and more inhabitants of Massachusetts absorbed 48.6 per cent of Poles, 67.5 per cent of Italians, and 89.7 per cent of Russians; those of New York absorbed 83.5 per cent of Poles, 87 per cent of Italians, and 97.5 per cent of Russians settling in their respective states.[14]

There are living in cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants about 75 per cent of Russians; 63 per cent each of Poles, Italians, and Irish; and nearly 60 per cent each of Bohemians, Austrians, and Hungarians. These, except the Irish, are the foreign races which now most come to America.[15] A large part of these and other races settle in smaller industrial cities.

We may come still closer to the contribution made by immigrants to cities. Let us apply the percentages of the Commissioner General of Immigration's report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, referred to above as a criterion of the proportion of distribution of aliens in this nation, for the decade 1890–1900. The total immigration to this country in

[13] *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, 1909, pp. 19–20.

[14] Hall, *Immigration*, 343–45.

[15] *U.S. Statistical Atlas*, 1903, Plate 73.

that decade was 3,687,564. Taking 78 as the percentage of aliens probably settling in the six states mentioned we find it represents 2,876,300. This in turn is found to be 67.5 per cent of the total urban increase of those states during the same decade. If in the same manner we treat the twelve states in which 95 per cent of the immigrants settled during 1905, it is found that this portion of the immigration to the United States in the last decade of last century amounts to 69.2 per cent of the urban increase of those twelve states. It is probable that the distribution of immigration did not differ materially in the two periods considered. From this we may conclude that from 65 to 70 per cent of the urban growth of the United States is composed of immigrants.

It is popularly believed that the country districts furnish the larger portion of city growth. A careful analysis of interstate migration, together with the application of the decennial rate of population increase to cities, disproves this common dogma.

The percentage of increase of the total population of the nation between 1890 and 1900 was 20.7 per cent. This may be taken as the approximate increase of urban communities, because, while it is held that rural regions maintain a larger increase because of larger families, on the other hand the urban increase is likely to be quite as large from the fact that the foreign stock found dominantly in cities increases faster than the native stock found dominantly in the country. Subtract this 20 per cent of natural increase of urban populations from the 30 or 35 per cent of urban growth not accounted for by immigration and there is left some 10 or 15 per cent of city growth to be drawn from rural regions.

Let us turn to the other line of proof, namely, that which comes from a study of interstate migration. I quote from my previous paper on this point.[16]

"The total native born population in 1900 was 65,767,451 (including Alaska and Hawaii, but excluding 75,851 native born enumerated in military and naval stations abroad). Of this number 51,979,651, or 79 per cent, were born in the state or territory in which they were found by the census enumerators. The remaining 13,787,800, constituting 21 per cent of the entire

[16] *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, October, 1910.

native-born element, had migrated from the state or territory in which they were born and were found in other states and territories. The population living in the state or territory of birth was slightly larger in 1900 than it was in 1890."[17]

The exhaustion of available agricultural land in the west is likely to have a still more restrictive effect on that portion of interstate migration which sought the west for farming opportunities. By a study of the census tables of the interstate migration of Maine, New York, Iowa, and North Dakota, something may be learned about the nature of the community the immigrants settle in, whether in country or in city.[18]

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BORN IN MAINE

	Number	Percentage
Born in Maine, living in the United States.....	778,266	
Born in Maine, living in Maine.....	560,506	80.7
Born in Maine, living outside Maine in the U.S. .	217,760	19.3
Born in Maine, living in N. Atlantic division outside of Maine.....	140,290	
Born in Maine, living in South Atlantic division .	3,769	
Born in Maine, living in North Central division..	39,926	
Born in Maine, living in South Central division ..	2,278	
Born in Maine, living in Western division.....	30,288	
Born in Maine, living outside continental U.S....	1,209	
Born in Maine, living in Massachusetts	98,375	40.0 of exodus
Born in Maine, living in New Hampshire.....	16,650	7.7 of exodus
Born in Maine, living in California.....	14,732	6.8 of exodus
Born in Maine, living in Minnesota	10,000	4.9 of exodus

Something like 7/11 of the total migration from Maine settled in adjoining states, particularly Massachusetts. It is evident they did not go into farming regions largely. The inference would be otherwise for those that settled in the agricultural regions of the west and south. A very large proportion of the westbound migration of native born stock has settled in rural regions. The proportion of those leaving Maine, whether from city or country, we have no means of determining. But since the city population of that state has been relatively small, less than 1/5 until about 1900, it would seem the vast majority emanated from farms.

There is another side to Maine's population account. Its total population is 694,466. Of these those born in Maine are 560,506. Other native born are 40,630, or 5.9 of its population. Of foreign born there are 93,330, or 13.4 per cent. Of the native born the North Atlantic states contribute 32,335 and the North Central, 2,711, making 7/8 of the total. Where do these persons probably settle?

Portland, Maine, had a population of 50,145 in 1900. Of these 69.6 per

[17] *United States Statistical Atlas*, 1900, p. 43.

[18] *United States Census*, 1900, Vol. I, Tables LXII, LXVIII, and LXXVIII.

cent were born in Maine, 9.6 were native born from outside the state, 20.8 were foreign born. Since the foreigners are just a little over twice as numerous as the immigrating native born they seem to be settling in Portland, and presumably in the other cities of the state in about equal proportions. Outside of this we have no data to form judgments of what portion settle in cities, save the general fact that agricultural Maine was declining in the decade of the Twelfth Census and naturally would absorb the smaller portion of incoming population.

The population born in New York state are distributed as follows: total population, 7,268,894; born in New York but living elsewhere in the United States, 6,134,552 or 66.5 per cent; born in New York and living in the state, 4,833,941; New York born lost to the state, 1,300,611; foreign born living in the state, 1,900,425, or 26.1 per cent; number of native persons born outside and gained by the state, 534,528, or 7.4 per cent.

The divisions of the United States according to their absorption ability as to New York's emigrants with their chief absorbent states were as follows: The North Atlantic division received 5,317,254. The following states of this division received 25,000 or more: Massachusetts, 71,113; Connecticut, 63,465; New York, 4,833,941; New Jersey, 193,431; Pennsylvania, 114,440. The South Atlantic division received 40,659. The North Central division received 606,641. The following states of that division received 25,000 or more; Ohio, 56,652; Illinois, 111,078; Michigan, 156,489; Wisconsin, 58,338; Minnesota, 44,342; Iowa, 53,878; Missouri, 30,268; Nebraska, 28,548; Kansas, 28,897. The South Central division received 30,635; the Western, 128,618; Alaska, 1,117; Hawaii, 464, and all others, 9,164.

It is to be observed that the South Central and South Atlantic states received but a small proportion of New York born; that the industrial states of the North Atlantic division absorbed the most of that division's share, the cities evidently taking them; that the North Central states which have been building up agriculturally during the nineteenth century and industrially during the last few decades took the largest exodus of any one division, the fair inference being that the migrants chiefly went onto farms, and that in the Western division agriculture and mining took up the larger portion of New York born.

Regarding the 7.4 per cent and 26.1 per cent of the state's population who were immigrants from other states and foreign nations the rural regions probably took the larger portions of the former in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century while the cities absorbed the immigrants. The constituency of New York City and Buffalo warrant the inference. As to the former city, 55 per cent of the population were born in the state, 8 per cent in other states, while 37 per cent were foreign born. As to Buffalo, the percentages in the same order are 63.2, 7.2, and 29.6.

Taking Iowa as a type of the state largely agricultural but with consid-

erable industrial development, the following data as to distribution of the interstate migration are given: Total population, 2,231,853; born and living in the state, 1,318,377, or 59.1 per cent; other native born, 607,556, or 27.2 per cent; foreign born, 305,920, or 13.7 per cent; born in Iowa and living outside in the United States, 556,565.

The divisions which absorbed the Iowa born to the extent of 25,000 or more are as follows: North Central, outside of Iowa, 387,052, of which Illinois received 48,096; Minnesota, 42,096; Missouri, 52,575; South Dakota, 31,047; Nebraska, 85,807; Kansas, 88,153; South Central, 37,285, and Western, 115,092. Evidently the migrants went to swell the agricultural population of the nation to the greatest extent.

With regard to the native born and the foreign born who settled in the state, a total of 913,476 persons, it is evident that they went into agriculture mostly, since the urban population of Iowa in 1900 was 16.8 per cent, while these elements make 40.9 per cent of the state's population. Selecting Des Moines as a typical Iowa city, the percentages of Iowa born, native born from outside Iowa, and foreign born living in it are respectively 52.6, 34.6, and 12.8.

North Dakota may be taken as a type of the almost purely agricultural state. We find that 34.1 per cent of its population is North Dakota born, 30.5 per cent is native born from outside the state, and 35.4 per cent is foreign born. Living in cities its population is distributed as follows: 3.0 per cent in cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants, 2.4 per cent in cities of 4,000 to 8,000, 1.9 per cent in cities of 2,500 to 4,000, making a total urban and semi-urban population of 7.3 per cent. Only about 24,000 born in the state have moved outside, chiefly to Washington and other western states. In both directions, in the case of immigrants and emigrants, the migrants relative to North Dakota evidently settle in rural regions.

III. SIGNIFICANCE TO RURAL COMMUNITIES OF MIGRATION TO CITIES

Notwithstanding the fact that the flow of country population to the cities is less than is generally supposed, there may be some important considerations for rural communities involved in the movement. However much else may be implicated, the following points deserve attention.

First, the actual loss of population in itself may not be an affliction to the country. It is rather the results which flow out of this loss which might prove baneful.

Second, we may conceive that the country will receive an injury in so far as the supply of subsistence necessary to its existence is cut down. Reflection shows that this injury is

more apt to be felt by the people of urban communities than by those of the country, because to lessen rural population is to enlarge the farms, the scope of agriculture for those who remain farmers, and to heighten prices of farm produce in so far as the supply of subsistence needed for the nation at large is reduced or menaced. But if the labor supply which is necessary for agricultural production goes to the city, leaving farms untilled or crops not harvested, the rural region so affected would receive a direct injury.

As a matter of fact, the supply of farm produce has not been put in jeopardy in America thus far though there is a decrease in the exportation of the products of the farm, and if it has been jeopardized the farmers who sell are benefited rather than injured. Moreover, if the prices of foods have risen, as they have, it is not certain that any considerable part of the rise is due to the lessening relative rural population. In so far as rural population touches prices it is by way of the organization of agricultural producers to regulate market prices for their own benefit. As touching the supply of farm labor, it is a fact that many regions of our nation are afflicted with shortages of laborers periodically. But this periodical shortage, while certainly an inconvenience and often a source of loss to the agriculturists involved, cannot be obviated and must be regarded as but natural, since the demand for labor is on a periodic basis and no provision is made for constant supply of employment or for appropriate social conditions.

Third, we may briefly notice the injury to the country arising from the increased isolation of the farm families by reason of loss of rural population. In the older communities of the eastern and middle states and also in the newer communities of the more western states, farm consolidation is proceeding, leaving abandoned homesteads as melancholy reminders of the former occupants. From my window in my own university, looking out over the perfectly level, fertile Red River Valley, many such deserted homesteads may be seen. The country districts of our county are losing, though the county itself is gaining population. On a recent jaunt

of some twenty miles through the valley I was struck by the fact that seemingly nearly half of the houses were empty. But these farmers have sold out to their neighbors and have gone farther west or north to take up land just as the Iowa farmers and the Minnesota farmers are selling to their neighbors and have gone west to buy land.

Professor Bailey shows up the illusions of the "abandoned farm" as being the product of sentiment rather than of reason, and demonstrates that it is a necessary part of the agricultural shift which is taking place and that it has some redeeming aspects.[19] He does not consider the social isolation which may ensue by reason of the elimination of every other country family, probably not great in thickly settled New York state, but considerable in some sections where the farms are already large. A family to the square mile is not conducive to intercourse and sociability of the personal sort, save as automobiles and other rapid transit means exist to encourage it.

Fourth, the most serious consideration in the shift of population from country to city is involved in the loss of leadership sustained by rural communities.

Assuming that education means leadership, and that if we could ascertain where the students and graduates of our more advanced educational institutions settle, whether in city or country, we would know whether the country is losing leadership or not, I sent out a questionnaire to 39 state normal schools, 18 agricultural colleges, and 25 state universities located representatively in the various sections of the United States. State institutions were chosen because it seemed reasonable that if farmers are taxed to support those schools they might expect a due portion of their trained products should settle among them. I submit the questionnaire:

1. What percentage of your undergraduate students are from the farms? 2. What percentage of your graduates are from the farms? 3. What percentage of your (*a*) graduates, (*b*) students, take up farm life? 4. What percentage of your (*a*) graduates, (*b*) students who come from the farms return to farm life? 5. Do you make any systematic attempt to induce

[19] *The State and the Farmer*, chap. i.

students or graduates to settle in rural communities? 6. Do you think such an attempt should be made?

An explanatory letter accompanied the questions, one statement of which read as follows:

I am seeking to discover just how far our educational institutions of higher learning are sending their products, as leaders in the general community sense or in special technical ways, to the rural regions and on to the farms. I need hardly suggest that the "rural problem" is an important one, and that improvement of country life awaits exact facts. I am sure this question will commend itself.

Replies were received from 23 normals, 14 universities, and 13 agricultural colleges. More or less exact data were obtainable from but 14 normals, 13 agricultural colleges, and 8 universities. The essential facts obtained from the study are reproduced from the former report.[20]

The normal schools report from 35 per cent to 90 per cent of their students as coming from the country, only Oswego, N.Y., reporting "very few," the average being near 75 per cent. The percentage of graduates hailing from rural regions does not differ materially from that of the students. The percentage of students returning to farm regions is reported as varying from 7 out of 252 graduated and certificated in the case of Cedar Falls, Ia., and 2 or 3 in Oshkosh, Wis., to 75 per cent in West Virginia and 86 per cent, including graduates with students, in Georgia. Some evidently misunderstood the import of the questionnaire, as the statement is frequently made, "we train teachers," or "all are teachers," leaving out of sight the fact that teachers might serve in the country. The replies as to the number of graduates of normals who enter rural regions indicate from "not any," as in the case of Oswego, N.Y., and 1 per cent as in the case of Oshkosh, Wis., to 30 per cent as in the case of Springfield, S.D. Ten per cent is the most usual report.

Similar to question three was question four and the few separate replies to this ran from 1 per cent (Oshkosh) to 30 per cent (Springfield, S.D.), for graduates, and from 2 or 3 per cent (Oshkosh) to 50 per cent (Springfield), and 60 per cent (Normal, Ill.), for students. These replies, as must be said of most of the replies, bear the marks of being estimates. Judging by the cases where exact records are kept the larger percentages seem much too high. Several normals gave statements for questions 3 and 4. Cedar Falls, Ia., sent an Alumni Register and the data referred to above were obtained by taking the year 1908 and obtaining the data from the occupations given for the products of that year. The seven were reported as "rural

[20] *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, October, 1910, pp. 73–76.

teachers." Possibly a few others lived in the country. Mansfield, Pa., indicates that nearly all who came from the country return as teachers, probably 10 per cent permanently, however. Few from towns go to rural schools. Mankato, Minn., states that about 10 per cent of graduates and a "large number of non-graduates teach in the country, but they want to get to city schools." Plymouth, N.H., reports that probably 20 per cent on the average go into rural schools, and Kirksville, Mo., believes that 15 per cent return to farm life permanently. The evidence contained in these replies indicates that the normal school products take up town and city teaching.

Data gathered by Professor Arland D. Weeks of the Agricultural College of North Dakota supplement and corroborate the above facts. Information from 22 counties and 16 cities of the state afforded the following results: The percentage of teachers in the elementary schools of the 22 counties who do not have the equivalent of a high school training, none being college or normal graduates, varies from 5 to 10 per cent (Ward County) and 20 per cent (Williams) to 85 per cent (Stutsman) and 80 per cent (Cavalier, Mercer). The average percentage for these counties is 53.5. The elementary teachers reported upon number 2,815, out of a total of 5,000 or 6,000 teachers of the same grade in the entire state. The result is therefore representative.

Of the 262 grade teachers of 16 of the larger cities of the state reported upon, 250 are either normal or college graduates, and 7 more are high school graduates. Although data are not obtainable, experience in a normal school and in summer schools of the state has impressed upon the writer the fact that normal trained teachers almost invariably seek city schools and but few locate in rural schools. The state universities from which replies were received bear evidence of possessing no or very meager records as to source or occupation of their students. The replies in general give the impression that those institutions take it for granted that their mission is not closely related to agricultural matters. This might seem a little surprising, particularly where those institutions have no agricultural colleges organically connected with them, yet are in states predominantly agricultural, and also are dependent on the funds voted by farmers for their support. The percentage of undergraduate students from farms is seen to vary from 7 2/5 to 48, or, reckoning on a semiurban basis, 70, as with Texas. Could we regard these states as typical, approximately 25 per cent of university students hail from the farms. The percentage of graduates who are of non-urban origin is still smaller, judging from a few replies made by the universities to question two.

Questions three and four found little response from universities. Several answers indicated that no records or data exist on these points. The indications are that relatively few, either students or graduates, and much fewer of the former, either of those who came from rural regions or otherwise,

enter into country life. Semiurban populations receive a quota of preachers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers who are college trained. The college man on the farm is almost a curiosity, and usually provokes the speculation or remark that he must have failed in something he undertook or he would be elsewhere.

Turning to the agricultural colleges we find somewhat more replies, facts, and estimates. These institutions are professedly farmers' institutions, they cater to the farming element and cultivate their support. We should expect farmers to send their sons to them, if to any institution, and that the sons would return to farming after education, if ever after college training. Nor is our expectation found to be entirely groundless. The answers to question one show that in the southern and north central states from 65 to 99 per cent of students enrolled in agricultural colleges hail from the farms. Probably if short course people were eliminated, as should be the case in considering the subject of education for leadership, the percentage would shrink to 75 or less as in the case of Wisconsin. New England and New York show a much smaller percentage, as also does Oregon. The replies to question two, while showing a slightly lower percentage than those to question one, do not differ essentially from them in that respect. The replies to question three indicate on the part of those answering who differentiated between graduates and students that a greater percentage of students than graduates take up farm life, save in the case of Massachusetts. The same remark holds true of the replies to question four in the case of those distinguishing between graduates and students. Again it is probable that if short course students were not counted the proportion of graduates and students returning to farms in the case of both questions three and four would about balance each other.

Modification of the results of these replies to questions three and four must be made in the direction of reducing the size of the percentages given in the cases of those institutions which give a great amount, often a preponderating amount of instruction which is non-agricultural. It is likely that those responsible for making replies gave the percentages for the students taking strictly agricultural courses in their institutions. That these percentages must be construed to hold good not for the entire graduate and student body related to such institutions but only for those who pursued strictly agricultural instruction is obvious when we compare Iowa or North Dakota with New York and Illinois. In Iowa and North Dakota the agricultural colleges stand as institutions separate from the universities of those states and maintain courses in mechanical, electrical, mining, and civil engineering which are largely attended, besides the agricultural courses. Most of the students of those courses never intend to take up farm life nor do the courses articulate in any vital way with agricultural interests. In New York and Illinois the agricultural institutions are organized parts of uni-

versities and restrict their courses to strictly agricultural work. Therefore in these institutions the bulk of the graduates and students enter upon some form of agricultural work. In the case of Iowa and North Dakota agricultural colleges the bulk of students (exclusive of agricultural short course students) and graduates do not do so. Thus in Iowa in 1909 out of 226 graduates but 56 took some course relating to agriculture; and out of 1,160 graduates whose occupations were known, 275 were directly or indirectly connected with agriculture, 132 of the 275, directly. Of the 776 students in the Agricultural College of North Dakota in 1909–10, but 98 were pursuing long courses leading up to farming.

Keeping these modifications in mind we are warranted in concluding that anywhere from 25 to 90 per cent of the long course students and graduates of the agricultural colleges, who have pursued bona-fide agricultural subjects, of the institutions making replies to questions three and four, enter agriculture as an occupation or some form of agricultural work of an educational or scientific nature. Probably the average would be between 50 and 75 per cent.

Accepting attendance upon a long course of instruction in, or graduation from, a normal school, an agricultural college, or a university as a sign of leadership we shall have to conclude that relatively little of the products of the normals, a majority of those of the real farming courses of agricultural colleges, and practically none of the products of the universities, whose origin was the farm, return to farm life, although a small percentage of those from normals and universities settle in semiurban communities.

It may be opposed that to demonstrate that the graduates and students of the higher educational institutions do not settle in the country regions largely is not to demonstrate that those regions have lost their leadership. This is true but it may be misleading. Let us settle this by a few considerations:

First, leadership consists of natural ability plus discipline obtained either in school or experience. It is not to be supposed that by any means all the natural ability leaves the country in the persons of the students and graduates of the educational institutions. We may readily grant that perhaps the best natural ability remains in the country and that some of it gets trained by experience into a useful leadership. But the fact remains that a very large portion of the capital stock of natural ability of rural communities is yearly drafted off to the cities by way of institutions of training, and that this same trained ability if devoted to rural matters would secure for the farming class a much needed leadership of a higher order.

Second, there is an actual and most conspicuous dearth of leadership of a high order in rural life. This is evident when we consider the economic and social importance of the agriculturists. The agriculturists constitute about half of our population, they owned over 21 per cent of the total natural wealth in 1900, and in 1909 their products had a value of $8,760,000, or just about one-third that of the entire nation for that year. Yet this vast and fundamental element of our nation elects no farmer presidents, has scarcely any of its members in congress, but few in state legislatures as compared with other classes; it has no governors nor judges. In fact, this class is almost without leadership in the sphere of political life and must depend on representatives of other classes to secure justice. Economically it is relatively powerless likewise, possessing practically no control over markets and prices through organization in an age when organization dominates all economic lines, accepting interest rates and freight rates offered it without the ability to check or regulate them, and buying its goods at whatever prices the industrial producers set. Its leadership up to the present time has been of the sporadic and discontinuous sort. It has been individualistic, lacking social outlook and vision. Consequently for community purposes its significance has been slight.

In the face of these things it is obvious that the absorption by urban communities of the educated men and women who emanated from the farms is a matter of most serious import to rural life. Rural communities cannot hope to secure their full measure of betterment, social, educational, economic, and otherwise, until they develop and retain their own leaders.

IV. REMEDIAL

Having indicated the nature of the more important evil entailed upon rural communities as a consequence of the movement of population cityward it might be expected that we should become physicians or prescription clerks and formulate a remedy. Since checks and preventives must have regard to the productive conditions of the evil in question we must consider

briefly the causes at work in this case. We shall have to treat of the causes of both population and leadership movements.

Relative to the drift of population to cities, we must distinguish between the fundamental and the casual influences. In our inspection of the facts of city growth we found the rate and tendency had been uniformly manifest from the beginning till now. This forces the inference that fundamental and constant forces of such a nature are at work that we must expect their continuous operation. When we look over the whole field of nations, the most advanced in civilization, we discover that the city trend is universal. Indeed it is obvious that rather than being exceptionally victimized by urban increase at the expense of the country districts the United States has come off easy.

This is shown by comparing its record with that of other nations. The percentage of urban population in cities of 10,000 or more persons for some of the most urbanized countries in their regressive order runs as follows: England and Wales 62 per cent; Scotland 50 per cent; Australia 42 per cent; Belgium 34 per cent; Saxony 34 per cent; Netherlands 33 per cent; Turkey in Europe 28 per cent; China 25 per cent; Uruguay 30 per cent; Prussia 30 per cent; Germany 27 per cent; Argentina 28 per cent; United States 28 per cent; France 26 per cent.[21]

It must be evident that the forces at work to produce the cityward movement are peculiar to the age in which we live and are essential and intrinsic to it, and that the United States has escaped their full effect because it has had a vast, free, seductive, and easily worked agricultural domain which has absorbed its own and other nations' fluid populations. In picking these forces—

we go back to the mainsprings of our present modern, in the recent sense, civilization. We get back to the economic conditions, yes, back of them to the scientific and technical knowledge which gives form and wings to the economic. We have had other city ages in the history of mankind, but none on such a universal scale, nor any in which in any state the cities were so numerous, so large, or so essentially a vital part of the social mechanism as is now the case. And the reason was that the scientific knowledge and technical appliances which now create and propel human progress and currents were absent.

[21] *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, October, 1910, p. 79; approximated from cartogram in Strong's *Challenge of the City*, 20.

Our city age is in birth and growth coexistent with the machine age with its factories demanding the grouping of workers, its engines and power transmitters propelling their machinery, its railroads and steamships to transport people and material to and from the centers of production and body of consumers, the telegraph to permit the gathering and transmission of market conditions and business contracts, and the modern press to herald market reports along with other information to city throngs, the multiplication of manufacturing machines and scientific discoveries through which consumptive goods have been increased by thousands of per cent and the resulting demands on market and factories. And back of all this as its precondition lay the growing body of exact knowledge in physics, chemistry and other sciences which was absolutely necessary to the mechanical and economic evolution and which created it.

Our modern populations are thus caught up in the whirl of a civilization which rests on scientific and technological principles. These principles logically and inevitably work out along industrial and commercial lines, multiplying and refining the goods of the former, and demanding the latter on a huge complex scale for their exchange. Thus the number of city dwellers demanded to carry on these enlarged and rapidly expanding lines of human endeavor constantly increases and since the expansion of the former is somewhat in geometrical ratio to the growth of population at large the city population forges ahead of the rural.

The agricultural regions also are affected directly by the scientific and technical principles and appliances, but here the results on population are entirely opposite to those in the case of cities. For the farmers are producing raw material, chiefly food, and as the productive power of labor is increased on the farm more food is produced. People can eat only about so much. The increase in the farmer's productive power enables the more people to live in cities, to take part in diversifying the forms of raw material, enhancing their prices and in exchange and other work. It may even enable the farms to reduce their population, though this is not likely to be the actual case. "The saving in time and cost of labor achieved by machinery has been as great for agriculture as for the textile industries. The production of twenty bushels of wheat from an acre of land required in 1830 six days' work. With the aid of machinery the up-to-date farmer can accomplish the same result in three hours and nineteen minutes. The labor cost involved in the production of a bushel of wheat, in spite of the advance in wages, is to-day one-fifth what it was in 1830." [22]

"A special agent of the government reports that four men with improved agricultural implements now do the work formerly done by fourteen. . . . . To produce our agricultural staples in 1870 one man was employed to every 17 acres cultivated; in 1890 there was only one to every 26 acres."

Persons engaged in agriculture in 1840 in the United States represented

[22] Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, 244.

21.79 per cent of the population while in 1900 they were but 13.64 per cent. On the other hand those in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits increased from 4.12 per cent in 1850 to 9.28 per cent in 1900.[23] These changes occurred in spite of the fact that our government gave away an empire in farms during that time. It becomes evident that the scientific and technological principles in their application fundamentally tend to lessen the relative number of agriculturists and to multiply that in industrial and commercial lines. Being a constituent and intrinsic part of the social process we may not expect the tendency to cease. Rather we must expect the continued growth of science in its principles and applications and that of inventions of machines operating in all ranges of life, the multiplication of the forms of goods to be manufactured, the increased specialization in vocations, the development of scientific and intensive agriculture.[24]

The more casual and incidental forces moving inhabitants to cities are social, cultural, recreational, and vocational. Country life is isolated. Social intercourse is restricted. The moving throng and kaleidoscopic life of cities fascinates and allures. Cities are centers of information, of thought, of art, of music. The achievements of the ages are condensed and packed in their structures, machines, museums, libraries, institutes, and marts; and the frequent and immediately accessible newspapers effervesce with news of the current cosmos. The productions of the masters in painting, sculpture, and architecture may be seen, and the present masters of voice, interpretation, and instrument are to be seen and heard. Modes and kinds of recreation and amusement abound to match the tastes of every class of devotees, no small inducement to those used to isolation and a monotonous round of labor. Occupations and pursuits of multitudinous forms to suit the whims, the tastes, and the inclinations of every type of individuality exert their glamor and provide a satisfaction often actually more seeming than real, yet nevertheless seductive in the extreme. All of these influences combined constitute a powerful attraction and suffice to sweep the retired farmer, the ambitious youth seeking to get established, the occasional worker, and the adventurer into the whirl of urban life.

The influences which move the educated leadership out of

[23] *Strong, op. cit.*, 21–35.

[24] *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, October, 1910, pp. 80, 81.

rural into urban life have largely been included in the preceding. Yet they are somewhat special. In Dean Bailey's classified replies to his questionnaire to Cornell students as to why they leave the farm, the most repeated reasons given are, "farming does not pay," "difficult to acquire a farm without a start," "too much hard work," "hours too long," "work too monotonous," "no social advantages or activities," "more opportunity for advancement elsewhere," "natural bent elsewhere," "parental influence against farming."[25] Dean M. A. Brannon in a similar questionnaire to the students of the University of North Dakota obtained quite similar replies.

In several of the replies received in answer to my own questionnaire mentioned previously the preference of teachers for city schools appeared. One writer says: "They prefer town schools where they save nothing to country schools where they can save $35.00 a month." As teacher in a western normal school a few years ago I became familiar with the point of views of the prospective teachers. They took country positions only as a last resort. The hardships, the isolation, and the monotony of life as compared with even that of villages turned them away from rural work.

But there is a special cause which hardly any students of rural matters have noticed, namely, the away-from-the-farm influence of rural education. A reply from Maine says: "Practically the whole elementary and secondary-school system of this section educates away from the farm." Our higher institutions may not be doing much to educate for farm life, but they are not educating away from the farms because the youth who enter as students have already decided the matter. They enter the higher institution and deliberately select the training courses which will equip them for urban pursuits.

In my estimation pretty much the whole force of the rural schools determines and cultivates the minds of children in non-rural directions. The matter of the texts used hardly ever has been connected up with local rural life. Inspect the geographies, the readers, the histories, the grammars, the arithmetics

[25] L. H. Bailey, *The Training of Farmers*, 94–96.

currently used, with a view to ascertaining how far the subject-matter, the heroes and great men, and the import and spirit of the teaching equip and inspire, build up and foreordain toward the great, important, and fascinating occupation and life surrounding the country school, and you will be surprised at the exceedingly small amount discovered. The child is the outcome of his training. His mind is bent in the direction of the influence brought to bear on him. When the informational matter of his books, the heroes and leaders of his histories and readers, the great events of life, the ideals which are held up to him by his teacher and often by parents are selected almost exclusively from urban quarters, how could it happen otherwise than that the things to be appreciated and striven for are in the cities and the matters of rural life are unworthy, to be spurned?

If we have succeeded in locating the more important influences which impel men cityward, and if it is worth while to seek to deter the stream of life flowing out of rural places, in so far as our analysis is correct we have a clue to the remedial agencies to be adopted. I shall pointedly and somewhat dogmatically treat them.

First, since the great population movement takes place in response to the profound forces which are essential and intrinsic to this age, we might as well expect to dam the Mississippi River to keep back the flow from the gulf as to avert the bulk of population from the cities. Farm colonies and "back-to-the-farm" movements have very small possibilities as solvents. Possibly some day, as in Belgium, now, cheap transportation and other inducements may enable urban workers to live far out in country regions. But they will not be farmers. Industrial and commercial aggregations are inevitable. We must expect their increase. Our social efforts must be turned to things which may be accomplished.

Second, the second set of causes inducing persons cityward, namely, the social, cultural, vocational, and recreational, in so far as they are not dependent on the first, may be checked by regulation. This may be accomplished by setting up counter-

attractions in the country. Country life can be and ought to be improved. Country homes should have the comforts and conveniences of city homes. Farm life can be made more cultural and social. Amusements and recreation can be made a part of child life as well as of adult. Improvements and mechanical devices can lessen the hardships and drudgery of outside and inside work.

Third, rural school life can be reorganized and filled with new content, aims, and ideals so that the youth in training shall come to look upon agriculture as an honored, useful, and desirable line of life. To make the rural school over is to make over the next generation of country people and to furnish them with a well-equipped leadership of their own. When the schools teach the things of the farm, when they study its problems to understand them and solve them, when they reflect the idea that farming is among the greatest and most fundamental pursuits, when they become social centers, where the currents and interests of the community meet and mingle for harmonizing and expansion, when growing boys and girls are sympathetically shown the advantages of leading a life in close contact with nature and of the joy of country quiet, as against city conflict, the great flux of population cityward may not have been checked greatly, but a choice leadership will have been saved to the country, and all who live there will have been greatly bettered and benefited.

THE CHURCH AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

WARREN H. WILSON
Superintendent Department of Church and Country Life of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions

The country church is responsive to every stimulus which affects the country community. It is a sensitive register of the economic experience and of the social welfare of the country population. Three phases of economic experience in America have recorded themselves in the country churches.[1] Each of them has created a social type. The pioneer has been followed by the exploiter of the land. The exploiter is giving way to the husbandman, or agricultural economist. Each of these has had his church, following one another in the order of the development of American farming; and the faithfulness of the church to the American economy would require that in no other order should the church in the rural community develop. Her changes are those of the population which she serves.

The pioneer type was a lonely man. In the woods his ax alone sounded. From his cabin no other was reached with the eye, or by even a far cry of the voice. He lived and thought and battled alone. His theology was therefore a doctrine of personal salvation. It was the dogma of freedom and responsibility. He was moreover a man of impulse, emotional; for he practiced all the trades, from shoemaking to cutting grass. Adam Smith made clear the dependence of the worker at varied trades upon impulse. The pioneer used rum as a stimulant for his great feats. His religion was the experience of emotion. Yearly or periodic revivals were his only or his primary method of church work. Finney and Nettleton made a fine art of the pioneer religion; but neither of them could so revive rural people today, because the pioneer economy is gone forever.

The second type of economic life was that of the exploiter. He was a man who saw the value of wealth for man's use. He

[1] Professor J. B. Ross in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1910, traces the successive changes for the Middle West.

went to California in 1849, not to settle but to scoop up a fortune and come back. In all the states he turned from farming to mining and oil prospecting. Coal or iron, mica or even a clay bed gave him promise of a fortune. His church is the church whose chief doctrine is giving, building, endowing. His has been a great and valid stage of American church life.

The third period which is just now beginning is that of husbandry or cultivation of the soil. The Bible speaks of "marrying the land." I never knew its meaning till I saw it in the mountains of Tennessee and the prairies of Illinois. There side by side is the outraged land and the land cherished, cultivated, economized. The systematic farmer loves the land and studies it; he trains it, he fertilizes it, he educates it. Economist and husbandman are the same in meaning, though diverse in derivation. The husbandman is to be the greatest economist in our history.

The church of the husbandman has come in some places. It is institutional, social, using qualities more than quantities; it determines every policy upon a comprehension of the entire problem. It serves the whole population. It builds for the future, for the permanence of all values, as well as for immediate results. The same population who are scientific and systematic on the farm may be trained to be systematic and progressive in the church.

The history of American rural churches contains, in addition to the progress of typical churches referred to above, certain peculiar narratives of country life. In those communities the influences are economic-religious. These communities, while varying somewhat in their type, are represented by the Pennsylvania "Dutch" and Quaker communities. Omitting, therefore, extended reference to Shaker or Mormon communities and other such extravagant variations of the religious community, let us observe the history of the Mennonite and Quaker communities in Pennsylvania. The so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch" are better described for our understanding them here under the general term Mennonite.[2] For the Mennonites and the

[2] See Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania;* Sachse, *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania* and *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania.*

Quakers have much in common. Quakerism was descended by a line of direct social causation from the Mennonite sects. And when William Penn started his "Holy Experiment" for the peopling of the territory in the new world which came to him by grant from Charles II, he enlisted the Mennonites on the continent of Europe and the Quakers in England, finding them responsive in common to his advertisements and other appeals for settlers. William Penn used German and Dutch in addition to English. He journeyed on the Continent in the Dutch and German territories and started the stream of immigration to Pennsylvania at a time when persecution on the Continent and unrest in England supplied the expulsive forces which selected the Mennonites and the Quakers for settlement in America. With the Mennonites came other sects, whose social character is illustrated in the Mennonites.

These people were selected by common economic, social, and religious experiences. They settled in the wilderness which came to be called Pennsylvania, under conditions of poverty, intense social sympathy and religious idealism. These they shared with one another in such degree as to consolidate them into settlements and communities. In order to survive they were obliged to intensify in America a social unity which in the old world had protected them against persecution and enabled them to get a living in a hostile social environment. In America they perfected their economic methods and their forms of social organization, and in harmony with these their religious societies, into such community life as still to survive.

The complete history of these Mennonite and Quaker sects has yet to be written from a sociological point of view. They have produced few historians, but their communities have been highly successful in accomplishing certain results.[3] The weakness of their community life need not engage us at present. They suppressed individual genius and uniformed their population by discouraging individual talent. They repressed the artistic, inventive variations which appeared in individuals. This may be forgiven them when one remembers the bitter economic

[3] Warren H. Wilson, *Quaker Hill, a Sociological Study.*

struggle in which they fought their way to survival as communities. We are more interested here in the elements of positive social strength which these Mennonite and Quaker communities exhibit.

The first of these is their economic success. In every territory where the Pennsylvania Mennonites are found they stand out in contrast to other farming populations by their success as farmers. Other Americans in the representative northern and eastern states have not been successful as farmers. The success of American farming in typical instances has tended to the elimination of the farmer as a farmer. Not so among the Pennsylvania sects. Their communities are permanently agricultural. They maintain the fertility of the soil; they increase the total products which they have for sale as years pass, and they make farming profitable.

Second, these Mennonite communities have eliminated pauperism. Among them there is none poor. "They take care of their own people," as their neighbors say. Actually this is accomplished by a form of social control in which their communities promptly act for the sustaining of the marginal members of the community who suffer any incidental loss or are weakened in the competition of life. This seems to me to be the greatest triumph of these Mennonite communities. They have exhibited in America the possibility of sustaining a population, originally very poor, so that no section of its members, through two centuries, has lapsed into pauperism.

I believe that this process also extends to the prevention of degeneracy, though of this I cannot speak so confidently. In recent years I dare say they are found wanting in adherence to sanitary ways of living. But so far as I have been able to study them there are among them very few insane, idiotic, or degenerate members.

In the third place, the "Pennsylvania Dutch"—to use their common name—maintain their social organization. Their communities do not so rapidly disintegrate under the influence of economic success. They do, indeed, suffer losses, but the process of rural degeneration which shows elsewhere throughout the

country is much retarded among them. The intensity of their community organization is efficient here, as in other respects, for the building up of a permanent population. One meets them not merely in Pennsylvania, but in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Colorado, and everywhere they are called "Pennsylvania Dutch."

The Quakers have not been so tenacious in rural communities as the Mennonites have been. On the other hand, they have survived longer in the cities, to which Mennonites seem less suited. The same characteristics, however, of community life are exhibited by them. The Quakers have eliminated poverty and reduced degeneracy of their population to the lowest terms.

It is interesting to observe, and of this I am sure in the case of the Quakers, that their community organization permeates other than Quaker populations who are united to them. I have seen a community in which the Quaker families had diminished, their places being taken by Irish Catholics, practice the economic and social customs of the Quakers by which poverty and degeneracy are resisted, just as if the whole community was still attending the Quaker meeting. That is, the social methods of organization which were initiated by the Quakers have been made permanent and have extended farther in the population than the Quakers' creed or forms of worship. This is illustrated in the city of Philadelphia, a social area leavened with Quaker habits of thought and feeling.

Now in these Mennonite and Quaker communities the country churches have survived as long as the economic and social organization has prospered. The "Pennsylvania Dutch" wherever they have their communities have also their meeting-houses. They follow the good old American custom of sectarian division with impunity; and seem to be unembarrassed by those scruples which make sectarianism fatal to the typical New England, Pennsylvania, or New York farming community. Of course the same processes work among them, but much more slowly. Their churches are more closely accommodated to their economic life and the relation of the church to the community seems much more intimate than among the individualistic types of American

communities in which the economic struggle is personal rather than collective.

There is another kind of American community, dependent not on conscious cultivation of community life, but upon clannishness. The Scotch-Irish and Germans, having settled certain territories and built their communities, possess an instinctive social unity rather than a conscious unity. They are related closely; they come of one stock. They do not, as the Mennonites and Quakers do, use religious discipline to perpetuate the conditions of old-world peasantry, but being instinctively prejudiced against others and instinctively fond of their own, their populations have lasted longer and their communities have enjoyed a longer life than those whose instinctive preferences were for individual success alone. These unconscious and instinctive social organizations have maintained their churches; and I know of none which are more successful, as country churches, than some maintained by these Scotch-Irish or German settlements, for they do not discourage individual genius nor repress personal talents. Unlike the Quakers or the Mennonites, who have an aversion to artistic or literary success, they have been much more in sympathy with the average American economic ambitions, while at the same time maintaining the permanency of their settlements, through the working of instinctive sympathy and unconscious social unity.

In speaking of these Mennonite, Quaker, Scotch-Irish, and German rural communities, I do not mean to exhaust the annals of such exceptional community experience. I am only indicating that aside from the typical rural economy which has prevailed throughout the most of the country there are these exceptional communities in which the rural exodus has been retarded and the rural community has possessed greater tenacity. My purpose is to say that the country church in these communities is an excellent register of the social and economic prosperity of these farmers. In all these instances the economic and social life expressed itself and measured itself in the religious institutions.

We are engaged at this time in revaluing the country churches. The question nowadays is as to the social efficiency of these institutions. Formerly they were regarded only as vehicles of eternal

salvation. For reasons the rural population is demanding of the church a present social value. The great cause of this revaluation is the economic pressure under which the farmer is suffering at the present time. This economic pressure is felt throughout the older states. Under pioneer conditions different hardships prevailed. Men had not had time to take an inventory of social values. In the newer settlements the population is fluctuating and the centers of social organization have not been clearly and finally recognized. In the older states, however, in which one may now include those as far west as the Missouri River, the following conditions prevail.

The influence of the free lands of the West upon the farmers of the East has been a very heavy burden. Rural communities have been depleted by the constant westward movement of the more ambitious farmers. The opportunities, both agricultural and speculative, have tempted the farmer of the East to give up a meager income for a possible speculative gain, and for an assured greater estate in the West.

But worse than that, the western free lands have put their products on the market at a price so low that the eastern farmer could not compete in the use of lands which required the use of fertilizers to maintain their productiveness. A New York expert has said, "Considering the food values in a bushel of corn, the New York farmer has been obliged to pay as much for the fertilizer necessary to raise the corn as the Illinois and Missouri farmer got for a bushel of corn." Under these circumstances the eastern farmer could not compete with the western settler.

Another influence of the western free land which has disturbed the farming population has been more recent. As the free land in the West has diminished in amount it has ceased to tempt the eastern farmer to abandon his land, but it tempts him to sell it. For with the exhaustion of the western free lands a higher price is offered for eastern lands. This influence is evident in Illinois and Indiana, for example, where high prices are offered for land, irrespective of increased income from that land. In the past ten years throughout the Middle West land values

have increased from 50 to 100 per cent. In those same ten years the net income of the farmer throughout the Middle States, considering the high prices he must pay for what he has to buy, has not increased more than 5 per cent. The result is that the farmer's interest on his invested capital has steadily gone down, and when he is confronted finally with the fact that he is making, for all his labor, only 2 or 3 per cent on his money the average farmer is constrained to sell.

Now under these circumstances the farming population is in a continual state of unrest. The farmer for all his apparent prosperity, following a long period of poverty, is much perplexed as a class and feels the need of leadership. The dominating institution in country communities is the church; and the country church has had no economic doctrine. In the past two decades, therefore, the farmer has been dissatisfied with the country church, because it has generally offered no ethical or spiritual help in the conditions of economic pressure to which I have referred.

Another factor in this revaluing of the church has been the change from the ancient tools, which our grandfathers have used in agriculture for thousands of years, to modern machinery. This change has had its correlatives in the emotional and intellectual conditions of the whole population. But considering it only in its outward effects, it has reorganized the whole of the rural economy. Fewer laborers are necessary for the production of greater quantities of farm products. As one goes westward this influence shows itself in the greater horse-power used in the tillage of land. "In New England it is a one-horse farm, in the South a one-mule farm, in Ohio two horses are seen at the plow, in Illinois three horses, in Iowa four horses, and in Idaho one man rides the plow and drives eight horses." With the development, therefore, of the American rural economy larger estates are possible, greater capital can be invested, and the class of tenants and laborers is differentiated in the country as sharply as in the factory town. The country church is called upon to minister to the landless class of men who do not own the tools with which they get their living. The country minister has

had no training by which he can understand these social processes. Too often he has simply complained of the weakening of his church by the coming of tenant farmers into the community. Over against this the residents and laborers in the country have a diminished respect for the church because of its lack of service to the people in the community.

In connection with this influence of machinery it must not be forgotten that the change has been so sudden in America that we suffer in the rural population from immature economic forms. For instance, the usual lease by which the land is let to a tenant throughout the United States is for one year. In older countries land is leased for a period of years so long as to give permanence to the rural tenant population. But "the American system of farm tenantry," says Professor Curtiss, "is the worst system of which I know in any country." It would be very hard for the church as a social institution to render service in the conditions so hastily and superficially forced upon the community. But in any case, the churches have been discredited in the country by the constant changes and temporary economic forms in which the tenant and the laborer work, as members of the community. The church has been discredited by its lack of flexibility, but the situation demanded of the ministry more than the colleges and seminaries had given it.

Among these temporary forms are those used in the great farming estates; in some of which, as for instance the estate of David Rankin in Missouri, great numbers of laborers are employed at the planting and the harvesting season alone, and then discharged. A limited number of laborers are employed on this estate throughout the year, many of them being housed in boarding-houses. Of course over this whole estate family life, churches, and schools have fallen into decay. I suppose that this is a temporary condition. In any case it has tended to discredit the country church as an institution unable to survive under the influence of swift and arbitrary transformation.

The organization of hostile economic groups in conflict with the farmer has weakened him and undermined the stability of farming populations. The influence of transportation has been

such as to destroy the old local economy and to force the farmer, all unprepared for it, into the world-economy. In this world-economy he has no hold upon his own industry. Other industries are organized; his is not. He has not sufficient organs for the expression of his own needs and no adequate agencies for agitation of his own interests. Of course the effect of this has been the weakening of the farming class; and this weakening of the farmer as a farmer is shown in the characteristic church which ministers to the farmer.

The growth of the cities has been in part at the expense of the country.[4] The leaders of political life and of intellectual life, and especially the commercial leaders of recent generations, have assembled in the cities as much as possible of the good things in this world. They have not only been uninterested in the farm and in the country community, but they have so organized life that the country community has suffered and has been impoverished through the operation of their genius upon our civilization.

Through these forces the country community has been uniformed: its population has come to be of one type.[5] The city and the railroad have drawn away all other industrial types, as the smith, the merchant, the shoemaker, and attracted also the more brilliant, the more enterprising, the bolder and the more eccentric spirits. To a great degree the degenerate stock in the country has been drawn off into the cities. The influence of this upon the country has been to reduce the farming population to a flat, level equality, in which there is no leader and for which progress is an impossibility.

All this is to say that the community life in the country has generally been destroyed. Allowing for some exceptions, not too numerous, it may be said that throughout the prosperous and productive farming regions of the United States, which have been settled for fifty years, community life has disappeared. This is to say, the community does not satisfy locally the normal instincts and desires of the normal man or woman born in the

[4] Sir Horace Plunkett, *The Rural Life Problem in the United States.*

[5] Wilbert L. Anderson, *The Country Town.*

country. There is no play for the children, there is no recreation for young people; there are no adequate opportunities for acquaintance and marriage for young men and women; there is not a sufficient educational system for the needs of country people, and there is not for the average man or woman born in the country an economic opportunity within reach of his birthplace such as will satisfy even modest desires. There is not in a weak community that satisfaction of social instinct which makes it "a good place to live in." This is what I mean by saying that there is no community there. Time was in New England and New York and Pennsylvania when there was a community to which every farmer belonged with some pleasure and pride. The absence of community life throughout these country regions expresses today what one man has called "the intolerable condition of country life."

The question may be asked, "What is a community?" The average man would answer, "The community is the place we live in." And this popular answer contains the elements of the definition. The community has three elements: locality, personal values, and vital processes. The community may then be defined as the larger whole in which the members of a we-group find their vital need satisfied. The needs of such a group are economic, that is, a local income; social, local possibilities of recreation, enjoyment, and social union, as marriage; educational, that is, a schooling for modern life; and spiritual, that is, having a local experience of modern religious life and hopes.

The Department of Church and Country Life is making on behalf of the Presbyterian church a sociological survey of a large number of country communities in which our churches are placed. We are using the methods of community survey of Professor Giddings, of Columbia University, and of Professor Henderson, of the University of Chicago; sending a trained man to each community for a thorough study. Within a year we expect to have a body of knowledge carefully ascertained by scientific methods which will throw light upon all the causes of religious conditions in those communities. We have surveyed in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana about two hundred com-

munities. There is not yet time completely to digest this information, but it shows some conditions with startling clearness.

First of all, we have found in Pennsylvania many communities composed of farmer types alone. The farming population when it is unmixed with any other, as for instance the mining population, has certain definite characteristics. It boasts itself upon its temperance convictions, and rightly enough, because the temperance reform has done much to unite the farming population and bring them to a sense of their collective power. But the farming population is as unprogressive as possible when it is mixed with no other element. In every instance we find that the presence of miners or of storekeepers in a farming population is co-ordinated with progressiveness in the church, and in other institutions.

No community is more inert than that in which all the men in it are alike in economic type and nearly uniform in possessions. If certain social idealists are willing to be convinced of the fallacy of some of their hopes, let them go to Pennsylvania and see a population, all owning land, every man equal to his neighbor, and as a whole, dead-locked against progress. In such communities there is no outstanding individual. The farming population in and of itself has no leader of universal influence. No man would take among these farmers the position of the old-fashioned country squire, and no man would grant such a position to his neighbor: so that leadership is impossible. Among eighty communities, fifty being agricultural, we found only two with such a leader.

Moreover, these country populations have no common experience. Throughout the whole year there is no meeting which all attend; there is no church or society in which all may be seen; there is no store where regularly all assemble. Men may live within a mile of one another and be unknown to one another. The city has its Dewey Celebration or Hudson-Fulton Anniversary or its World's Fair which brings every man to the curbstone. The small town may have a fireman's parade; to the smaller cities comes once a year the circus. But in the rural community there is no common celebration which brings the

population together, neither Christmas, in which all believe; nor Easter, nor Memorial Day, whose emotions are common to all; not even the Fourth of July nor Thanksgiving brings the community to a common celebration of a common belief or emotion. This is what it means to have "intolerable country life." This condition is not merely negative: it is a positive condition of isolation; a kind of aggressive loneliness in which each man repels his fellow and every man lives in a kind of suspicion of every other.

The understanding of these facts and conditions throws some light upon the church in the country. It also helps in directing the policies of the country church, to understand that the impotence of institutional life is due not to the irreligious character of the population nor to the weakness of the church or other institution in itself, but to the profound individualism and the habit of social repulsion which is general among country people of the average type.

Country ministers, themselves, and officers of country churches generally, recognize, at least among those denominations which educate their ministers, that the country church is in most instances socially inefficient. In the language of a professor of agriculture, "The country church does not meet the community's needs as the community sees those needs."

The two causes which are working toward the decadence of the country church are: first, the wastefulness of the American rural economy. The methods of farming in America are sinfully —at least ecclesiastically!—wasteful. The country church shows the effect of this waste as no other institution does. One may say that the country church is a thermometer of the prosperity—the real prosperity—of the American farmer. There is a superficial prosperity expressed in high prices of land and in many sales of land, which is the opposite of real prosperity. But we are discovering that churches in rural communities in the larger number of cases have fallen into decay where the land has been exhausted of its fertility and the timber has been removed from the hills without reforestation. In other words, the wastefulness of American

farming and lumbering has registered its effects in the decadence of country churches.

The second cause of the decay of the country church is the wasteful ecclesiastical economy of the past. The country church has been a mere means for distributing the hope of personal salvation. For this purpose it did not need to be, in the judgment of former generations, a socially effective organization. Any small group of believers has been at liberty to build a meeting-house and maintain an organization. National denominations have been all too willing to support these competing congregations in the country community. We have, therefore, in almost all the older states too many country churches. This fact is so well known that I will not extensively illustrate it, except to say that we recently discovered in Pennsylvania a farming region in which within a radius of four miles from a given point there are twenty-four country churches; within a three-mile radius from a point half a mile farther on there are sixteen of these country churches. Of course this is an impossible social situation. Whatever be its doctrinal value, it is a form of social inefficiency.

Worship is the highest expression of communal unity, and in a congregation assembled to pay the tribute of the spirit to the Almighty is found, I believe, the symbol of ultimate unity of man with man. If such congregations are separate, they can express only social disunion; if they are united in worship they express the oneness of the community. I would not be understood as saying merely that communities have been disunited by the dogmatic differences of the churches. I believe that these dogmatic differences are the outward expression of deeper social differences. The isolation, suspicion, and mutual repulsion of country people has in many communities necessitated some expression and the churches have given it expression by their divided congregations. These dogmatic differences have tended, I think, to perpetuate in turn the social differences of the community. Of course the duty of church organizations to bring these people together is clearly intimated by this situation.

In making a revaluation then of the country churches we are acting upon certain accepted social principles. First, the value of

the elements entering into the country community is determined by the law of diminishing returns. The policies of the country church seem to be deficient through their lack of service to the marginal people in the country. The new policies of the country church are being reshaped as a direct approach to the marginal man in the community. Indeed, one may say that all missionary work is a ministry to marginal people. The old-established Home Mission policies were determined by the purpose of supplying religious institutions to frontiersmen, settlers, mountaineers, and freedmen. Their frontier was geographical. The new Home Mission policies, which are expressed in the new type of the country church, are based upon the discovery of a frontier no longer geographical, but sociological.

The process of thought, therefore, of the modern church is a sociological process. The churches are adapting their work to the needs of workingmen, immigrants, and farmers. We have come to recognize that the moral and spiritual standards of every social population are determined by the marginal people in those populations. For instance, in such a city as Troy, N.Y., where large numbers of young women are employed in the collar factories upon a low wage barely sufficient for physical existence, there is a general recognition that the moral standards of the town rise no higher in their averages, even within the churches and among the well-to-do classes, than the moral life possible among these young women. In Pittsburgh it is clearly recognized by the leaders of religious and humane enterprises that the marginal people of Pittsburgh, the steel workers and tobacco workers, for instance, determine the moral tone and the spiritual attainment which prevail throughout the average Pittsburgh people. When this is recognized, the business of the church is very clearly seen—it is to raise the moral tone and improve the spiritual possibilities of the marginal people.

In the country community the marginal man is the working farmer, and farm hand. That is to say, the farmer who himself must toil in the fields, whether he is an owner, or a tenant, or a hired man, is the economic type by whom the policies of the church in the country must be determined. He may be a tenant

farmer or farm hand who sits at the table of the small owner and enjoys social equality with him, or he may be an owner of land whose circumstances are so meager that he must do the work of a farm hand himself. It is with him that the country church succeeds or fails.

The second general sociological principle by which the older type of country church is condemned and on which the newer type is to be built is that of adaptation to environment. In the country this means the interpretation of the economic life of the farmer in terms of scientific agriculture. It means also the revision of the farmer's business methods that he may succeed in the world-economy. Very few country ministers at the present time are engaged in this adaptation of the farmer to his land, to his community, and to the world-economy, but the attention of country ministers generally is turned in that direction. One such minister said to me, "Since I left the seminary I have read more in agriculture than I have read in theology." Sir Horace Plunkett insists in his book, *The Rural Life Problem in the United States,* that economic betterment of country life must be first, urging that religious, social, educational, or ethical improvements which ignore the economic will necessarily be superficial. The means for this desired adaptation of the farmer is little more today than a body of knowledge in the possession of universities and agricultural colleges. Without the use of this body of knowledge country people are indolent and fatalistic in their methods, governed by a *laissez-faire* method of farming, the leading citizens in the country community following the exploitation of the values of land and translating country life into mere speculation in land, cattle, and corn. It is the business of the churches, and some of them are performing it, to adapt the farmer to his environment, to translate the indifferent fatalistic methods of the older days and the enterprising spirit of exploitation into husbandry. It is my belief that without the support of the churches in the country this transformation can never be effected. The special function of the church, I believe, is to condense and distil the economic experience of any generation into a new ethical im-

perative by which they are adapted to their surroundings and enabled to survive.

The third sociological principle which is reinterpreting the duty and function of the church is the recognition that religion is the result not of personal experience but of social experience. This has not yet been clearly stated by any authoritative writer among American churchmen, but the recognition of it, without clear definitions, is very general. I have seen this principle stated somewhere in a sentence of Simmel to the effect that religion is the resultant of the reactions of the individuals in a group with the other members of the group and of the interaction of the group and the individual upon one another. One cannot understand the new social spirit among the churches without recognizing that this principle underlies it. It has not yet entered into the philosophical utterances of the church, but it is an essential part of the experience of the church. The men who are sure of themselves in the field of social service are of necessity convinced of this principle.

The laws of social action which have compelled a new valuing of the churches in the country have suggested also the reconstruction of country churches. I turn now to a few instances of modern country churches formed in obedience, more or less conscious, to these principles. I acknowledge that they are few in number, but the attention of Protestant churches has been turned to them and they represent in their success those things which many others are attempting in experiment.

As an instance of economic success, at Bellona, N.Y., two country churches, both Protestant, have united through their ministers and church officers to form a Farmers' Club. This club has undertaken the careful study of the soil, market, and the future of the neighborhood from an economic point of view. They have brought in the lecturers of Cornell University and given them opportunity to speak to the whole community. These lectures have been followed by close, intelligent discussion and the result of the lectures under the promoting influence of the Farmers' Club has been a great improvement in the farming

methods throughout the community and measurable gain in prosperity.

I might cite other instances, for they have been not uncommon. At Colora, Md., the minister has a farm as part of his living. With this nucleus he identified himself with the farmers and has become a leader in the transformation of this community from peach raising to the raising of potatoes and other farm products under modern intensive cultivation.

These two churches, one in New York and one in Maryland, have identified themselves with the community and have led in the adaptation of farmers to their environment. Both of them are in the older states where the land has been exhausted by earlier and wasteful methods of farming. In both instances the churches have prospered as the farmers have prospered.

At Plainfield, Ill., is a very notable country church, in which, under the leadership of a man of independent genius, the church has become the social center of the whole community. In this instance the farmers have felt no need of economic leadership. They are still tilling a fertile soil and before its fertility is exhausted the newer agriculture will doubtless enable them to maintain their place. But the church in the community has undertaken the social cultivation of the people. It has assembled the young people for musical, theatrical, and athletic enjoyment and training. The church edifice has been rebuilt; and instead of one room for worship only, the building now contains a gymnasium, dining-room, cloakrooms for men and women, and a restroom for mothers with babies in their arms, young peoples' social parlor, study, and numerous classrooms for use in religious training of various groups. The success of this church has been in satisfying the social needs of the community. It has had to compete with granges and social clubs and has survived where they have failed. This church itself has grown in membership, and in moral and spiritual power, with the social culture which it has imparted to the community.

At Quaker Hill, N.Y., a country church was organized which united in itself the whole religious ministry to a population of great variety. So different were the religious preferences

of the community that no denomination could serve them, so that an independent church, sanctioned at its organization by the neighboring congregations which represented five denominations, was formed. Into its membership this independent church received the adherents of eleven different denominations. The presence of so many sectarian groups in the community indicates a situation not altogether unique, but this church united in itself the whole community, and has for fifteen years, without denominational support, maintained that leadership and served religiously as the center of worship and religious ministry for a territory eight miles long and two miles wide. This church is cited here as an illustration of the religious unity which is absolutely essential in the country community.

At Rock Creek, Ill., and at McNabb in the same state are country churches of different denominations, whose leading members have influenced the rural schools toward centralization and consolidation. In both places the one-room country schools have been abolished, their districts merged into one large district, the children of a wide region being brought together daily to a modern building situated in the country. Professional teachers have been secured for both these schools. Industrial training in the form of scientific agricultural study, manual training, and domestic science are being taught in the McNabb school. Of course, in these instances the church did not act directly, but the church was the organizing center of the influences which individuals exerted for the improvement of the public schools. The whole of the community in each of these cases has benefited by the improvement, and again the church in the community has inevitably grown in accordance with the success and growth of the community.

These instances are merely illustrative. In every case others could be cited representing the same lines of progress. I do not claim that these successful country churches are so many in number as to influence the majority of churches in the country. But they are perfect examples of what many churches in the country are striving to attain, and those who have led in this community service rendered by these churches have been men

of pioneer spirit. So far as I can see they have been in as many cases laymen as clergymen. The minister has nowadays no education or training for such community service. The theological seminary so far prepares him only to be a sky pilot. It gives him no sufficient training for social or economic understanding or leadership.

Meantime we know enough about American rural churches and communities to believe that the church will survive when the farmer as a farmer survives. The prosperity of the church proceeds on lines parallel to the actual prosperity of the farming community which built the church. This does not mean that in America the farming population is becoming irreligious, and the process is not one, so far as I can see, toward atheism or non-religion. Except in a few territories the churches which perish are succeeded by those of another denomination. The tenant farmer usually brings with him his own type of church if the other church does not successfully minister to him. In Delaware, for instance, the earlier farmers were Presbyterian. They still own the land in some territories and have themselves retired to the towns. The tenants who work the land are Methodists and they have built in the country their little chapels and maintain a feeble but extended religious force. This system of substitution of one church for another is very wasteful. It is a heavy tax upon the farming industry so that the churches as a whole have no resources for social service or community leadership. They can only persist as interpreters to a dying population of the life to come.

In Pennsylvania, where the land values have been diminished by wasteful agriculture, retirement of the farmers and a succession of inefficient tenants, the present valuation of land in one town through which the Pennsylvania Railroad runs has gone as low as $7 per acre. In this neighborhood the old Protestant churches of the earlier farmers have been succeeded by a Mormon church. It is my belief, based on observation, therefore, that the country population is inevitably religious. In some form or other new sects will arise if the older religious establishments fail to render service to the newer population. I am aware that there

are exceptions to this. In some parts of New England in particular, throughout whole towns, church attendance has almost ceased, especially among the men. But I believe the tendency to form new sects and weaker congregations, with a ministry uneducated, or with no specialized ministry whatever, is the more representative condition.

For more than a year it has been my duty to assemble the ministers and officers of country churches at central points throughout all of the older states of the Union—excepting certain southern states—and to discuss with them the conditions prevailing among the churches. Generally, almost universally, these ministers and officers agree in stating that the country church is losing its hold. They speak for the Protestant denominations which have a trained and specialized ministry. I think it possible that another story would be told if we could get the testimony of those Protestant sects which exist without a clerical class. These men, however, with whom I have discussed the matter have agreed upon certain definite proposals for the remedying of the present condition. These proposals are not at all doctrinal. There seems to be, so far as I can find, no general belief among the ministers and officers of Protestant churches that doctrinal training will remedy the situation. But everywhere in these conferences the following propositions have resulted from the discussion of the country church and community.

1. That the country church is such an institution, and the experience of religion in the country community is such, that the divided religious ministry to the community is fatal to the interests of religion. In other words, church unity in some form, or at least church federation, is forced upon the churches as a means of arresting the decay of religious institutions and the dilapidation of the country community. These observers of rural conditions agree with Sir Horace Plunkett and President Kenyon N. Butterfield, that there is needed a "reconstruction of rural civilization." The need of church federation or church union in the country community is not purely religious; it is the need of the social life of the community as much as of its

religious societies. Indeed it appears in this discussion that the country community is simple. Its social processes are clear and apparent to the intelligent observer. The rural community is like a lens through which if one knows how to look, he can see with limpid clearness the original native process of social organization. Country people are disunited, isolated, and their feelings are organized in mutually repellent habits. Religion, in order to be of service, must unite them. The country minister believes that there should be one church in the country community. Those who do not assent to the proposal of one church for each community agree that the churches and institutions of the country community must at least be closely federated.

2. The next demand of these rural observers is that the economic welfare of the farmer and of the rural community must be promoted by every institution in the country. From this rural economic promotion no institution can be excused. The church cannot plead its spiritual ministry, because it is clearly apparent that the prosperity of the farmer is so subtly united with his religious prosperity, that without the promotion of the one the welfare of the other is impossible. I have been amazed to see the clearness with which group after group of ministers and officers of country churches from New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and other states bordering on these have agreed that the church has a duty to promote the newer agricultural knowledge. This proposition is much criticized by religious people, but the discussion of it among country ministers leaves no doubt as to their common opinion that it is practical; and in every group there is at the end of the discussion no dissent. In other words, for the average American community the process is the same as that which confronts Booker Washington in his leadership of freedmen in the South. Without securing their economic welfare—not merely financial, but broadly economic welfare—he finds no other welfare to be possible for them. The same unity of economic and religious welfare which shows itself in the Mennonite and Quaker communities is equally apparent in the average American community. A leading merchant in the Board of Home Missions

at the time I began my service for country churches briefly stated it as follows: "I do not believe in evangelism alone for country churches. It will do no good. But if we are to undertake to serve our country churches we must work for the whole prosperity of the farmer and undertake the upbuilding of the rural community."

In these two propositions these rural observers are agreed. With little dissent they go on to demand that the moral life of the country people should be dealt with, not by mere prohibitions, but by constructive service through playgrounds, indoor recreation, dramatic and rhetorical exercises, and other play activities. They believe also that the consolidation of rural schools is a reform on which all country life waits. Therefore, they urge that the churches promote the intelligent improvement of rural schools. And in all these measures the impact of them is to be upon the marginal man, the tenant farmer, the laborer, and the children of the community. The policies for all the community are to be measured by immediate fitness to the needs of the poor of the community.

Now the significance of work on behalf of the country community is in the fact, of course, that the farmer needs, for the sake of the agricultural industry, that his life should be interpreted in its own terms. But the farm lands have a national value as well. There is need of the country-life movement for country life itself. It is necessary also that the farm lands in America should feed the American people. We are raising fifteen bushels per acre of those products which are raised in Denmark and Germany at sixty-five bushels per acre. We have been an exporting nation, but with the growth of our consuming class and the retarded development of agriculture we are soon to become an importing nation. We may well look forward with apprehension to the day, said to be near at hand, when this change will take place. It is the duty of the country church and the country school to make the farmer successful as a farmer, in order that as a farmer he may serve in the American economy. It matters not that this duty is undertaken by the church for the purpose

of survival, so long as the church clearly recognizes that in order to survive it must help the farmer to survive and to succeed.

The building up of country communities will effect certain other great gains for the American people, of which much may be said. The country population is conservative, morally and religiously; it is the mother stock from which are drawn the various types of economic efficiency. It is profoundly important that the sources of our population be purified, in order that the whole people may be strengthened.

But there are certain gains which are possible in a rural community that seem for the present unattainable elsewhere. In a country community poverty can be dignified and pauperism can be abolished. Agriculture filled with a religious spirit has proven itself capable of sustaining a whole people in dignity and comfort, without loss. The experience of the Mennonite and Quaker, to mention no others, has shown that a rural community trained in a religious spirit can care for its marginal people, its weaker members, in such a way as that none shall be in permanent need. These forms of social response and social service of the stronger to the weaker and of the whole community to its poorest member are simple and contagious. Once they are taught to the population, the lesson need not often be repeated, for it is constantly exhibited every year of the community's history. It seems to me that the cultivation of communal experiences through church life, the elaboration of communal ideals, gives great promise for the future of the American population and makes possible the establishment of strongholds in every section from which poverty, the greatest enemy of mankind, can be practically excluded. The influence of such rural communities upon the whole country would be very great.

The value of a successfully organized country community will be felt in the development of our social experience in America. The country community is a clear and intelligible measure of social processes and causation; it is a glass through which you may look into the very heart of human association. Sociology studied in the city is confusing. The aggregates are too great, the causes too extensive and entangled; the order of

phenomena is a Gordian knot of maze and intricacy. It is a question whether any of our leading cities is a natural rather than an abnormal aggregate. The country community, on the contrary, is limpid and clear: you can see to the bottom of it. This brings forth the remark, which should not be withheld in any consideration of the country church, that behind the country churches stand the theological seminaries; professional schools, founded and established for the training of ministers; originally country ministers. At the present time these schools, with almost no exception, are rendering an entirely inadequate service. More than inadequate: it is misplaced and it has the effect of misdirection. For three years the student for the ministry is detained away from the study which he should pursue and for a good part of that time he is diligently trained in studies that he ought never to follow. The country community, therefore, is a field, in the case of most ministers, for original investigation—untrained, amateur, and unsystematic investigation—in which he has no help from those appointed to be his helpers and his leaders. For the reconstruction of the theological seminary the sociological analysis of the country community is of the greatest value. It should be a special topic to which for a long time to come almost unlimited hours should be devoted in the seminaries, because rural sociology is of initial concern to him who would understand the American population and minister to the need of the whole American people.

My thesis then is a plea for economic and social training of rural leaders; especially for country ministers. If this work is not done by the seminaries it should be undertaken by the universities. The president of this society has a weekly class, attended by more theological students, so far as I am informed, than meets in any seminary of theology. There is no permanent reason why the state universities may not provide courses for the training of ministers which will render unnecessary much of the seminary curriculum.

Speaking for a great religious agency, I earnestly hope that this training will be provided in order that the abounding and perennial religious life of country people may have educated

leadership. And if the scribes and Pharisees of the chosen people will not furnish it, I say with an early preacher of Christianity, "Lo, we turn unto the Gentiles!"

DISCUSSION

EDWARD CARY HAYES, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

There is no denying that economic causes are still tending to increase the relative proportion of our population in the city and to diminish the relative proportion in the country. Yet some things can be done to induce more people to remain in the country than otherwise would do so, and what is more important, to make the life of those who live there better than it otherwise would be.

Our rural conditions are new and unfinished, even more so than are our urban conditions. Our cities are more like old world cities than our country is like the old world country, as our paved and lighted city streets are more like theirs than our country roads are like theirs. We hope that when matured our country life will surpass that of any land in the old world, because it will be the product of democratic freemen, not of peasant and squire, *Grossgutbesitzer* and *Bauer*. But as yet in our rich central region where the land is worth two hundred dollars an acre, even as an investment to one who does not intend to farm, the houses are mostly poor little makeshifts that were built by men who were paying for their land, straining every nerve to get established and thinking little of the house they lived in or the life of which it is the symbol. There is no reason now why these cottages should not be replaced with farmhouses having every "modern convenience" and surrounded with beauty. Even in the older regions, like New England, the final adjustment of rural occupations has not been reached. They have given up growing wheat and corn for market but have only imperfectly worked out the agricultural specialties that will make it profitable to till those glorious hillsides and valleys. In art galleries we see canvases no bigger than a window pane that have cost fifty thousand dollars; by the same standard there is many and many a porch, or kitchen window, in New England the view from which is worth a million.

For the development of rural life we must rely mainly upon three things:

1. *Transportation and communication.*—Difficulty of intercourse is the drawback of the country. With the rural mail route and the telephone the problem is partly solved; it is the cheap and rapid transportation of persons and goods that remains to be achieved. When we find the really essential things to be done we can pour out millions upon them. But the farmer, alas, doesn't want to have his taxes increased a little to make good roads. He must learn that scarcely any other expenditure of his money will yield him such high returns in comfort, convenience, and worth of life. I should

not wonder if in those rich rural sections where the country roads, for months of the year, are now level stretches of mud, the road would some time be double tracks—the farmer's automobile and autotruck built with wheels to fit the rails, trouble and cost of rubber tires abolished, the cost and power of engines reduced to a mere fraction of what is now required, high rates of speed rendered safe, and crops and persons transported with little cost of money, time, or comfort.

The introduction of manufacture into the country is largely a matter of transportation. It is not necessary and may not be feasible; yet "garden villages," as the English call them, where every man sits under his own vine and fig tree, or at least in his own hired patch of ground, may be the proper and profitable location for certain seasonal industries whose period of idleness can be made to coincide with the season of harvest, so that the laborers in those garden villages, instead of loafing through the dull season of the factory in the demoralization of city slums, would become available harvest hands. Such an arrangement might not bring sufficient advantage to any single interest to secure its adoption through private initiative, but might bring such great advantages diffused among several interests as to justify governmental aid, even to the extent of such control of transportation as to afford artificial inducement to one of the parties essential to the plan. Investigation would disclose whether this suggestion of introducing seasonal manufacture into the country is practical or only visionary.

2. *Public education.*—The second agency in the development of rural life is public education, through the transformation of the rural school, one aspect of which has been wisely suggested by Professor Gillette, and also through the state university. The agricultural college must maintain a department of landscape gardening as well as a department of soil fertility, for in some of our rich agricultural states Nature has been very niggard of everything except black dirt, and we must learn to work with her in order to make country life beautiful and interesting. The agricultural college must in yet other ways be a cultural agency; it must teach people to live on the farm, as well as to make a living off the farm.

3. *The country church.*—There is almost as much need of a Protestant reformation now as there was in Luther's time, not because the church is debased but because of the practical opportunity to which it needs to become adapted as it is not under its present denominational form of organization—then there would not be four churches on the four corners of streets that cross in the best residential section of a city and scores of miles of streets in the neediest section of the same city without a church in sight, while churches retire and disappear from city neighborhoods in proportion as the need of churches in those neighborhoods increases, nor would there anywhere be sixteen weak and competing country churches within a radius of three miles.

Probably the ideal form of social organization is the parish organization

in which the parish is a geographic unit, each parish having a single church. The country parish church should be, not merely a gateway to the life to come, but it should be the center of all the recreational, cultural, and ethical activities of the community, except those that center in the school and the home. Its organization should furnish the effective leadership pervading the actual life of the whole people for which Professor Blackmar pleads, and the lack of which, he says, has caused our projects of reform to remain, for the most part, unrealized programs.

THOMAS J. RILEY, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Professor Gillette has concluded that about one-tenth of the excess gain of the population of the cities of the country over the rural districts is due to the removal of persons from the country. While it seems extremely difficult to me to find out just how many "John Smiths" removed from the country village to the city, it is doubtless true that a goodly number of young men and women have made such removals. There is another aspect of this movement which might be called the interaction of the country districts and the cities in the circum-urban zones to which Professor Gillette did not call special attention. This interaction is a significant fact for the growth of the city population in numbers, but it is a much more significant fact as a social problem. Great cities grow by accretion, by the mere extension of their boundaries, without people making any removals. This has been notably true in the case of Greater New York. It is very well known that clustered around the larger municipal incorporations are many smaller towns and villages that present unusual problems of government, of the control of liquor, vice, and marriages, etc. These zones are neither urban nor rural, they are not hot or cold, they are lukewarm. Churches do not thrive, schools are generally inferior to those of the adjoining cities. Public improvements languish. There is an expectancy toward the city which is more than a state of mind of the suburbanite, for it shows itself in his institutions and his public improvements. It would be difficult to measure the width of these zones, but it is generally recognized that the influence of the city affects the social life and local activities as far out from the great cities as transportation facilities make access to the city short and easy. In the case of Chicago it extends across Lake Michigan, and we have the Gretna Green at St. Joseph. At Clayton, just outside of the city of St. Louis, is the place where marriages are readily solemnized by a justice of the peace, for parties contracting this relation at times of doubtful responsibility for their actions. These are but suggestions of the problems that are involved in these interactions between the cities and the surrounding contiguous territory. It is not that I am able to give any information concerning these problems, but that I might suggest them as a fruitful field for study, that I have taken this time for their discussion.

John Lewis Gillin, State University of Iowa

There is little doubt that there is a more or less close correlation between the country church and the economic stage of development. However, it is open to grave question whether that correlation is as close as the reader of the paper would have us believe. Is it not rather that the correlation is secondary or tertiary rather than primary? That is, does not the economic condition affect the church chiefly through other conditions which are in their turn affected by the economic factor?

Doubtless the shifting of population caused by the attractions of new lands and of the rapidly growing cities was the primary disturbing cause of the old and happy conditions in the country churches. There was no problem of the country church until that happened. In one place it was the call of new and better and cheaper lands; in another it was the call of the city near at hand draining the countryside of its young people. In both cases it induced social and psychological changes which were momentous for the country church.

It was inevitable that every village with people from different parts of our older settled communities or from the other countries of the world should have as many denominations as there were different kinds of people there unassimilated to a single kind of faith and social life. Each faith was the only and true faith. It had demonstrated that by the way in which it had enabled its devotees to conquer the wilderness and subdue its enemies. Each sect, therefore, fought the others and by that struggle enlisted the interest of some and the enmity of others. Every man and woman in the village or in the country district had pronounced convictions on the church or churches of the place. There was only a very narrow ground of indifference, on which were stranded the few really broadminded men in the community and those strange beings of every community who find their interests aroused by struggles that have the minimum of contact with current religious affairs. The love of struggle being strong in all, it found its outlet chiefly, in contrast with the situation today, in ecclesiastical controversy.

So long as this antagonism remained strong, there was no problem apparent such as we are discussing today. It was a grand *mêlée* in which everyone had joy. It ended often in the strong driving out the weaker, but that was a part of the game and was discounted in advance. It supplied the opportunities of church life. If some did not care to avail themselves of its advantages, the worse for them. Its members were loyal. Its minister took what he could get and was glad it was no less. Did it meet the religious needs of the community? That was a question which had not yet been framed. It furnished a God-given means of grace. If some did not take advantage of this, they were cheerfully dismissed by being consigned to the category of "total depravity," or the "non-elect." The trouble must be with the people; it could not be with the church.

But now the whole situation has changed, or is rapidly changing. The lingo about the "only church" has perished from our language. Instead, the shibboleth for at least the past ten years has become in ecclesiastical what it was earlier in political circles: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." This changed note in the thinking of the churches has altered their activities. Formerly there was great activity in discussing the church. Every man was the defender of his own church; now there is no necessity, for no one attacks. Then everyone did his utmost to get adherents to his church; now it is of no consequence to the ordinary layman. Thus gradually in every part of the church's activities, instead of the intense interest characteristic of the former days there has grown up an apathy. The struggle note—the call to battle—so strong and clear in all man's former life, both in ecclesiastical and secular affairs, has been silenced. Hitherto the devil had been incarnate in the opposing sect or in the equally corporal and lively "infidel." But now the only devil which remains is a disembodied spirit of the legends, who finally vanishes into thin air, for the other sects are discovered to be "brethren" and even the "infidel" has been found on close examination to be a fairly good man, moral, kind to his family, honest, a respectable citizen, and only a litttle "queer." There is nothing to fight except the devil in oneself, and that is exciting only to those rare souls like Paul and Luther who are born only once or twice in a millennium. The message of the pulpit became abstract, directed at nothing in particular which people could comprehend, or directed to moral platitudes about which most people are only indifferently concerned.

Together with this softening of the ecclesiastical attitude toward other religious bodies there went the great social changes which the attractions of the towns were making in the country congregation. Here one and there another family moved to town. They came back to the country to visit their former neighbors oftener on Sunday than any other day because they could best get away that day. Perhaps they went to church at first, but after a time they got out too late to get to the service, and the family stayed at home to have the dinner ready for them when they came. Thus began a tendency to find one's social interests satisfied outside the church. Then some of the young people began to drift off to the town. When they came back their stories made restless the other young people. Soon the drift to the town was on. That broke the social solidarity of the young people of the community and put the church down from its predominating social leadership in the community. The church had ceased to be the only social center of the community. Communication between town and country was increased when some of the older people retired from the farm and moved to the neighboring town. In all these ways the church ceased to be the social center it had once been. It lost its hold upon the people.

At about the same time as these changes there began a demand for increased salaries on the part of the country ministers. They were becoming

more highly specialized and found need of a greater income. The country people, conservative by nature, refused to accede to these demands as quickly as the people in the towns, and their preachers soon began to find work in places which would pay more salary. That left only the younger and more inexperienced and weaker ministers to care for the country congregations. That again helped on the downfall of the influence of the country congregation. But note that the failure to pay higher salaries was not due to their inability, but to the fact that they had not been used to doing so and did not yet appreciate the new era which they were entering. In the Middle West, at least, this deterioration was not correlated with economic failure of the farmer, but with his prosperity rather.

The change was not alone due to the reason assigned in the paper, viz., the draining off of the progressive spirits to other places. That had its influence. That helped to break the social solidarity which had come about in the course of years, and thus to injure the church as the chief social center. So far as movement of population affected the case it was chiefly through the fact that it lessened the population, inducing thereby a decrease in the social struggle and making possible an approach to each other by the formerly contesting parties, and by creating a social unrest which impaired the sense of social completeness formerly found in the rural community. The ties that bound them were widened. They knew people in other communities, they exchanged visits with them, they learned of their way of life, their interests, and their ambitions. In doing this their own interests became diffused, their old satisfaction with conditions in the country became weak, and in its place often came a dissatisfaction. The church suffered with the rest.

More important, however, were the great social and economic changes which have come about through the adoption of the telephone, the introduction of the rural mail route, the trolley, the bettered roads, and the automobile, and through the increased number of towns and villages which have sprung up in hitherto isolated communities and which have offered their attractions to the country people. The telephone and the rural mail have broken up the isolation which made the church the chief social meeting-place as well as a place of prayer. The bettered roads, the trolley, and the automobile have made access to the neighboring town easier. The rise of new towns along railroads piercing the formerly untraveled areas of country districts has lessened the distance once necessary to be traversed in order to reach town. The prosperity of many of the towns and the concurrent prosperity of the surrounding country districts, making the town attractive on the one hand and making possible the retirement thereto on the other by the prosperous farmer, have combined to break sadly into that social solidarity which was one of the charms of country life years ago. Now, remembering that with all these great changes in the physical situation there also have gone on great changes in the social and mental worlds of the farmer,

we can understand why the church is face to face with a problem it has never met before. While these great changes in the economic order of things were going on, the country school and the country church were standing still. The farmer sent his children to the city or village school as soon as they were prepared for it. The old spelling school and the debating society died. In their stead came farmers' institutes, granges, or farmers' alliances. The village or city church began to compete with the country church. It was not far to drive in to town to church; besides, the parents were often there and the children found it convenient to go there to church and stop with the "old folks" for dinner, or with a neighbor or friend. The services in town were more edifying than in the country. The church was more up-to-date. Hence, in many cases the country church did not fail because of poverty and the competition of new lands, but because of prosperity and material progress which had made the town and its institutions more attractive. New interests had taken the place of the old. New ideals had come to dominate in everything else but the country church and the country school. No one had made it his business to keep the country church up with the times. Its appeal was lost, its message meaningless, its members interested in other things than ecclesiastical success, and its call to arms, if it issued any, fell upon the ears of those already enlisted in other causes. I doubt very much whether the trouble is "wasteful economic strain" on the farmer. In my judgment it is social strain, brought about by social changes which only in part are economic. If the farmer is not irreligious in the sense in which he was religious earlier, he is at least non-religious. He has vastly other interests and ambitions. Other interests have overtopped, if not crowded out, his interest in the church. Nothing has been done to adapt the church to the changed conditions. Some of the things suggested in the paper will help to do that.

As to remedies, while the federation of the various churches of the country may be a step in the right direction, I doubt if that alone will solve the problem. I know a place where federation has had to give way to denominationalism with the result of a healthier and more vigorous church life. That place is Sunnyside, Wash., in the midst of that splendid irrigated valley of the Yakima. The thing that is needed is to make the church the center of the social life of the community. That is easier where there is but one church than where there are several, but federation is not essential. Thought must be taken by the leaders to make the church central in every interest of life. I know of a community where that has been done. It is the community located south of Waterloo, Ia., in Orange Township. It is composed of an up-to-date community of Pennsylvania Dutch Dunkers. From the very first they have made the church central. When these great changes of which I have spoken began to occur, the leaders of that community began to take measures to checkmate the attractions of the towns for their young people. For example, Fourth of July was made a day of celebration at the church.

When the people of other country communities were flocking to town by hundreds, the youth of that community were gathering, in response to plans well thought out beforehand, to the church grounds where patriotic songs were sung, games were played, a picnic dinner was served, and a general good time was provided for the young. They have also arranged that their young people have a place to come to on Sunday nights where they can meet their friends. The elders look to it that provisions are made for the gathering of the young people on Sunday so that they shall "have a good time," with due arrangements for the boys and girls to get together under proper conditions for their love-making. Even their church "love feasts," held twice a year, are also neighborhood gatherings for the young people. The church is the center of everything. Is a farmers' institute to be held in the community, or a teachers' institute? The church until very recently was open to it. Is a farm to rent or for sale? At once the leaders get busy with the mail and soon a family from the East is on their way to take it. This country church has not remained strong and dominant in the community just by accident or even by federation. It has survived because it had wise leaders who have met the changes with new devices to attract the interest of the community and make the church serve the community in all its affairs, but especially on the social side. Such thought takes account of the "marginal man" too. The hired man and the hired girl, the foreigner and the tramp are welcome there. No difference is made. There is pure democracy. With the growth of the class spirit I do not know how that can survive. These hirelings are not talked down to; they are considered one with the rest. They will some day get enough to buy a farm and become leaders in the community, perhaps. The church is theirs as much as anyone's else. It looks after their interests, not only for the hereafter, but here and now. Under its fostering care they form their life attachments, it provides for their social pleasures, it is the center to which they come to discuss their farming affairs or whatever interests them. And in spite of the fact that the preaching has little contact with life and its interests, so strong is the social spirit that the preaching can be left out of account. What could be accomplished were the preaching as consciously directed to forwarding the social interests of the community one can only speculate.

T. N. Carver

The tone of Dr. Wilson's paper is admirable, and the general argument seems to me to be entirely sound. I have therefore nothing but commendation to offer. One or two suggestions, however, I should like to make, not in the spirit of criticism, but merely to correct possible misapprehensions or to turn attention to some important phases of the general question.

In the first place, I think it is a mistake to assume in the free and easy manner of some of our long-distance farmers—or Christian Science farmers

as they may be called, that is, those who are trying to solve the rural problem by absent treatment—that our American agriculture is wasteful, or that it is inefficient. That depends altogether upon our point of view. If we regard land as of more importance than men, then our American agriculture is wasteful, because it takes a good many acres in this country to produce a given amount of product. But if we regard men as of more importance than land, then American agriculture is the most economical and efficient in the world. Nowhere in the world will you find such an efficient economy of labor, or so large a product per man, as on the American farms. There are two ways, for example, of growing 100 bushels of corn. One is by putting a great deal of labor into it and growing it on one acre. That is economical of land but it is wasteful of labor. Another method is to put less labor on two acres. This is economical of labor, since it takes absolutely less labor to grow 100 bushels on two acres than on one; but is relatively wasteful of land. In a country where land is dear and men are cheap, the former method, however, would be regarded as more economical. But in a country where land is cheap and men are dear, the latter method is the more economical. Let us not cease to give thanks that conditions in this country are still such that men are dear, even though land be cheap; and let us hope that a merciful providence will save us from the state where men are cheap and land becomes dear.

Again, the suggestion is made that the commonplaceness and monotony of rural life is a problem which the country church must try to solve. That suggestion is undoubtedly a good one; but again let us hope that it will not be solved by trying to introduce the variety and excitement of city life into the country. Let us rather try to solve it by trying to create in the minds of rural people an appreciation of this same monotony and commonplaceness. Rather let me correct myself by saying, let us teach them that country life is not commonplace and monotonous if one only has the power to see the interest and the variety which the country affords. If one is blind to the interesting things that exist in a city, nothing could be more monotonous than city life, but those who are awake to the multiplicity of things to be found there find anything but monotony and commonplaceness. Similarly, if one is really awake to the interesting things of country life, one will see there anything but monotony and commonplaceness. As a matter of fact, a great deal of the interest of city life is of the dime-museum and the two-headed-calf variety; that is, it is of the queer, bizarre type, which is of course of great interest to certain minds. No one who reads Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne* or Miss Mitford's *Our Village* gets the impression from these classics that country life is uninteresting or monotonous, or even commonplace. But even the word commonplace itself ought not to have any terrors for normal minds. Suppose a thing is commonplace; is not that an indication of its merit rather than of its demerit? All the large facts, all the large values of life are commonplace. It is

only because we are looking for something queer or abnormal or unusual that we fail to appreciate the larger and more commonplace facts of life.

It has seemed to me also that the country church needs to emphasize, more than most of our sociological students have seen, the value of the neighborhood idea as a basis of social reconstruction. This is a thing that has to be re-created in the city, but in the country the neighborhood as a fact is usually taken for granted. It was a city man, a lawyer, I believe, who once asked a countryman the question, "Who is my neighbor?" Such a question would never occur to a countryman. To him the term neighbor always means the man who lives near by, who is within reach, who can be helped and who can give help because of physical or geographical nearness. The whole tendency of city life is to destroy the neighborhood idea and to build up the class idea, to make one ask, not is he a man who is near by, but is he a man who is a member of my class, or occupation or profession? The neighborhood idea may have fallen into decay in the country, but I think there are few rural neighborhoods where the class idea, which is positively demoralizing or immoral, has taken its place. The most constructive workers in our cities are beginning to see that they must restore the neighborhood idea and get rid of the class idea. The constructive social workers in the country, therefore, it seems to me, have a distinct advantage: they do not have to get rid of the class idea.

REVIEWS

The Negro in the New World. By SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 495. $6.00.

This books differs from others on the Negro in that it comprehends under one cover a study of all the Negro populations in the West Indies and in North and South America. The work is descriptive, historical, didactic, and beautifully illustrated. About two-thirds of the work deals with the Negro south of the United States, and for a general grasp of the history and present conditions of the Negro in that part of the world there is nothing in literature equal to it.

However, but scant praise can be given to that part of the book dealing with the Negro in the United States. The chapters on slavery in the South evince a narrowness of vision, bitterness, and vindictiveness of spirit which exceed anything to be found in the many biased histories covering that subject. The whole discussion is in the form of an "indictment of the southern states," in which the author plays the rôle of prosecuting attorney and excludes all evidence for the defendant.

"The steady perusal of many books and pamphlets," says the author, "published between 1830 and 1865, dealing with the maltreatment of the slaves in the Southern States, ... leaves even the hardened reader and the cynical with a feeling of nausea, perhaps even with a desire for some posthumous revenge on the perpetrators of this outrage on humanity, worse than anything recorded in the nineteenth century of the Turk in Europe or the European in Congoland." The only wonder now is "that ten thousand men did not march behind John Brown to clear out this Augean stable." These statements are supported by a recital of the repressive slave laws, by several harrowing instances of cruelty to slaves (which could be multiplied "a thousand fold"), and by the starving to death of "thousands of Negroes" in the Mississippi Valley (even famines charged up in the "indictment" against the South!) "during the first half of the nineteenth century." The "Southerners" were not only "almost less concerned about the killing of a Negro than they were over the killing of a cow or a mule,

but they rather liked killing them for fun." The South Carolina masters were "pitiless devils," etc.

The reconstruction period is covered in a paragraph of thirteen lines, the substance of which is that the carpet-bag rule was admirable in spite of the evils that the White South "is supposed to have suffered." So incomplete has been the retribution visited upon the South that there is due a "missing chapter" to complete the punishment, or the "old-fashioned view of God's judgments" must be deserted. The author is informed that there is a "New South growing up which loathes and burns with shame for the wickedness of its ancestry." The Daughters of the Confederacy are held up to scorn and ridicule, and are especially culpable for perpetuating the memories of the Civil War.

Two chapters speak of education for the Negro since emancipation, limited mostly to the work of Hampton and Tuskegee, with scant mention of schools for Negroes maintained by the states. "In thirty years," says the author, "the North has spent ten million pounds for Negro education while the South has spent barely a million." (In fact, Virginia alone spent over twice that sum from 1870 to 1906 [*Rept. U.S. Com. Education,* 1907, I, 271]; and the annual expenditures in the former slave states for Negro common schools alone, according to Booker T. Washington, exceed $6,000,000 [Strong, *Social Progress,* p. 154].)

The constructive industrial work of the South, it would seem, has been the exclusive work of northern men "sent" into the South, and none of it to native enterprise; and in doing this for the South the North has "borne the greater part of the penalty" for the South's sins.

A chapter on Negro Crime, in part admirable, denounces lynching with a vigor such as is usually displayed by southern newspapers, but it treats mob violence as a sectional evil, and censures the whole South for outrages upon the Negro, and rebukes the whites for attributing criminal propensities to all of the Negroes, whose outrages upon whites are but abnormal episodes of horror. "The South knows . . . . that it has injured the Negro anciently and hates him on that account," and mob violence against him is "of course a remnant of the cruel slavery days," says the author, but he omits to say what mobs against the Negro in Boston, New York, and numerous places in the North and West are "of course a remnant of." He had not been informed, doubtless, that

mobs ever existed outside of the South, nor read the statement in the *New York Commercial* that "the South has seven times the population of New York City, yet it does not furnish seven times as many race riots," and that "it does not is more remarkable by the fact that the South has one hundred and thirty times as many Negroes as New York City."

An English writer especially should be able to recognize that slavery in the South was a local ulcer resulting from a poisonous draft imbibed by western civilization, and fixed upon the South by circumstances of climate and soil. The southern people admit that the abuses of slavery justified its surgical elimination, but an exposition of the abuses without considering the mass of slave-owners who did not ill-treat their slaves is palpably unjust, and at least gives a false coloring to the truth. If the author will consult the police records of London for five years he will find as many barbarous cruelties to children by their parents as he can find instances of cruelty to slaves in the whole history of the South; and, according to his reasoning, he ought to conclude that all the parents of that city are a set of barbarians or "pitiless devils." Even many cases of brutality to children do not justify the conclusion that London parents are barbarous; and no true estimate of their character can be formed without considering the millions of those who are not drunken, crazy, depraved, and do not perpetrate abnormal episodes of horror.

There are in the United States today occupations in which the death rate is frightful, as it was in a district in South Carolina, without any whole section of country being charged with inhumanity on account of it. Sir H. H. Johnston was evidently not informed that the mortality of the Negro under slavery was much lower than it has been since and in many places lower than that of the whites. In Charleston where those "pitiless devils" lived the Negro mortality before the Civil War was lower than that of the whites, so that those "pitiless devils" were so inhuman that they took better care of their slaves than of themselves. The Negro mortality in Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans was also less than that of the whites (Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro,* pp. 53–54). These facts do not lend great weight to the idea that "Southerners" were "less concerned about the killing of a Negro than they were over the killing of a cow or mule, but rather liked killing them for fun."

As for the repressive slave laws, the author might have admitted, as Thwaites does, that "the actual treatment of the slave by his owner was not so barbarous as the laws suggest." In the two recitals of cruelty to slaves most emphasized by the author (the cases being fifteen years apart) it is significant that in each case the culprit was condemned and punished by law; yet such records "exceed in barbarism the Turk in Europe or the European in Congoland"! That the Negroes did not revenge themselves on the whites, during the war, when the men were away from home, nor later when the whites were helpless in the hands of the federal troops, is some evidence that the treatment of the slaves was not altogether barbarous. As Professor Shaler of Harvard says, "If the accepted account of the Negro had been true, if he had been for generations groaning in servitude . . . . the South should have flamed in insurrection at the first touch of war." Probably no present-day scholar in American history would now question the statement of a northern observer who visited the South in 1844, that "on principle, in habit, and even on grounds of self-interest the greater part of the slave-owners were humane, not over-exacting, and sincerely interested in the physical well-being of their dependents."

The author's defamatory statements about southern character, culture, manners, morals, and domestic life are based only upon the worst aspects in which these have been represented, and the whole picture is a gross distortion of the truth of history. By a similar culling of only the bad, any civilization, ancient or modern, may be "indicted" for barbarism.

The author asserts that "in nearly all the eleven Southern States of Secession" on account of "mob laws" the "colored man is practically without a voice in either municipal or political affairs." A refutation of this "indictment" may be found in the last issue of the *Independent* (January 26), which says: "We lately gave the testimony of one who accompanied Dr. Booker Washington in his recent tour in North Carolina to the effect that he did not find that anywhere he went Negroes who paid their taxes found any difficulty in voting. We now see a letter in the *New York Age* saying the same is true for Tennessee where both parties wanted the Negro votes and both got them." It is known that large masses of both whites and Negroes remain away from the polls unless

organized effort is made to get them out, and that the Negroes do not vote more is because they are not solicited to do so.

As to the author's effusion on the subject of social equality several things should be said. First, that even the leaders of public sentiment in the North do not favor social equality under present conditions in the South. Second, that it is now out of fashion to condemn the South for proscriptions against the Negro which obtain throughout the North and West wherever the Negroes are found in considerable numbers (see Dubois, *Philadelphia Negro*). Third, that if only a small number of Negroes lived in the South they would be objects of curiosity, as they are in London, Paris, and Boston, and southern men would no more hesitate to sit at banquet with an African prince than did King Edward; and, having nothing to fear or suffer from such social freedom, all proscriptive laws and customs would be abolished and the southern people could then felicitate themselves on their moral superiority to the rest of the world.

Some of the author's conclusions in the latter part of his book are in strange and illogical contrast with his sweeping "indictment." He says, "the fact was evident to me, after a tour through the eastern and southern states of North America, that nowhere in the world—certainly not in Africa—has the Negro been given such a chance of mental and physical development as in the United States. . . . . Politically he is freer, socially he is happier than in any other part of the world." The fact that the Negro now remains in the South, says the author, "shows that he is not on the whole badly treated."

In the author's description of present-day life, conditions, and scenes in the South he writes without fault. He is a master in observation and description, and his comments upon what he sees are rational and valuable.

In his attempt, however, to judge and reconstruct history he has betrayed a lack of that breadth of outlook and judicial temper which alone give value to historical interpretations.

The reason that so excellent a writer and gentleman as Sir H. H. Johnston should have marred his book in the way above indicated must be explained by the unfortunate selection of pilots who led him into the South. He first fell in with the brother of a reconstruction governor of South Carolina who introduced him to the men of New York concerned in Negro education in the

South. One of these, Mr. Ogden, accompanied the author to the Hampton and Tuskegee schools, and in the latter he found a white man who furnished him information and statistics, etc. In view of this line of approach to the South, and what followed, one is inclined to question the statement of the author that the northern men and women sent into the South have always been "just the right kind." There is a belief among southern people that these missionaries have not always been "just the right kind," that they have sometimes inspired distrust and hatred of the whites where formerly prevailed good feeling and confidence; and the suspicion cannot but come to mind that had Sir H. H. Johnston fallen in with a different set of pilots his book would have breathed a far different spirit and would not have been an agency for reinflaming the bad passions of the past which lapse of time and enlightened understanding had almost totally subdued.

JEROME DOWD

NORMAN, OKLA.

Land and Labour: Lessons from Belgium. By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE. New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. 633. $3.50.

Those familiar with the author's work on *Poverty* from a study of York, England, will welcome the present volume. From a very different point of view this work is also a study of poverty. The purpose of the work is stated in the preface. "This book is written in the hope of contributing to the solution of the problem of poverty in Britain by throwing some light on its relation to the system of land tenure."

Aside from the conclusion and appendices the book is divided into five parts. In the first part, under the title "Some Fundamental Factors in the Social and Economic Condition of Belgium," the author discusses the physiography of the country, a brief history of the country and its constitution, the history of land tenure, the number of land owners, the size of farms, the laws of succession and inheritance, and their influence on the size of the farms. As Belgian experience is intended to help solve problems in Great Britain a comparison is always made where possible of the conditions in the two countries.

In the second division are discussed "Industrial Conditions,"

"Home Industries," and "Trade Unions." In the first of the above chapters the author discusses wages and the recent tendency toward the concentration of industry in a few occupations. Home industries are widely prevalent in Belgium, but here unlike Britain they are not of modern creation but are relics of the industrial era which preceded the factories. Trade unions are not well organized in Belgium because the political and religious differences of the workers, their poverty, and their lack of education stand in the way of effective co-operation.

In the third section devoted to "Agriculture" are treated at considerable length the relative value of large and small holdings and the significance of proprietorship and tenancy with reference to the prosperity of the people. The price and the rent of land, afforestation, and market-gardening as an auxiliary branch of agriculture are discussed at considerable length. Agricultural education in the schools, the educational work of agricultural societies and agricultural credit societies are all discussed with reference to their value in increasing agricultural productivity and in promoting the welfare of the rural population.

In Part III are discussed three topics: (1) "Education," (2) "Means of Transport," and (3) "The System of Taxation." The author finds that Belgium is excellently served by its transportation facilities including her roads, canals, main railways, and light railways. As most of the railways are owned by the state and as cost of service determines charges the people derive great advantages both in the transportation of goods and in the conveyance of passengers. The latter proves of great value in promoting the mobility of labor, thus equalizing wages and preventing unemployment.

Part V is devoted to a study of the "Standard of Life." What precedes is preliminary to a discussion of this topic which is treated in the following chapters: "The General Standard of Comfort," "The Cost of Living," "Co-operation," "The Drink Problem," "Betting and Gambling," "Housing," "Thrift," "Pauperism and Unemployment." The author's conclusion is that the Belgium workmen are upon the whole housed better than the English. This is due largely to low rents. Under the Belgium Housing Act favorable opportunities are given workmen to become owners of their own homes. However, with reference to diet, the author concludes that "there is little doubt that the proportion of workmen who are adequately fed is much smaller than in Britain." The unregulated

sale of alcohol is responsible for a great deal of poverty and pauperism as about one-sixth of the income of the working classes is spent in drink. Poor relief is badly organized. It is given by a variety of political units and when there are large sums to dispose of the poor are pauperized.

The strongest feature of the work is the method of investigation. Two illustrations of method will show the thoroughness of the work. In many subjects an exhaustive study was made with every regard for accuracy. In investigating land ownership the author attempted to learn "the total number of landed proprietors in Belgium, and to classify them according to the size of their holdings." Nineteen months were required to make this investigation and over 500 people consisting of 383 officers of the Belgian government and 101 private clerks were employed a portion of the time. Over 300,000 record cards were used in collecting the statistics.

The investigation into the standard of living was obtained from 70 family budgets of working classes living in different sections of the country and representing different classes of working families. Using Professor Atwater's standards for the quantity of different ingredients necessary to maintain people engaged in different grades of work, the author is prepared to state the extent to which the Belgium workmen suffer from lack of proper nourishment. His previous study of the budgets of workingmen in York enables him to compare the food standards of Belgium with German workmen. The investigations into housing conditions were equally as painstaking.

The author has done for Belgium a kind of work that should be done everywhere by those who are investigating the causes of poverty. It is one of the most valuable books on poverty yet written.

J. E. HAGERTY

BOOK NOTICES

Industrial Accidents and Their Compensation. By GILBERT L. CAMPBELL. Pp. 106. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911.

The main points of a large amount of material relative to work-accidents are presented in this small volume. Not only does the book commend itself because of its brevity and conciseness, but also on account of its thoroughly scientific and painstaking character. The straightforward and logical presenta-

tion of fact after fact forms a strong argument for a series of suggested reforms. Ten tables of figures compiled from authentic sources point out the extent of the industrial accident problem. In regard to the social cost of accidents, the author maintains (*a*) that the victims are usually young men; (*b*) that the majority of them have families; and (*c*) that the standard of living of these families is greatly lowered by losses due to the injuries to workmen. A chapter is given to a discussion of each of the following topics: (*a*) the voluntary agencies in the United States which compensate industrial accidents, (*b*) employers' liability in the United States, and (*c*) employers' liability insurance.

This volume sets forth "the enormous blood-tax that is laid upon the workers of American industry," and centers attention on a phase of our industrial situation in which "bright hopes may be blasted, and happy families dragged to the lowest depths of shame and misery, while bench and bar quibble for years over puerile questions of legal responsibility."

E. S. Bogardus

A Study in the Psychology of Ritualism. By Frederick G. Henke. Pp. 96. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910.

Dr. Henke handles ritualism from the standpoint of social psychology and traces its development from its origin in primitive society to the place which it occupies in present-day groups. In the primitive group, the ritual was closely related to the general group-life and to the food and sex impulses. During successive and similar crises of experience, a fortunate and satisfactory reaction tends to be repeated until it becomes a group-habit. Custom hallows the group-habit and it becomes ritualized.

The author maintains that the practical motive in the ritual is far more important than the aesthetic interest. The ritual has survived because of its functional value; it has taken a practical place in the life of the group, promoted the group consciousness, and conserved group values. As long as it continues to function in this way, it will survive.

E. S. B.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Sociology and Its Racial Applications.—The sociological outlook is essentially one that includes the three fields of biology, education, and economics viewed from a public or collective standpoint. The essential characteristic of a race is the biological quality of color, with its physiological and psychological equivalents. All other qualities, especially those of sex and inborn mental capacity, are related to different forms of social environment—different surroundings selecting different types of men and women. Hence, biological, educational, and economic (including geographical) factors are all real forces in social evolution and act and react upon each other. Further, if color be the most distinctive feature of a race, each race is capable of development; none need be permanently subordinated, and more friendly racial feelings may be fostered upon the basis that there is a scientific position and future for each upon the earth if the question be sufficiently investigated.—J. Lionel Taylor, *Sociological Review,* January, 1911. E. S. B.

Die soziologischen Grundlagen des Völkerrechts.—The sum of the economic and cultural conditions that transcend the boundaries of political states constitutes the sociological fact of internationalism. Today, even after a long development, the individual state is still the firm nucleus of international life, and about its interests and autonomy gravitate the norms of international law. Those states, however, which recognize a common international law do so on the basis of a societary community of which the code is but the orderly expression. The idea of community is primary; of the law, secondary. As international interdependence grows, international law will not only spread but seeks guaranties for its enforcement. The principle of nationalism as well as that of imperialism makes for the growth of individual states. The spirit of governments, moreover, is not favorable to the recognition of collective interests at the expense of individual power and autonomy. The modern growth of class consciousness, the class struggle, and many other facts of modern life favor the indifference to the individual state. The critical, reflective spirit of the time refers all social facts to individual or class interest. In the degree to which the state loses the power to satisfy the needs of its constituent groups and to subordinate their purposes to its own, new and larger organizations must arise. A scientific ethic of internationalism waits for the creation of a sociology of international life.—Max Huber, *Arch. f. Rechts- u. Wirtsch.-Philos.,* October, 1910. P. W.

Karl Kautsky als Bevölkerungstheoretiker.—In agreement with Malthus, Kautsky recognizes the tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence; but in place of moral restraint he advocates artificial preventive methods for the restriction of the birth-rate. In his recent book (1910) he points out how primitive man extends the limits of his food supply by inventing and by using weapons; but he overlooks the fact that only the first-born of the children is given a chance to survive, the others being exposed or killed. As infanticide is the device in savagery, so war serves under barbarism to maintain a balance between population and subsistence possibilities. Agricultural peoples incline to peace, not because of incapacity for a military life, but because war has for them far less economic value than for rapidly growing nomadic tribes. Apart from the occasional decimating effects of pestilence, infant mortality may be said to become, in Christian countries, the principal regulator of the population rate. Those who deny the validity of

the Malthusian law for our times forget that every year thousands of underfed children of the proletariat wither and perish.—L. Quessel, *Die neue Zeit*, January, 1911. P. W.

Das Sexualproblem in Italien.—Though far less an industrial nation than Germany, Italy's urban population is proportionally greater, while the devastating effects of alcoholism are less, than in the former country. Notwithstanding the fact that the family life of the German surpasses in intimacy that of any other people, the Italian is in general much more devoted to family obligations and joys. In Italy, moreover, a naturalistic innocence in regard to matters of sex, joined to a mitigation of class contrasts, makes possible a single standard of morals for high and low alike. On the whole, the relations between the sexes are more wholesome in Italy than in Germany. This explains the relatively tardy turning of attention on the part of the Italian people to the sex problem. As regards sex education, the young men most active in the discussion represent a neo-spiritualistic, mystical tendency, and ally themselves with the clericals in their opposition to the "materialists" (medical men), who are content with the pragmatic sanctions for this education, found in the demands of life itself rather than in transcendental ethical values.—Oda Olberg, *Sozialist. M.H.*, December 22, 1910. P. W.

Das religiöse Moment in der sozialistischen Bewegung.—The modern socialistic labor movement, so far from taking an official position on the question of religion, has declared it outside the sphere of public concern and relegated it to the private conscience of the individual. In spite of a doctrinal emphasis upon atheism, consistent with the view of Marx, the party has been forced by political necessity to reckon with the great power of religion over men's minds and to profess the principle of toleration. The socialistic ideal of a just and harmonious social order has developed in close conjunction with religious ideas and beliefs. Wherever we examine closely the origins of social movements, we are sure to encounter religious personalities as their founders. Mere class and mass interests do not create social institutions of solidarity. Religion is unquestionably one of the moving forces of progressive social development, and without it any socialistic movement is bound to fail.—Hans Müller, *Sozialist. M.H.*, December 22, 1910. P. W.

Der verschiedene Widerstand der Geschlechter gegen die Entartung.—Physical degeneration may be considered as the common antecedent of mental and moral decay. It is the gateway through which the latter ordinarily enters the life of a family; although the order may occasionally be reversed. The two types of degeneration are as a rule found in conjunction. In families whose physical degeneration is indicated by an excessive infant-mortality rate and a very low average longevity, an excess of female children are born. The conditions of propagation being more difficult, nature succeeds better in producing females than males. While, on the average, men live ten years longer than women, in degenerative families the relation is practically reversed. The female sex resists degeneration more successfully than the male, and in degenerative families the male members lose their good qualities more rapidly; i.e., under unfavorable conditions the production of girls of mediocre and good quality is still possible, that of boys merely problematic.—Dr. Fr. von den Velden, *Arch. f. Rassen- u. Gesellsch.-Biol.*, October, 1910. P. W.

Le placement et le chômage.—In England most of the workers are organized and *placement* is not a matter of great importance. In other countries the workers are not so well organized and attention turns to *placement*. The syndicates are the best means of placing workers, but only the better class of workers takes advantage of them. The poorer grade of workers turns to "paying bureaus," municipal bureaus, and bourses, none of which solves the difficulty. *Placement* is only a partial solution of non-employment. Fitness for work is more important. Besides there are many demands for which there

are no qualified workers.—Olphe Gallard, *La réforme sociale*, October-November, 1910. D. I. P.

The Law and the Facts.—There is need for a sympathetic knowledge of human beings by the student of politics. Law is an interpretation of life, a study of the aggregation of forces. Law governing business, for example, has been individualistic; if politics is to do its work it must accommodate *"all* social forces, the forces of business included, to the common interest." Business must mean service; possession of private property is legitimate only as a reward for service rendered in behalf of the common interests.—Woodrow Wilson, *American Political Science Review*, February, 1911. A. D.

A Study of Democracy.—Democracy does not necessarily substitute the rule of the masses for the rule of the few. But its value lies in affording scope for the development of self-respect, with its immense service in raising standards of comfort and need. For this reason, not for "liberty" or "justice," the masses esteem the franchise, and women desire suffrage. In Europe and Great Britain at present, the politician is the leader, not the representative of the masses, and secures for them this sense of self-respect largely through vituperation of the old aristocracy; but eventually political intelligence will develop, and democracy may achieve its logical outcome in the referendum.—Sir Bamphylde Fuller, *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1911. A. D.

Economic Security and Unemployment Insurance.—Economic security, an essential in the welfare of society, is undermined by unemployment and casual employment. The broad plan for insurance in behalf of greater stability tends automatically to discriminate in favor of insurable risks—unemployment due to causes relatively beyond the worker's control; it provides that the insurance be compulsory and nation-wide in a large group of crafts particularly affected; its maximum of benefit and minimum of contribution must be so regulated as not to encourage unemployment; there must be state co-operation and guaranty, and state co-operation with voluntary associations in behalf of voluntary saving. This scheme is actuarily, administratively, and politically possible if it be conceived as sufficiently important.—Sir Llewellyn Smith, *Economic Journal*, December, 1910. A. D.

Sex and Education.—The chief method now being employed in warfare against sexual immorality is that of *warning*—a negative incentive. But fear of consequences is not the ultimate appeal to a robust nature and, furthermore, society so patronizes the man who has not "sown his wild oats" that fear of consequences is of little avail. Positive training is essential. The educational problem is one of establishing wholesome "spiritual" relations between sexes, of destroying the idea that the sole purpose of sex is reproduction. Boys and girls should be educated to a sense of mutual respect and obligation.—W. D. Parkinson, *Educational Review*, January, 1911. A. D.

The Married Working Woman.—The wife of a laborer is known to be not a bad manager and housekeeper; to be courageous and full of fortitude under "ill-health that is a national scandal." She knows that any laws which restrict working of children and married women and make no provision for the deficit in family income simply mean hardship. Women and children work because men are not paid enough. The minimum wage is essential.—Anna Martin, *Nineteenth Century*, December-January, 1910–11. A. D.

A Neglected Factor in Race Suicide.—So far as race suicide may be considered as involuntary, unequal distribution of the sexes (particularly at the ages most conducive to fertile marriage), through migrations westward and cityward, and immigration, constitutes an important cause. The surplus of males in the West is becoming less marked, but the relative segregation of sexes, due to differentiation of society into classes, and marked differentiation of occupation as between men and women, more than counteracts this movement. Segregation is due to economic conditions; and the choices of the more numerous sex are limited by both qualitative and quantitative restriction.—*American Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1910. A. D.

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SOCIOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN INNER CHINA

EDWARD A. ROSS
University of Wisconsin

China is the European Middle Ages made visible. All the cities are walled and the walls are kept in a condition for use. The streets are narrow, crooked, poorly paved, filthy, and malodorous. There is no public lighting, and until recent years there was no force to maintain public order. The people use raw river water brought to them in buckets by regular water carriers. System of public sewage there is none; but the cultivators are so eager for fertilizer that in the early morning they penetrate to every street and lane and by nine o'clock they have removed from every house that which the wasteful West casts into its sewers. Most of the houses are low and mean and the windows are few, small, and unglazed. Until American kerosene began to penetrate the Empire the common source of light was a bit of cotton wick hanging over the edge of an iron cup containing rape seed oil. Pasture there is none and little fruit is grown; for the production of the staples of human food has the first claim on the soil. Lumber is too dear to be used freely in building. Coal is largely neglected and charcoal is the chief fuel.

The handicraft stage prevails, machinery is unknown, and I have never seen in China a windmill. Waterpowers are used, but only for grinding. The exchange of bulky commodities is slight and the people of one province may be starving while in the neighboring province there is food a-plenty. On the road to

Shansi I met on the way to distant markets cartloads of salt, paper, wool, hides, cotton, tobacco, licorice, oil, and flour. Coal, charcoal, locust wood, wheat, and millet were bound for nearer markets. A few miles from the pit's mouth I found good lump coal selling at $0.80 a ton; while a hundred miles away the same coal was selling for $5.60. The cost of carting was $0.04½ a ton.

There is little provision for the unfortunate, and the cripple or the leper begs his bread by the roadside. After the sheaves have been gathered in, poor widows and children spread over the stubble fields and glean the heads of wheat the rakes have missed. There are professional beggars, united in strong guilds, who blackmail the reluctant shopkeeper into giving by keeping up such a din in front of his shop that no customer will enter. Until the new system started six years ago, there were no free common schools. Not over one man in ten can read, and less than one woman in a hundred. The masses believe in witchcraft and evil eye, and, while normally very peaceable, may, when goaded by superstitious fear, form fanatical and cruel mobs as did our forefathers in the Middle Ages. Until recently newspapers were wanting, there was no real public opinion and no participation whatsoever of the people in government. In order to impose a check upon the rulers in the interests of the people, the ancient sages taught that, while the ruler governs by the will of heaven, the rising of his people is a sure sign that Heaven's mandate has been withdrawn. Insurrection, therefore, was taught as a sacred right of the people—a doctrine more productive of disorder and woe than all the errors democracies have ever committed.

The analogy with the Middle Ages should not, however, be pressed too far. To our Middle Ages were unknown such features of China as a purely secular learning, competitive civil service examinations, ancestor worship, the patriarchal family, parental control of matrimony, the system of mutual responsibility, and direct imperial administration. On the other hand, contemporary China knows nothing of such mediaevalisms as feudalism, the manor, heriditary caste, ecclesiasticism, the religious orders, chivalry, and the passion for the chase.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

To the sociologic eye, the most outstanding thing in the Far East is the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence. Evidences of it are seen in an intensive farming carried on by hand implements rather than the plow, in the measures taken to recover the fertile elements washed from the soil, in the eager and instant appropriation of everything of fertilizing value, in the impressive fashion in which the landscape has been carved, molded, and terraced as if by giant hands, in the completeness of utilization that has carried the fields right up to the crest of the mountains, in some cases, five thousand feet above the floor of the valley, in the elimination of most domestic animals save the scavengers, such as pigs and fowl, in the simplicity of the diet of the common people, and the retention therein of coarse or even repulsive food elements. Secondary consequences of population pressure are the very small proportion of well-to-do or rich families, the cheapness of human labor, the low standard of comfort, the squalor of the habitations of the cultivators, the waste of health and life in such undermining occupations as that of the ricksha runner, the chair bearer, the porter, and the treadmill coolie, the early age at which boys are turned to account, the smallness of the funds available for philanthropy, the exposure of female infants, the callousness to human suffering shown by a people so hard pressed that they cannot indulge in sympathy or generosity, the solidarity that prevails in those mutual aid associations—family, clan, or guild—that tide the individual over crises in his life, and a religious materialism that prompts worship in the frank hope of deriving worldly benefit from the favor of the gods.

The population pressure is not due to the niggardliness of the soil, the sloth or stupidity of the people, the prevalence of wasteful vices, the oppression of government, or the exploitation of landlord or capitalist. Beyond all question, it is due to a family system that eliminates every prudential check on multiplication. The Chinese imagine that unless twice a year his male descendants offer paper money at his grave a man's spirit wanders forlorn about the spirit world begging its rice. It is therefore the

pitch of recklessness for a man to neglect to leave male children, and enough of them to allow for mischance and death. Moreover, as it is a father's prerogative to make matches for his children, and as life is not for long in China, the prudent man secures a wife for his son as soon as that son is of the proper marrying age, i.e., twenty or twenty-one. To delay beyond that time is considered dangerous because the youth's ungratified sex impulses may drive him into vicious courses. The average age of the bride appears to be sixteen or seventeen years. In some provinces it was until recently as low as fourteen or fifteen. Nearly all the fertile years are passed in wedlock and there are no spinsters. All girls marry save those recruited young for prostitution, so that a very large proportion of the potential fecundity of the female population is actualized.

There is no feeling that a young man should refrain from marriage until he is able to support a wife. It is his parents' affair, not his. When the proper time comes a wife is provided and a couple live with his parents until he is launched in life. Owing to the exposure of female infants and the contingent of prostitutes there are not enough women to go around. The result is that there is a bride price, and those too poor to pay it must go without wives. In China the element that does not reproduce itself is not, as with us, the most successful, but precisely that class of poorly paid or thriftless which presumably is least likely to contribute valuable qualities to the next generation.

Inasmuch as the population of China, which grew from a hundred millions in 1700 to over four hundred millions in the middle of the nineteenth century, seems to have become virtually stationary during the last sixty years, the mortality of China somehow contrives to balance the enormous fecundity. The adjustment comes about partly through a higher mortality at every age and adult life term shortened by say fifteen years, but chiefly through the enormous loss of infants. There are no statistics collected within the empire, but the peepholes into a Chinese population we obtain through the figures the Japanese collect in Formosa and the British in Hongkong reveal that half of

those born do not live beyond the first half-year and 75 per cent to 85 per cent are dead before the end of the second year. Besides the unspeakable ignorance and superstition of mothers there are certain ultimate consequences of Chinese poverty—viz., exposure of female infants, the absence of milk, neglect, insufficient food, overcrowding, contagious infantile diseases—which bear with relentless severity on child life and thus bring about a readjustment of numbers in the early years. Thanks to this, the strain is less on the adults, the majority get a sufficiency of coarse food, and in normal seasons, the people of China are fairly well nourished.

THE PHYSICAL CONSTITUTION

Out of ten European children, three will die by the end of their second year. Out of ten Chinese children in China, these three will die and four or five more besides. If the ten white children and the ten yellow children are equal in physical stamina, then the three surviving yellow children ought to possess a tougher constitution than the seven surviving white children. The four of these survivors that would have perished under Oriental conditions of life certainly do not match in vitality the three that could have endured even these conditions. If now, for some generations, the whites have been subjected to a less relentless and searching mortality than the Chinese, it would be reasonable to expect the Chinese to exhibit a tougher physique than the whites. With this in mind I questioned thirty-six physicians practicing in China, usually at mission or government hospitals, regarding the recovery of their Chinese patients from injuries, from surgical operations, and from diseases. Only three failed to notice any difference between the response of the Chinese constitution and that of the white man's constitution. Two of these had practiced twenty-five years in China and I think their recollections of their brief practice among whites had become too faint to give them a term of comparison. The third had found the rude and simple peasantry of Thuringia quite as tough as the Chinese. From the rest I gathered that the Chinese recover oftener from desperate injuries and surgical opera-

tions, that they recover more quickly, that the loss in little, poorly equipped semi-aseptic hospitals in China is not greater than in the first-class hospitals of the West, that there is less surgical shock, that nervous chill is rarer, that the Chinese are less sensitive to pain, that they pass under the influence of chloroform more easily and come out from it without after-nausea, that they recover better from high fevers, though not from long fevers, that with them typhoid fever is rare and smallpox is a jest, that the Chinese resist infections that will kill a white man, and recover from blood-poisoning or tetanus after they have been given up. Furthermore, they can stand longer hours of toil, less sleep, and worse air for a longer time than the white man can.

Unfortunately for the interesting generalization that seemed just about to emerge I found that about half of the physicians attribute this superior showing to wholesome manner of life rather than to greater congenital vitality. They go off so easily under chloroform because they have never used alcohol. Their superior resistance to fevers and to infections is attributed to their vegetable diet. Their stoical enduring of painful operations to their ignorance of what is coming and to their lack of anticipative imagination. If the women of the *sampan* bear children with such amazing ease that Doctor Swan of Canton has more than once waited a quarter or a half an hour till the *sampan* woman could bear a child before rowing him across the river, it is because of their simple diet, bodily labor, and life in the open air. It is pointed out that the rich, meat-eating, wine-bibbing Chinese show little of the toughness of the common people, but, on the contrary, become assimilated to the white man.

The best conclusion I can reach is that part of the difference between the reaction of the white man and that of the yellow is due to heredity, and part to diet and manner of life.

THE MENTAL CONSTITUTION

I questioned forty-odd persons, who as seasoned missionaries or educators may be presumed to know the "feel" of the Chinese mind, as to the native intellectual power of the yellow race as compared with the white. Seven out of eight considered

them the peers of the whites. The educators observed that their pupils have wonderful memory power and even in physics or mathematics attempt to rely on memorizing rather than reasoning. They react less to teacher and textbook than do our students, and are apt to regard the microscopic slides, the cabinet specimens, or the experiment as the illustration rather than the source of the law. These shortcomings, however, are by most teachers attributed to the early surroundings of the youth and to the defective elementary and grammar-school training upon which the Western teacher must build. The impression left on my mind by the evidence I was able to gather is that if you mark the white race 100 on a scale of which the lowest races constitute the zero, the Chinese are certainly not lower than 85 and are quite possibly entitled to a mark of 100. It will be yet some time before there are many Chinese equipped with as sound a training and working under as powerful stimuli as conspire to produce the present intellectual output of our race. Until the more precise comparison can be made the only safe thing to do is to rate the Chinese as the peers of the white men in intellect. Perhaps we should prepare our minds for the point of view expressed by an eminent sinologue when he said to me: "Most of us who have been out here twenty-five years or more come to feel that the yellow race is the normal human type while the white race is a sport."

THE FAMILY

Two assumptions give the key to the structure of the Chinese family, namely, the superiority of the male over the female, and the superiority of the old over the young. Each of these limits and mitigates the other. Till she has a son, the lot of the female is not unlike that of other Oriental women, but with motherhood she rises to a higher position and her status and authority with respect to her grown sons and grandsons is enviable. In law, ethics, and current public opinion, the position of the parent with respect to his grown children is distinctly stronger than with us; and in my judgment, the relation makes for happiness. A man's sons are his old-age pension. Daughters, since they merge into

their husband's family, are practically lost to their parents, but the more sons a couple have, the better provided they are for their old age. I recall a teacher of forty with a family of his own, who every month hands his salary over to his father who returns to him what he deems proper. I was greatly struck by the serene, benign expression on the faces of the old farmers. Their brows were free from the wrinkles of worry, and black care seemed to haunt them less than it does our own elderly farmers. At best, old age is none too happy, and I believe that the preference and deference that sons are bound to show their parents is more easement to the parents than it is a burden to the sons. I feel that among Americans individualism within the family has gone too far for happiness and that we could learn from the Chinese.

On the other hand, the Chinese have made a great mistake in their excessive subordination of girls and women. Regarding the universe as balanced between the principle of good and the principle of evil, Yang and Yin, they identify the female with the Yin principle in the human species. Woman is to man what our forefathers thought that Eve was to Adam, the temptress and corrupter. Women must therefore be subordinated, for anything approaching equality of the sexes would wreck society. Very few girls receive any schooling, and women have not the least share either direct or indirect in guiding public affairs or in molding institutions which affect them quite as much as the men. Foot-binding, which still cripples a hundred million females, greatly narrows the sphere within which woman moves. Excluded from all association with men, women have scarcely any access to any source of enlightenment. This dwarfing of the female half of the race results in certain serious social effects.

First, women do not know how to discipline their children. Fitful and capricious, they spoil them and contribute nothing of value to the formation of moral character.

Second, there being no possibility of women forming a common opinion and reacting collectively, mothers have been compelled, in deference to a grotesque conventionality of male taste, to inflict upon their little daughters the agonies and disabilities of foot mutilation.

Third, for the same reason, the conserving, home-defending instincts of women have been entirely null in contending with the terrible ravages of the opium habit. If the women of the Far East had had opportunities to contend with opium as our American women have contended with alcoholism, the drug would never have made such terrible inroads.

Fourth, the elimination of women from social life, so that parties, picnics, and feasts are exclusively men's affairs, deprives each sex of the stimulus, interest, and charm of the other. To the resulting monotony and dreariness is to be attributed the strong tendency to find relief in opium smoking and gambling, everywhere the besetting vices of the Chinese.

The most striking instances I have ever met of the reaction of industrial opportunity upon the position of women is found in three districts in central Quangtung, where women can easily support themselves by silk winding. In these districts thousands of girls have for a long time maintained anti-matrimonial associations in which each member binds herself to leave her husband after the three days required by custom and return to her parents' home. There she supports herself by her labor and does not return permanently to her husband at all unless a child is born. In vain have parents and magistrates sought to compel the girls to return to their wifely duty. The girls threaten to take opium or drown themselves and, if too hard pressed, they carry out their threat. This extraordinary revolt of young women against the hard lot of the Chinese wife seems to be spontaneous and unprompted by foreign influence.

PRIVATE INTEREST AND PUBLIC INTEREST

The mass of the people seem to be too primitive in their thinking to distinguish a public interest apart from particular private interests. I found peasants flailing out their sheaves on the highway because it was more convenient thus to utilize the public road than to prepare a threshing-floor. I have seen half of the sixteen-foot main street of a great provincial capital occupied by the wheat that some householder had spread out to dry. The traffic squeezed itself into the remaining half of the street and

nobody protested against his encroachment. In Foochow the original width of the main artery of the city was twelve feet. But every shopkeeper has built his counter in front of his lot line. The stalls have lined the street with their crates and baskets of fish and vegetables. The artisans overflow into the street with their work benches and the final result is that the traffic filters painfully through a five- or six-foot passage, which would be yet more encroached on but for the fact that there must be room left for two sedan chairs to pass.

On the mountain portion of the great paved highroad connecting Peking with the Western Provinces I noticed that for a furlong in the neighborhood of each village the paving had disappeared. I discovered at last that in every case the villagers had simply dug up the paving stones and used them to build pig pens or garden walls. Owing to these depredations, each year a hundred thousand loaded coolies go slipping and laboring miserably through these stretches of muck, and yet nothing is done. The private scheme is sacred and must be given the right of way no matter what the damage to the general public. For in Chinese eyes the private right is something distinct and clear-cut which each understands and sympathizes with, while the public right is not visualized at all or, in any case, commands no sympathy. If my next-door neighbor chooses to have a dramatic troupe perform in front of his house, ergo, in front of my house too; if he makes the night clamorous with gongs and songs, I do not protest. It is all his affair. The whole neighborhood tolerates the shattering of its sleep because each imagines that some time, perhaps, he will want to have a festivity in front of *his* house.

In general, it is a rule of action for a Chinaman never to interfere with another man's game. If a man has gotten a graft or a monopoly, those who know of it do not expose him. It would be bad form and accounted malicious persecution; besides, each bethinks himself that some day he may have a little game of his own. There is lack of that public spirit which in the West prompts men who have no private grievance to stand out against wrong and, at risk to themselves, fight for the interests of the unorganized public.

THE NEGLECT OF CONSERVATION

In all directions one notes how the people suffer by neglecting to protect common interests against the greedy encroachments of individuals. In the valley of the Wei great quantities of trees are grown, while the adjacent mountains are bare. Instead of growing their fuel on the steeps, which are good for nothing else, the people have to grow it in the fields among their crops, because, the mountains being public land, there is no power to prevent the robbery of the pines that try to cover them. The telegraph wire is strung on crooked willow poles, while in another province lie rotting great piles of straight larch poles cut for the telegraph department. The roadside ditches are bailed out to get little fishes of a finger's length, because what one does not take, another will. After a rain the main cartroad is a canal from which the water has no exit. The mule muscle wasted during a week in pulling carts through the quagmire would easily repair the road for a year.

Slopes at an angle of forty or even forty-five degrees are cleared and opened up on the mountain side and, after a few crops of maize, the underlying rock is washed bare and the soil forms a bar in the muddy river a thousand feet below. The tumbling mountain torrents that once were emerald are now turbid with the wash from the denuded mountain sides and in many cases square miles of rich bottom land have been ruined by being covered several feet deep with a mantle of sand and gravel brought down by some side stream since the slopes began to be eroded. Such is the natural and inevitable result of letting private interests have full swing. A thousand years ago China could have been saved by conservation policy; today, after most of her natural beauty and much of her natural wealth has disappeared in the endeavor to sustain more human beings than the land was fitted to support, she needs a recuperation policy to build her up so far as she is not already hopelessly wrecked. For, indeed, wandering geologists tell me of districts in northwest China, once well peopled and tilled, where the mountains have been stripped of soil, the valleys have been made barren by

the wash from the mountains, and there is now not one family in four square miles.

THE IDEOGRAPHIC LANGUAGE

The use of several thousand ideographs for what we work out on the basis of twenty-six characters shows that in China the development of a written language has been halted at a comparatively early stage. This arrest does not appear to be due to any lack of linguistic ingenuity but to the fact that at a very early period appeared a group of great thinkers who by the merit of the literature they produced petrified the language at the stage in which they left it.

This cumbrous system of writing cannot but impose a very heavy handicap on the peoples of the Far East in competing intellectually with those of the West. Educators in Japan estimate that the difficulty of mastering the use of from three to five thousand ideographs wastes from two to five years of the student's time. So long as the system is retained no amount of educational effort can bring to the reading point so high a proportion of the people as one finds in the best-schooled nations of the West.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINA

Nearly all observers in the Far East rate the common people of China higher intellectually than the common people of Japan (the élite of the two peoples being apparently equal in capacity). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that China will be Westernized at the surprising speed that has characterized the transformation of Japan. For this there are several reasons. First, the Chinese are ten times as numerous as the Japanese were and constitute a much vaster bulk to penetrate, to awaken, and to modify. Seaports are the points for the diffusion of foreign influence and inner China is far remoter from seaports than is inner Japan. Second, the Japanese were teachable, for they had borrowed before and they were willing to do so again. The Chinese did not borrow their civilization, for it was worked out in China by their ancestors. They are therefore intensely proud and, hav-

ing for centuries been the diffusers and bearers of civilization throughout eastern Asia, cannot yet bring themselves to realize the actual inferiority of their culture. They still fail to appreciate the massiveness, solidity, and bulk of Western civilization. They imagine that our superiority is along the mechanical line and fail to appreciate our advantage in respect to method. They have not sufficiently Westernized the course of study in their higher schools and they are not making any such intelligent systematic use of picked foreign scholars as Japan did for the first twenty or thirty years of her new era. Thirdly, Japan had the good fortune of possessing a native dynasty, the oldest on earth, which completely identified itself with the national welfare and put itself at the head of the reform movement. The Chinese are under an alien dynasty that does not identify itself with the national welfare, does not command the confidence of the people and seems more intent on maintaining the privileges and revenues of six million Manchus than on accelerating the progress of four hundred million Chinese. Fourthly, Japanese society formed a feudal hierarchy: at the apex the dynasty, then two hundred and fifty feudal lords, a million and a half of Samurai below them, and finally the thirty-six millions of common people. The makings of a procession were there, and when the people at the top faced West and said "March!" the rest of the nation fell in behind. China evolved out of feudalism two thousand years ago and her society is altogether too democratic in its make-up to give any element the leverage that was enjoyed by the few thousand enlightened individuals who have controlled the transformation of Japan.

SOCIOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE ORIENT

EDWARD WARREN CAPEN
Boston, Mass.

It is not so many years since the countries of the Orient were practically isolated from the life and thought of the West. For centuries Japan was all but hermetically sealed against outside influence; the occasional diplomat and the trader, whose business was confined to a few points on the coast, were the only means of intercommunication between China and the Occident; while even in India foreign influence did not extend far inland. The result was that, comparatively speaking, the East deserved the epithet changeless.

Now all this has altered. Within a little more than a generation Japan has emerged from her position as a semi-mediaeval feudal country into a progressive power, which claims to be equal, if not superior, to the greatest western nations. China, Siam, and India have all been undergoing great social changes. In the case of every one of these countries, the initial impulse to change was western in its origin, often western in the agents who gave the impulse. Now the leadership is passing, or has passed, into the hands of the people themselves, but still it remains true that, directly or indirectly, western influence is at work in the Orient. Practically all the changes are being made in directions indicated by western experience, some of them because of their intrinsic worth, others in order to meet the competition and escape the domination of the West.

Before passing to our main task, that of appraising the sociological value of western influence, it will be wise to mention, first, a few of the points at which there was demand for changes in the interests of social welfare, and, secondly, the different classes of agents through whom the western influence has been exerted.

Under the first heading, we may specify eight points at which there was need of improvement:

1. *Ignorance.*—In the old days, the majority of the people in most Asiatic countries were illiterate. Education was usually monopolized by some one class or by several classes, religious or social, and, with few exceptions, women were regarded as incapable of receiving an education. Added to the ignorance of illiteracy was that of a narrow provincialism. These people believed their civilization the highest in the world, and this resulted in the stagnation of pride. The countries themselves were divided by linguistic, racial, or religious barriers into sections between which there was little communication and no unity.

2. *The low standard of living.*—The poverty of the Orient was something which had to be seen to be appreciated. As to degradation and individual suffering, it is probable that the slums of New York or London can furnish worse cases than any found in the Orient, but still the proportion of the population which was always on the verge of starvation, which was never well nourished, and which was satisfied with living conditions intolerable for our dumb animals, was appalling.

3. *Economic inefficiency.*—This low standard of living was inevitable because of the economic inefficiency of the oriental laborer. For patience, persistence, and endurance, many of the laborers of the Orient were unsurpassed, but their product was pitifully small. It is often said that the half-dozen or more servants whom a European family in India have to employ are less efficient than a single good servant in an American home. There was a similar inefficiency in many parts of the industrial sphere. There was, in many cases, great manual skill and even artistic ability, but the oriental tools were so rude that the product was small. Some of those in India have been characterized by an expert as a combination of ingenuity and stupidity.

4. *The inferior status of woman.*—Here, too, there were great variations, but in general woman was regarded by the oriental as distinctly inferior to man in ability and in character; she was often regarded as little more than a chattel; and was almost universally denied the privilege of education. Oftentimes

she was the victim of cruelty and lust, even in the name of religion. This did not mean that she was without influence, but it was that of a narrow, ignorant conservative. From her disabilities flowed serious consequences in family life.

5. *The physical suffering due to ignorance of sanitation and medical science.*—The burden of pain and premature death which came from this fact can hardly be exaggerated. Women suffered a living death, children and adults were incapacitated for any gainful occupation, and whole communities were decimated by pestilence because of the absence of sanitation, hygiene, and medicine.

6. *The lack of individual responsibility and opportunity.*—As a member of a family, guild, or caste, the individual had his own place and was cared for; as an individual he counted for little. The caste system of India made it next to impossible for a man to rise above the station into which he was born. China permitted the man of ability to rise, but the value put upon the ordinary individual was small.

7. *The corruption and inefficiency of government.*—This need not be dwelt upon further than to say that caprice often took the place of justice, in our sense of that term, that bribery, corruption, and insecurity of life and of property were at least common, if not nearly universal.

8. *Lastly, the low ethical standards.*—Here it is very easy to misrepresent the situation. Many observers have contrasted the worst side of oriental life with the best of occidental. By reversing this process, it would be possible to draw a similar indictment against our western civilization. There were different standards in different countries and in different classes, but it is no exaggeration to say that truthfulness and honesty generally did not hold the same place as with us. As to sins of lust, those in the West are contrary to our highest ethical standards, while in India the worst offenses were in the name of religion. I should hardly dare to describe what I know from personal observation and investigation.

There are noble aspects in oriental civilization, points at which we might wisely learn from them, but these must be passed

over. I have specified these weaknesses merely to indicate the task which the social reformer in the East, whether a citizen of the West or a son of the East, has assumed in order to increase the social welfare of the Orient.

Western influence, so far as it has been exerted by westerners, has come from the following classes:

1. Diplomatic and consular officers. Their influence, except as it has come from their example, has not been great.

2. Government officials, either those of the dominant government, as in British India, or as employees of the local government, as in Siam, China, and Japan.

3. Teachers, employed in secular schools maintained by local funds.

4. Representatives of western commerce and industry.

5. Missionaries, who, apart from their religious work, in the narrow meaning of that phrase, are exerting an important social influence, which was the special object of my investigations during two years of travel.

If there were time within the limits of this paper, it would be wise to ask and to answer for each of these classes of westerners and for the oriental social leaders four questions, relating (*a*) to their character, ability, and training for exerting a wise influence in the direction of social progress; (*b*) the correctness of the principles which lie back of their work; (*c*) the efficiency of the methods employed; and (*d*) the adequacy and permanency of the results so far achieved. This is impossible and we can only attempt a sociological appraisal of the value of some of the chief lines of social change produced by western influence, and then answer briefly these questions for what is by far the largest single class of westerners who are exerting such an influence, namely, the missionaries.

LINES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. *Education.*—The education which the Orient used to give to the favored few had little relation to modern life or thought and nothing which fitted for leadership in competition with the West. The missionary was the pioneer in introducing western

education into the East. Started by the missionary, the work has now been taken up by the people in each country. Under the lead of the British officials, India has been given an educational system heading up in five universities, which prescribe courses of study, set examinations, and confer degrees, which are the gateway through which the young men of India pass into public or commercial life. Government maintains schools, cities have their own schools, and grants-in-aid are given by government to any schools which come up to government standards. The activity of Christians in education is being emulated by Moslems and Hindus. The result of all this activity is that India contains schools of every grade from the kindergarten to the university, including technical and professional schools. India is headed in the direction of universal compulsory education, which Ceylon has already, in theory at least, attained. Japan has created within a few years a system of education from the elementary schools, attendance upon which is compulsory, up to the universities. China has discarded entirely its centuries-old system of examinations in the Chinese classics, and has provided on paper a comprehensive system of universal education, which is gradually being put into effect. Siam, too, has its schools which teach western science and other western subjects.

The effect of this education is to break down old superstitions, broaden the vision, and bring the students into touch with the life, thought, and ideals of the West. All this is good but there is another side. The system of education is too exclusively literary, as, apart from technical schools, it all looks to preparation for university courses, which are taken by a very small fraction of the student body. The remainder get the idea that they are above a life of productive activity in the industrial world and must be clerks, teachers, or officials. The supply of such candidates far exceeds the demand. Again, the education is too western in its character and tends to unfit the student for life and work among his own people. This is especially true in India and Ceylon, where the history and literature of Greece and Rome are overemphasized as compared with the literature and history of India. An extreme instance of this occurred in

Ceylon, where there is no local university and English examinations are used. It was only after a struggle that pupils were permitted to offer themselves for examination upon the botany of Ceylon and not upon the botany of Great Britain. Instances are by no means rare of students who cannot communicate with their parents because they have lost their command of the vernacular. The university men of India believe that the political theories of the West can be put into immediate operation among people whose whole history and life have been along different lines.

Japan has solved this problem of adaptation with tolerable success, and China believes in both western and Chinese education, but the two are not sufficiently welded.

Again, the education is apt to be superficial. This is true in India. Japanese education is more comprehensive than thorough, and few schools in China have competent teachers. Still more serious is the moral effect of this education. It breaks down the old religious beliefs, the old standards and sanctions, and it puts almost nothing in their place. The teaching is for the most part agnostic, if not positively anti-religious, and pupils in the life of whose nation religion and ethics have played a prominent part cannot so easily and safely adjust themselves to the agnostic position as pupils who have back of them generations of believers in Christian standards of conduct. The moral waste of the new education of the Orient is discouraging. Men are cast adrift and have no way of getting their bearings.

2. *Industry.*—There are two phases in the industrial development of the East, the development of means of communication—railroads, steamer lines, telegraphs, and postal facilities—and the growth of the factory system. Much of the provincialism of India and China has been due to isolation. The marvel is that there has been so much intercommunication by foot and by cart. These barriers are now breaking down. The railroad, the telegraph, and the post-office have extended themselves all over India and Japan. In China, the telegraph and the mail carrier are penetrating the most inaccessible parts of the empire, and the railroad will soon bring the remotest provinces within a few

days' journey of the capital. The effect of this is to break down caste in India and provincialism in China, to unify the political life of these countries, and, by greater centralization of administration, to stop the graft and injustice of local officials. On the other hand, the railroads and steamers are throwing into the ranks of the unemployed of China thousands of coolies, boatmen, carters, and innkeepers, whose occupation has vanished. It is no longer possible in India to isolate the effects of such calamities as famine and pestilence. All parts now bear their share of the burden, through the prevalence of famine prices and the spread of contagion.

Industrially, too, there have been great changes. The factory system is invading India, and Indian artisans are feeling the competition, not only of imported goods, but also of the local factory-made product. China is moving in the same direction. In weaving, it is using a more efficient hand loom, while at Hanyang, across the river from the Chicago of China, Hankow, is an up-to-date steel plant, which has even exported its products to the United States. Japan is in the full swing of industrial development along western lines. Its great industrial plants closely resemble those of the United States.

All this gives promise of increasing wealth, higher standards of living, greater comforts, and a richer life. At the same time, it means that China, India, and Japan are either facing or are already struggling with all these phases—industrial, social, sanitary, and moral—of industrial centers with which the West is far too familiar. It is a suggestive fact that the slum problem has entered Asia through following the example of the West. What is worse is that these people do not have the high western sense of the value of the life of the individual, and are, comparatively speaking, without any restraining influence similar to our enlightened public opinion, which has been aroused by the struggles of a century of industrial strife. Unless these elements can be supplied, there is danger of suffering and of abuses worse than any the West has known.

3. *Medicine.*—Within a generation, Japan has created for herself a corps of competent physicians and surgeons. She is also

as rapidly as possible applying the principles of sanitation to the problems of public health. In India, the British government recognizes the importance of medicine and sanitation and there is a regular body of scientifically trained physicians throughout the country. However, their number and their training are often inferior, and the ignorance of the people and their social customs make it impossible fully to relieve suffering or to do more than reduce the ravages of cholera and plague. China is practically without competent physicians. Medical missionaries and those trained by them have the field almost to themselves, although now the government is aiding and supporting medical schools. Those in a position to judge affirm that there is a greater amount of unnecessary physical suffering in China today than in any other part of the world. Western medicine is now entering China, both helpfully and otherwise, for China is now getting, not only fully trained European and Chinese physicians, but also charlatans, who pretend to a knowledge and skill utterly foreign to them, and dealers in patent medicines as well. In nearly every bazaar drugs are sold to those who have no knowledge whatever of their proper use. The poster nuisance is found in China and the most widely advertised medicines are nostrums for the diseases of vice.

4. *Political movements.*—In the sphere of government the most significant change is the growth of the nationalistic spirit. The day when the West could dominate and control with arrogance the great peoples of Asia has passed. Japan has always possessed a spirit of proud independence, and ever since she emerged from her isolation she has bent every effort to secure recognition as the peer of any western power. The same purpose is back of the political and social development of China. China is proud of her ancient civilization and of the fact that she has gone serenely on her way during the rise and fall of the successive empires of the West. She is firmly resolved to end forever the day when the young western nations can bully and despoil her. The provincial spirit is growing into a national spirit and China is resolved, at the earliest possible day, to make herself strong enough to control China for the Chinese. Into

the question of the unrest of India, which has voiced itself in protests and in bombs, we cannot enter. Suffice it to say that leaders who have been trained and educated by Britain and have been taught the political philosophy of the western nations are demanding a greater control over their own affairs, either as a member of the British Empire or as an independent people.

In all these movements there is one almost fatal weakness. It is a moral one, the lack of broad-minded, public-spirited, and utterly incorruptible leaders. I would not be misunderstood. There are some, even many, such in each of these countries, and their number is growing, but they are still too few to insure the success of their work. A narrow self-seeking is far too common in India, the most atrocious graft still exists in China, and leaders in Japan are startled by the disclosure of moral conditions there. If there were time, I could give evidence for these assertions. Suffice it to say that, as Count Okuma declared in a personal interview, it is easier to adopt the material side of a civilization than its inner spirit; but unless these new nationalities can add to the material the ethical, the progress may prove to be retrogression.

5. *Social reform.*—The oriental social reformer has been very active in recent years. In India, his agitation has chiefly concerned the two great institutions of caste and the family. The minute subdivision of the people of India into hundreds or even thousands of endogamous subdivisions, many of which have but a comparatively small membership, has resulted in an interbreeding which has reduced the virility of the race. Caste is an almost insurmountable barrier to the creation of a true public spirit or to hearty co-operation between the sections of society. The range of sympathy is narrowed, as a member of one caste has no feeling of obligation to assist a member of another caste. Millions, who are below even the lowest of castes, are condemned by the caste system to an existence which is too often unworthy of a human being and with no possibility of relief. Closely connected with the caste system is the institution of child marriage, which has made present-day India the offspring of children, which puts upon mere boys and girls the

responsibilities of marriage, saps the vitality and ambition of the boy fathers, and prevents the education of the girl mothers. Racial deterioration and physical suffering are other results of the prevailing marriage customs, while the position of widows and the joint-family system bring in their turn evils all their own. All these evils are fully recognized by the leaders of the social-reform movement and one can read such condemnations by them of these customs as no foreigner would dare to make. Progress has been made, caste is in many respects disintegrating, and the agitation for raising the marriage age of girls, for the remarriage of widows, especially child widows, and for inter-caste marriages has not been without results, some of which are seen on the statute book. At the same time, the present nationalistic movement tends strongly toward a reactionary clinging to those institutions which are peculiarly Indian, and the agitators are stronger in talking than in acting. The influence of the ignorant and intensely conservative mothers, wives, and other female relatives, often living together in one joint-family establishment, is frequently so strong as to overcome the convictions of the social reformer and lead him to violate his own principles in the marriage of his daughters. Then, too, it is difficult for the Indian to stand up boldly and defy the conventions of society. Social control is often stronger than the power of individual initiative.

One of the social reforms most agitated in China is the natural-foot movement. So rapidly is this spreading, that the time may not be far distant when no girl in China will undergo the physical suffering, with its resulting disabilities, which comes from binding the feet.

These movements mean also that woman is coming to her own. While, as has already been said, she has never been without her influence, yet she has too often been denied education and freedom to develop her own individuality. In India, the government, and the Christian, Moslem, and Hindu communities are now all providing schools for girls, and educated young men are demanding educated wives, who can be real companions in their intellectual life and social work, as well as the mothers of

their children. There is already a new woman in China, but, like all other pioneers, she tends to go to the other extreme, and these new women are not always models. Many of them are too bold, openly and brazenly defy all conventions of Chinese society, and do not always know where liberty ends and license begins.

Haltingly and imperfectly, yet nevertheless truly, the movements of social reform are seeking so to readjust the institutions and customs of their countries as to secure greater social efficiency and make the entire population stronger and more intelligent. The elements which hinder the development of a strong and broad personality are gradually weakening and the tendency is in the direction of greater conformity to western standards.

6. *Ethical reform.*—The ethical standards of the Orient have changed greatly under western influence. It must be confessed at the outset that all western influence has not been ethically helpful. The moral conditions of the port cities are a disgrace to that western civilization upon the representatives of which the chief responsibility rests. There can be found in the bookstalls of Japan and Korea pictures and postcards of a sort all too familiar to us of the West, but which formerly Japan would never have tolerated outside of a brothel. Nearly every nation has its intoxicating beverages, but these are usually less injurious physically and morally than the strongest western liquors, which have been introduced into the Orient by westerners, and which those who imitate the foreigners are beginning to use, often to excess. Westerners are trying to drive out of China the Chinese pipe, which is used almost universally, and to substitute the cigarette. The effect is physically harmful and at the same time impoverishing, a week's or at least a month's supply of cigarettes costing nearly as much as a year's supply of tobacco for the Chinese pipe.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that there has been a great ethical revival throughout the great nations of Asia. India has been going through a process of house-cleaning and the immoralities connected with their religious ceremonies are being

reduced. Teachers devise sports to prevent their pupils from sharing in the ribaldry, if not shameless indecencies, connected with the great festival of *Holi,* which so terribly belies the connotation of its name to English ears. Many temple cars, with their obscene carvings, are now kept under cover when not in actual use. The marriage of girls to the gods and their condemnation to a life of prostitution is now under the ban.

China is in the midst of its great anti-opium crusade, and it looks as if, within a reasonable time, the world would witness, for the first time, the spectacle of a great nation curing itself of a habit which was tending to ruin it physically and ethically.

Ethical standards in Japan have been raised, although there are many discouraging features in the life of present-day Japan. But note this, the whole tone of present-day literature, including magazines and periodicals, is no longer Buddhistic but Christian. Japan means so to readjust her customs and standards that no western people can point at her a finger of scorn.

In this whole matter of ethical reform, the chief difficulty is in the character of the leaders, some of whom are themselves faithless to the new standards. In other words, the greatest need of the Orient today is for a larger number of intelligent leaders, unselfish and ethically sound, and for the spread of a spirit of enlightened progress through the ranks of the common people.

It is just at this point that the missionary enters as an influential agent in the work of social reform and seeks to meet these needs and to furnish those elements which others cannot easily supply. The remainder of the paper will be devoted to the relative success of this undertaking, by answering for the missionaries the four questions already mentioned, as to their character, principles, methods, and results.

INFLUENCE OF MISSIONARIES

1. *Character.*—Let me be perfectly frank. In speaking of missionaries, my statements do not apply to every individual missionary. It is very likely true that no criticism ever brought against the missionary was not true as regards some one indi-

vidual, though it just as certainly did not apply to the body as a whole. There are black sheep in the loftiest professions here at home, and there have been a few black sheep among the missionaries abroad. There are Christian bodies in America and Europe whose standards of education leave much to be desired, and naturally their representatives abroad fall short of the ideal. It is not fair to condemn the missionary body because of these individuals any more than it would be fair to condemn the profession of law because of the charlatans found among lawyers, or the body of social workers in America because some who have taken up social work here have had an inferior training or character. So, when I speak of the character of the missionary body, I have in mind those who are really doing the work, the leaders who set the pace and determine the policies for the whole body. And let me say that there is not one of the large influential mission boards which is not constantly raising its standards for appointment.

During the two years of our trip, it was our privilege to meet more than a thousand missionaries, in one hundred and sixty-six mission stations, maintained by thirty-two mission boards of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and the Continent. We were guests in nearly one hundred and fifty missionary homes. Hence I have a basis for my generalization when I declare that for character, ability, education, and grasp of their problems, they are a body of which the West should be proud. While other westerners often reveal the lower aspects of our civilization, they stand firmly for the best, and, in the midst of moral conditions the down-pull of which we can hardly realize, embody the highest ideals of service and of life. Their training exceeds that of those who are engaged in similar work at home. While the majority are deficient in sociological training, yet the leaders have a grasp upon their problems superior to that of most clergymen at home. A little more than a year ago, one of the leading social workers of this country listened to addresses by a number of missionaries. At the close, he remarked enthusiastically, that he would like to send these men through the United States, to give the clergymen of our country their

grasp of social and religious problems. The missionaries are closer to the life of the people than any other foreigners and usually have the best understanding of their temper and life. They are trusted by the people and honored by the rulers. Missionaries have been decorated by the rulers of India and Japan. Yet the missionary body is pleading for more training, and today the leading mission boards are sending out honor and fellowship men and women, and are insisting upon the fullest training, often including graduate work, and upon proved efficiency. The difficulty in securing recruits is to find men and women who conform to a constantly higher standard.

2. *Principles of missionary work.*—The principles upon which the missionary force is working are such as to commend themselves to students of social evolution. This is not to say that no mistakes have been made in the past, or that no mistakes are being made even today; but it is to claim that the great underlying principles today are sound.

It is sometimes claimed that the social structure of the Orient has been fashioned by the people, that it admirably meets their needs, that in many respects oriental civilization is superior to occidental, that it is impertinent or worse for westerners to attempt to effect changes, and that what changes are made must be brought about by the people themselves through a gradual evolutionary process, without the introduction from the outside of any western elements. To much that is here implied, the missionary heartily assents. He gladly concedes the excellences in character and organization which he finds in the Orient. He not only believes that the changes should come about through native leadership—I use the term "native," now almost tabooed in missionary circles, with not the slightest derogatory meaning, but merely as the antithesis of "foreign"—but he urges the natives to take the lead and is glad when he himself can step into the background. At the same time, he believes, for reasons already explained, that there are great social weaknesses and evils in oriental society, which cannot be corrected without the introduction of new ethical elements, and that the thought and experience of the West can supplement and assist the efforts

of the Orient in behalf of social welfare. Moreover, he believes that it is possible to secure the naturalization into one civilization of elements worked out by another civilization. Japan's entrance as a world-power has been due to her ability to do this very thing. Asiatic countries have shown their ability in the past to adopt new ideals, as witness the spread of Buddhism from India throughout southern and eastern Asia. Moreover, the diplomat and the commercial traveler will not let the Orient alone, and if the material civilization of the West is to be introduced into the Orient, with its less admirable as well as its more admirable elements, then the West should offer also the best elements of its life and thought—elements, too, which had their origin, not in the West, but in the Orient itself. In other words, the missionary movement goes on the supposition that it is not only legitimate to introduce new social ideals and to render new social service to the East, but that, without this spiritual welding together of East and West, the Orient can never realize its own possibilities of development, and the world as a whole cannot solve its problems of social life and relationships.

More specifically, the missionary believes that his work should be constructive rather than destructive, positive and never negative. He delights to take what he finds and build upon it, or to indicate new methods by which the people can better realize their own aspirations and even strive after higher ideals. In these days one almost never hears a missionary attack beliefs or customs unless he is forced to it by the people themselves. Rather, he preaches and lives a spirit of brotherly helpfulness. This has not always been so, and there are still here and there missionaries who err at this point, but as a whole the missionary movement is thoroughly helpful, positive, and constructive.

Again, the leaders of the missionary movement have no desire to westernize the Orient; they would do all in their power to preserve the best there is in oriental civilization, and to shut out the undesirable elements of western life. While they are seeking to Christianize the life of the East, they are striving for a society which shall be thoroughly oriental and which shall break as little as possible with the past. They are not trying

to raise in China or India any exotic, but to graft upon present-day oriental society higher ethical elements, which are themselves oriental. Great mistakes have been made at this point, and there is a tendency, upon the part of many orientals, to ape, in unnecessary and undesirable fashion, occidental customs, a tendency which the missionary leaders not only do not encourage but do all in their power to discourage. Western elements are bound to be introduced but the missionary advocates as few changes as possible and only such as are demanded by the physical, intellectual, or ethical interests of the people. These changes, too, he realizes must come about gradually.

Once more, the missionary looks forward to the day when the lead shall be taken by the native and he himself shall remain only as a helper. At this point, the missionary work has been, perhaps, the weakest. It is difficult for the aggressive westerner, who has been trained to lead, to give the authority to a man of a darker skin, who is often less efficient and aggressive than his white brother. But the conviction has grown strikingly in these last years that the leadership must pass as rapidly as possible into native hands, even though for a time the work may be carried on with less efficiency. In Japan, especially, the Japanese have been given the control, the same process is going on in China and India, and Turkey shows instances where native leadership has been successfully exercised for a generation.

3. *Methods of missionary work.*—The missionary uses a large proportion of the methods approved by religious, educational, philanthropic, and social workers in the United States. So far as means and strength permit, he seeks to meet all the varied needs of the Orient, some of which were mentioned at the beginning of this paper. There are three general lines of his work which call for attention, namely, education, industry, and medicine.

With perhaps an exception here and there, the missionary has been the educational pioneer all through the Orient. He it was who introduced western educational methods and first taught western science, history, and philosophy. To three missionary educators, Carey, Duff, and Wilson, who received the support of

government officials, India owes the inception of its comprehensive educational system. Even today a very large proportion of the educational work in India is under the supervision of the missionary, who receives generous grants-in-aid from the government. While some of the higher educational work under missionary auspices is now suffering from lack of funds for equipment and staff, yet it has certain qualities which put it ethically, at least, in a class by itself, and certain of the Christian colleges, such as those at Madras, Lahore, Bombay, and Calcutta, are fully as efficient as any others in India. Especially in the education of women, the Christian schools are the best.

In China, also, the missionary was the pioneer and, while schools are now springing up everywhere under official and private auspices, yet the Christian schools are generally the most efficient, if not the best equipped; and the best government schools in China are those in the imperial province of Chi-li, which were organized by a former missionary.

In Japan, Christians have been at the forefront of the new education and, until recently, the Christian schools were the most efficient. It must be admitted that, because of lack of financial support and the rapid development of government schools, the Christian schools in Japan are relatively less influential than they were; yet the need of such schools has not passed and the best Christian schools have certain qualities which other schools do not possess.

In the nearer Orient, the Christian schools in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and European Turkey stand in a class by themselves. Robert College trained the leaders for Bulgaria, and leaders of the Young Turk party, not themselves graduates of Christian schools, have publicly confessed that they would never have dared to strike for a new Turkey had it not been for the permeating influence of the Christian schools, whose graduates were everywhere on the side of liberty, justice, equality, and fraternity, the four watchwords of New Turkey.

Mission education has had and still has the tendency to be too western, though here the responsibility has not always been on the missionary himself; it has always been hampered by lack of

funds; but the mission schools have, in general, been more thorough, had better trained teachers, native and foreign, and turned out more efficient men and women than secular schools. While the new secular education is almost always agnostic in its tendency, the mission school has been positively Christian, great attention has been paid to matters of character-building, and whether the graduates were or were not professing Christians, they have gone forth with a sturdiness of character which averaged above that of the graduates of other schools. Persons connected officially with secular education have sent their children to Christian schools. Employers often prefer the graduate of the Christian school because of the results of this character-training.

In the matter of industrial training, much has been done to furnish for the new industry men of good training who also possess the Christian ideas of brotherhood and of the dignity and value of the individual. The Allahabad Christian College gives the best course in engineering to be found in India today, and many of the best manual training and technical schools in India are under missionary auspices. The missionary, too, has paid special attention to raising the economic condition of the Indian villagers, who form the bulk of the population, nine-tenths of which live in places of less than five thousand inhabitants. The problem has not been solved, but the best work in improving the hand loom, with which tens of thousands eke out their living, and inventing new machines for rope making, has been done by the missionary. He is now tackling the problems of Indian agriculture and the training of village Christians in habits of industry, thrift, and economy. He is thus contributing directly to the development of village and factory industry and to the furnishing of a higher type of leader for the economic development of India.

In the realm of medicine, the missionary has done a truly admirable work. Some of the best surgeons in the world are on the mission field, and the most serious operations are successfully performed under conditions which would be deemed utterly impossible by the ordinary practitioner at home. By

introducing vaccination, by teaching the principles of sanitation and hygiene, as well as by the direct work of relieving suffering, the medical missionary has made a distinct contribution to social welfare, the value of which cannot be appreciated by one who does not know the methods of the old untrained medical men. The hospital and dispensary which are said to give the largest number of treatments in the world are in north China, where the missionaries in charge are the only thoroughly trained physicians and surgeons for two millions of people. The first insane asylum in China was opened by a missionary. The missionary, too, began from the outset to train hospital assistants, nurses, and doctors, to translate into the vernacular or to write in the language of the people medical treatises, and today some of the best medical schools in Asia are taught by missionaries.

In addition to these lines of work, one can find missionaries and native Christians who are using all the most approved methods of western philanthropy for the assistance of defectives, dependents, and even delinquents. In fact, the missionary has been a pioneer in putting his religious work upon a social basis and attempting to satisfy all the needs of men.

4. *Results.*—Are the results of missionary work adequate and permanent?

There are two factors which enter into the answer to this question—the character of the Christian community, which is the direct product of the work, and the indirect effect upon the community at large. In both respects, the missionary has obtained results which I believe are both adequate and permanent, and which are a distinct contribution to the social progress of the Orient.

It is rash to make sweeping generalizations, but I am firmly convinced, upon the basis of evidence which cannot even be summarized here, that in general the effect of missionary work upon those who have become Christians has been to improve their condition in every respect. They are more intelligent, more prosperous, have higher standards of living, economic and sanitary, are more efficient, have a better family life, and are stronger ethically than those of the same classes who have not come under

the direct influence of the missionary and his native colaborers. This is not to say that there are no Christians whose lives are inconsistent with their professions, or that the Christians have risen entirely superior to the ethical standards they have inherited and which prevail about them. This statement, too, would not hold of many who pose as Christians upon the strength of a shorter or a longer term in a Christian school, but it is true of the great mass of the real Christians. In many countries, the Christians are not only ahead of the other members of the same classes but they are the most progressive section in the community. This is the more noteworthy because often, notably in India, the missionary has worked largely among the lower and more ignorant and degraded classes. The Christian community in India is growing so much faster than the population, that if the present rate could be maintained permanently—which, of course, is highly improbable, the law of diminishing returns holding even in missionary work—India would within a comparatively short time be Christian, and it includes a fair proportion of high-caste men. The remarkable fact, however, is that, within one or two generations, the force of Christianity has raised many outcasts so that in point of education they are equal or even superior to the Brahmin. The public girls' schools in India have had a large proportion of Christian teachers because the Christian community contained by far the highest percentage of educated women. In China, their higher degree of intelligence and honor makes it difficult to retain in mission employ the graduates of Christian schools, who are in demand for positions in the industrial world and in government schools. In Japan, the Christians have been in the very forefront of all movements of philanthropy and reform.

These Christian communities are not the beneficiaries of the missionary but are increasingly self-reliant. They are generous in the support of Christian work. For instance, it does not sound like pauperization to be told that the native Christians connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions contribute to the work more than one-third as much as is given by Americans through that mission board, that this means

a *per capita* gift by these oriental Christians of three and one-half times that of their helpers in America, and that, if allowance were made for the difference in wages and the purchasing power of money, such a contribution would be equivalent in terms of days' work or of sacrifice to a *per capita* gift more than forty times that of the American contributors to this work.

Turning to the indirect results, we are confronted by the impossibility of differentiating accurately the effect of the missionary's influence and that of other western influence. It is not too much to assert, however, that nearly every one of the reforms which has done so much for the social welfare of the Orient received at least its initial impulse from the missionary. This is true in India of the abolition of the cruelties of *sati,* of the improved treatment of widows, especially of child widows, of the agitation against caste, and of the purifying of the religious ceremonial by the elimination of the grossest practices. It is true in China of the anti-foot-binding movement, and the anti-opium movement has always had missionary support. It has been true in Japan, although the direction of such movements there has so long since passed into Japanese hands that the origin of the initial impulse has been almost if not quite forgotten.

Whatever the origin, it is undeniably true that the effect of western influence has been to change the whole atmosphere of the more intelligent sections of the oriental communities. Moslem and Hindu leaders in India are striving to interpret their scriptures into harmony with western thought. Buddhism in Ceylon and in Japan has been quickened into a life of new activity and helpfulness. As has already been explained, the whole atmosphere and ethical background of Japanese literature has ceased to be Buddhistic and has become western. A new type of manhood and womanhood is being evolved, new standards have been set up, and the future of oriental social development is full of promise; but this is on one condition, namely, that the material development does not outstrip the moral, and the race for industrial supremacy is restrained by the Christian standards of the worth of the individual and of the true value of the ethical. It is chiefly through the missionary and other Christian

workers that this aspect of western influence is exerted; and, if I may be permitted to express my personal conviction, only Christianity, by transforming the dominant purpose from one of self-aggrandizement into one of service, can furnish the necessary dynamic for a social evolution that shall be along the lines of the highest helpfulness. These are weighty reasons why the work of the missionary should be supported. Whether or not we believe firmly in the religious work of the missionary, he it is who is furnishing an essential element to oriental social progress, an element without which the effect of western influence can be only a mixture of a blessing and a curse. Hon. Seth Low is reported to have said that he went to the great World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh last June believing that missions were a pious undertaking; he came away convinced that they are a world-force. That is the conclusion to which an impartial study of present movements in the Orient leads, and hence it is of profound significance, not only to the student of religious phenomena, but to the investigator of oriental social conditions, that we are now witnessing a great revival of interest in the work of foreign missions, which are enlisting the support of substantial men of affairs, of journalists, of diplomats, and of government officials. In this lies one great ground for a hopeful confidence in the future.

DISCUSSION

S. H. Wainright, Presiding Elder, St. Louis District, M.E. Church, South

Like the Ten Commandments in our part of the world, the Five Relationships have the mold in which the social life of the far East has been cast. As moral tenets they have been handed down from the sages and as Heaven does not change so they have never changed. The observance of them, according to Chinese ideas, has ever marked the sage and it is because of them that China is called the "Middle Kingdom," for these tenets neither fall short of nor go beyond what is right.

With their corresponding virtues these orders of relationships are: between father and son, filial piety; between sovereign and minister, loyalty; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between elder and younger, a proper order; and between friend and friend, fidelity.

The conception of these relationships collectively and singly is undergoing change, especially in Japan, while the diversities of powers set in

operation by industrialism and commerce, and increasing opportunities, have called for new relationships not included in the traditional scheme.

The one-sided character of the relations, as conceived by the sages, is being overcome. On the side of sovereign, parent, and husband, a new accent is placed upon duty; while on the side of minister, child, and wife, a consciousness of rights is being experienced never recognized before. Instead of the virtue of dependence which has expressed the relationship hitherto, thoughtful men are casting about for a virtue more expressive of the relationship of equality, a virtue which they find in our conception of justice. Freedom has been confined to those who are superior in the social relationship and was the freedom which all tyrants possess. There has been a broadening so as to include inferiors as well as superiors in the common society of freely acting personalities; there has been rather a movement in this direction. Social movement in the East is the very reverse in direction of tendencies in the West. I speak of the present time. There, the movement is away from the social to the individual, and, here, from the individual to the social. There, they are seeking to free the individual from the limitations of social relations, while here, we are seeking to restrain the individual by greater imposition of social relations. There, the tendency of society is in the direction of a wider and more intense competition, while here, we are disposed to turn away from competition in the direction of a social co-operation. There, the desire is to secure rights, while here, we feel the need of greater emphasis upon duties. There, the social virtues which constitute the minor harmonies of collective life are giving place to a universal principle, the absence of which has been a serious defect in eastern ethics; while here, we are seeking to discover the application of the universal principle of justice in the minor harmonies that should exist in an ideal social order. One other tendency may be mentioned: the drift is away from the moral ideal to self-interest or utility, the pursuit of which has been condemned by the Confucianists. Mencius said to the Prince who came to learn something that would be of utility to him, "Why speak of utility? There is nothing but righteousness and benevolence." Shall I say that a reverse tendency can be discerned in our national life and that there is a recoil from the utilitarianism dominant in the past half-century? In regard to this last tendency it may be of interest to state that the missionaries have a better appreciation of the Confucian ideals than the present generation of Japanese, who are turning to utilitarianism. In truth, Confucianism will have no future except that which Christianity will give to it.

Considering the order of relationships singly, there has been a marked change in that between parent and child. A generation of children enlightened through a study of western education does not yield as cheerful obedience as the Confucian ideal demands to parents who belong to the old order of things. The effect of the new influence is seen upon the custom

of early abdication practiced by the father as head of the house. The early retirement of the parents from active life has shifted their burden to the younger members of the family. Professor Ross has spoken of the pressure of population as the outstanding sociological fact in the far East. One of the causes of this pressure, in addition to those mentioned by him, has been the limited area hitherto of the producing population. This has been due in part to Buddhist influence. Confucianism favors production. The *Great Learning* says: "Let the producers be many, the consumers few." The *Doctrine of the Mean* says: "Bring out the valuable things from the mighty mountains." The *Book of Ceremonies* says: "A man is to be despised who deliberately throws aside precious materials." Not so with Buddhism. It encourages abdication, retirement, meditation, other-worldliness. It has drawn off a large portion of the population from productive pursuits. There is at the present time, however, an increasing number in Japan who extend the years of active effort far beyond the age of forty, the time when they began to think of retirement. Generally speaking, the pressure of population, even in the densely settled Far East, is not due so much to over-population as to under-production.

"Giri," literally translated "duty," is a type of filial devotion unknown in the West. The most common example is the selling of themselves into slavery, by the daughters of the family, in order that with their earnings they may support their parents. Strange to say those who have thus bartered away their womanhood have called forth the highest praise for their deeds. The selling of virtue has been regarded as almost the highest virtue. Fortunately such an excessive interpretation of the obligation of child to parent is yielding to the influence of Christianity and the daughters are learning of an obedience to parents more in accord with the rights of their own personality.

Another example of the assertion of independence on the part of the children is the prevalence of courtship in the great centers, a thing unknown until recent times. The matches prearranged by parents are set aside by those who seek the marriage relationship on the basis of personal affection.

As regards the relation between husband and wife, a marked change is taking place, shown in the rapid decline of the practice of concubinage, the legal right of the wife to divorce, as well as the husband, under the new law codes, the application of the word chastity to the one as well as to the other, and, in the custom becoming more prevalent, of the husband and wife appearing together on public occasions.

The bearing of modern ideas upon the relation between sovereign and minister is shown by the emphatic statement of Chang Chi Tung when he said, "Know, then, that the obligation of subject to sovereign is incompatible with republicanism." If so, we shall see what will become of the traditional idea of this relationship, and of the sovereign as the fountain of all political authority as constitutional government advances. Government in

China and Japan is paternal and not socialistic. Even in Japan the extension of government control now taking place is paternalistic in character and is not due to socialistic convictions, but is the result of the necessities of war. The question may be of interest to sociologists as to whether government will pass directly from the paternalistic to the socialistic type in these countries under western influence, or whether the course will be by way of the individual. If the latter, who is to create the individual?

The relation between friend and friend is being expanded into a conception of universal brotherhood. One of the ancients in China said, "Our country is only one district of the Eastern Sea," meaning that there are other countries. Yet the Chinese have never had a conception of humanity as a whole and of all men as occupying common ground. No expression is of more frequent occurrence in Chinese classics than "Tenka" or "all under heaven," meaning society or the people. But the context invariably shows that "all under heaven" is a term which refers only to those under Chinese skies. A great obstacle in Japan in the way of a free recognition of the rights of man and the brotherhood of nations is the Shinto mythology upon which the Imperial House is founded.

A new problem is arising with the rise of capital and labor as to the relation between the employer and the employed. A need is felt for a new virtue not included in the ancient scheme. The type of the ideal relationship in the factory cannot be found in that between sovereign and minister, or between parent and child, or between husband and wife, or between the elder and the younger, or even in the relation between friend and friend. Though manufacture has shifted from the domestic circle to the great factory plants, no transfer of the domestic virtues is possible; and though the old feudal population has assumed a new relationship after entering into industry—the relation of employer and employed—the virtue of loyalty is not effective in workshop or factory. What that virtue is which should bind men together in the new industrial order in harmonious relationship the Japanese and Chinese are seeking to discover. We, on our side of the world, are interested in finding the answer to that same question.

Edwin L. Earp, Drew Theological Seminary

I wish to express my hearty appreciation of the two excellent and illuminating papers just presented by Dr. Ross and Dr. Capen. I wish to speak of two things that have been suggested to me by Professor Ross's paper. The first is this. His graphic portrayal of the social conditions of the people of inner China, coming from one who has witnessed them as a scientist without any religious bias, is one of the strongest motive forces for missionary appeal, both to men to give of their means for missions in China, and for young men and women to invest their lives in this field, that I have ever heard or read. The second is what he said with reference to democracy in China: that it would take twice as long for China to advance in

western civilization as it took Japan, because of the difference in the forms of government prevailing in these countries respectively. This is an important fact that some people in our own country need to remember, that an over-individualized democracy is incompatible with orderly social control, and that there are governments that have the name of democracy where there is less freedom and orderly control than in governments that do not have the name. Some South American republics furnish illustrations. Therefore it seems to me that sociology and political science should play an important part in the preparation of the missionary and the foreign teacher who together are to be the most important factors in the development of that orderly social control that Professor Ross has shown us is so greatly needed in inner China.

George Elliott Howard, University of Nebraska

Dr. Ross's estimate that awakened China may need at least double the time required by Japan to bring her ideals into a like degree of harmony with occidental standards is highly interesting and it appears to be well grounded in the facts which he has presented. Especially impressive is his disclosure of the immense ethnic and cultural mass which has to be leavened before that goal can be reached. The lack of a social consciousness, the extreme individualism as to standards of conduct, must prove a hindrance which will be very hard to overcome. Still, all things considered, if China can reach the point where Japan now is, even in the double term, that will be making amazing speed in social transformation. Three facts seem to sustain the view that China's advance will be rapid:

1. The Chinese have a lofty ideal of individual worth. Social or civic rank rests upon an educational test. There is no hereditary nobility, no aristocracy of birth. Thus, at bottom, the civic ideal of the Chinese is thoroughly democratic. The conception of what constitutes a proper education may not be high. Until recently, the quality of a candidate's education may have been determined by mere memory tests in antiquated classics, affording very little help in the problems of actual life. Still, the Chinese ideal of civic honor is an educational ideal. As a factor in civilization, this truth can hardly be overvalued. The new China will not need a new incentive in this regard. She will need only to satisfy the educational ideal which has existed for centuries, by directing it toward the science, the learning, of the West.

2. The high degree of self-control which the respective provinces of the empire enjoy is a good preparation for local self-government under the coming constitutional régime. We are told, for instance, that in large measure each province creates and controls its own army; and that in various governmental functions it is nearly autonomous. It may not prove to be a mere fancy to suppose, for this reason, that in a comparatively short time China may become a federal state. Will it be on the German or on the American pattern?

3. The Chinese have high ethical ideals. In its original or uncorrupted form, much of the philosophy of Confucius is of decided value, even when gauged by western standards. Moreover, we hear that as a part of the general awakening among the Chinese the purer teachings of Confucius are being revived. Then the high standard of commercial ethics attained by the Chinese is of real significance in this connection. In the official service there may be monstrous graft. This is due to the extreme individualism, to the lack of social consciousness; but in commerce the Chinese have developed a remarkably advanced ideal of honor, of ethical conduct. Surely, in the new and larger industrial life which is bound to come with the reconstructed China, this achievement will be a precious asset. I feel sure that the Chinese, mentally, socially, and ethically, are destined to play a great rôle in civilization.

Reply by E. W. Capen to Question of Professor Small

The introductory words of the President, stating that I was sent on this tour of investigation by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and which it seemed courteous for me not to deny, were not in strict accordance with the facts. For three years previous to the trip, I had been engaged in literary and research work for the American Board, but this connection ceased before I started, and the trip was entirely a private one for the purpose of studying the social conditions in the East as they had been affected by and as they in turn affected the work of the missionaries. It was only my relation to the president of the American Board which gave the trip even the semblance of being official. Hence I have never made any regular report to the officers of the board, although I did from time to time give them an account of my impressions and conclusions. So far as I know, there is no position taken in the paper under discussion which would not commend itself to the officers of the board. The American Board has been one of the pioneers in putting its missionary work upon the broadest basis, and it has for many years been developing the work of education, industrial training, and medical relief. Most of the larger mission boards are one with it in this position, and it was interesting to note that at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh last June, at which delegates from all mission boards and mission lands, officers, missionaries, native leaders, etc., were present, the whole tone and trend of discussion was on the broadest lines. There are mission boards and missionaries who do not yet admit fully this point of view, but the leaders in the work at home and abroad are men who are fully in touch with the best thought of the age and who are committed to carrying on the missionary work in the way that will make it the most influential in putting the Christian touch upon the awakening Orient.

SOME SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE ORGANIZATION OF A DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN AN URBAN UNIVERSITY

J. E. CUTLER
Western Reserve University

The suggestions that I have to offer on this subject have grown out of a persistent personal conviction, together with a practical experience of a little more than three years. With a substantial special endowment at my disposal it has been my privilege during these years to undertake to create a creditable and effective department of sociology in Western Reserve University in the city of Cleveland. It has been my task, originally suggested by the gentleman who endowed this new department in the university as a means of showing his interest in his native city and also a task cordially accepted by me as one worthy of accomplishment, to organize a department of sociology which should be all that such a department may be, at the present time, in an institution which seeks to serve in every possible way its constituency in a growing, cosmopolitan, typically American city. Clearly there is in this an assumption that university work in sociology may bear a more or less definite relation to the problems of the modern city and to the social and civic endeavor of its public-spirited citizens. My particular problem has been, therefore, to correlate courses in sociology, which shall meet the scientific and disciplinary requirements of the modern university, with the practical social work of which there is so much that is of a high order in our cities and for which there is so great need.

After a little investigation, I became convinced that this phase of the problem of departmental organization had nowhere in this country been faced squarely. On the one hand, I found universities giving instruction in sociology but giving little or no detailed consideration to the practical or applied aspects of the

subject. On the other hand, I found schools of philanthropy offering preparation for definite lines of social work but giving little or no consideration to the subject of sociology. Under these conditions it seemed that a new department of sociology to be established on an independent basis might well undertake to break new ground, and I have not hesitated to try experiments provided they seemed promising in their results.

The most striking innovation is perhaps the organization of a department of sociology with a course in practical sociology as the introductory course to precede the more advanced and specialized courses and without at first any course whatsoever in general or theoretical sociology. The notion that course 1 in the department should be a study of the principles of sociology, dealing, as such a course must, to a greater or less degree with abstractions and broad generalizations, was abandoned entirely. Work in the department was made to begin with the junior year in college and, in accordance with the organization of work in the other departments of the university, each course was made a three-hour course for a half-year. It was deemed advisable, however, to arrange for the work in practical sociology to continue through the junior year.

Accordingly, a course, entitled Practical Sociology, was planned for the first half of the junior year, covering mainly the following topics: structure and growth of cities, grouping of the population in cities, consequences of change from rural to urban life, housing conditions and the housing problem in modern cities, building codes and tenement-house legislation, sanitary inspection and public sanitation, water supply, sewerage system, street cleaning, garbage disposal, etc., work of boards of health, regulation of dangerous trades, smoke abatement, milk supply, social treatment of tuberculosis, public baths, physical training and medical inspection in the schools, work of the Visiting Nurse Associations, care of the sick and injured in hospitals, convalescent homes and dispensaries, social aspects of the work of the public schools, neighborhood centers, industrial or trade schools, libraries, public-lecture courses, museums, public responsibility for recreation, saloons, amusement places, play-

grounds and athletic fields, parks, bathing beaches, etc., work of institutional churches, Christian Associations, social settlements, etc., city planning, civic improvement. For the second half of the junior year a course was planned to cover another important phase of the general subject of practical sociology, that of charities and correction. The plan of this course may be described in outline as follows: causes and extent of pauperism, history of poor relief, principles of poor relief, modern methods and agencies of poor relief, the care of neglected and destitute children, the care of the defective classes, giving especial attention to the extent of the public responsibility for each and the principles and methods of treatment, crime and the treatment of criminals, history of penalties, modern methods and principles of dealing with crime, the care of juvenile offenders.

Throughout the year the study of these topics is made concrete and definite by constant reference to the local situation in the city of Cleveland. This is facilitated by requiring every member of the class to make certain expeditions, each of which is preceded by a special lecture that is given from the point of view of the social worker in the city. For this part of the work it has been my good fortune to secure a man who for several years was actively engaged in settlement work in the city and who is now the secretary of the Department of Charities and Correction of Cleveland. In this way a definite correlation is secured between the work of the classroom and the practical social work in the city. The students are furnished with a classified bibliography referring to books that are placed on a reserved shelf for their use and written reports are required periodically.

The number of students electing these courses has increased rapidly, so rapidly, in fact, that to meet the increasing demands that were being made upon the department it was necessary to secure an additional instructor this year. The plan and scope of the work has received the heartiest commendation not only from the authorities of the university but also from the citizens of Cleveland. Last year the course in practical sociology was repeated off the campus at an afternoon hour as a public course in sociology, open to all persons either actively engaged in social,

philanthropic, and civic work or particularly interested in modern city problems. The registration, attendance and sustained interest in this public course indicated clearly that it was regarded as an important and valuable course of study.

One of the courses following this introductory work in the department is a course on philanthropy. No doubt the subject of philanthropy has received comparatively little consideration thus far in the curricula of the universities because of the commonly accepted notion that philanthropy rests on sentiment and emotion largely and has no clearly defined scientific basis. As a matter of fact, it was to avoid giving the impression that I was undertaking merely to teach students how to give away their money or how to obtain money by persuasion rather than by earning it or stealing it, that I followed the example of Professor Henderson of Chicago and described the course, not merely as a study of philanthropy, but as a study of philanthropy in its historical development. In this course, conducted as a seminar with a group of selected students, an attempt has been made to do some original work—in particular, to find out what basis, if any, philanthropy really has. If the conclusions that have been reached are of interest, I shall be glad to have your opinions and your criticisms.

The first task in such an investigation is, of course, to differentiate philanthropy from charity and to discover what the conditions were which gave rise to philanthropy as distinguished from charity. The evidence available seems to indicate that philanthropy may be defined, broadly, as the effort to ameliorate the living and working conditions of the weaker classes under the modern industrial organization of society and that philanthropy has its basis in the fundamental changes in the social organization which have followed the introduction of the factory system of production and have been involved in the so-called industrial revolution.

In primitive societies, in ancient Greece, in the Roman civilization, in feudalism, there appears to be nothing within the range of this investigation which may not accurately be classified as charity; it would require a stretch of the imagination to

apply the term philanthropy. But with those far-reaching changes inaugurated during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth century—those changes that have made men think, as they never thought before, about their relations one to another and their mutual responsibilities, the beginnings of philanthropy may be discerned. Up to that time men habitually accepted existing conditions of life and of work as a matter of course, objecting only, upon occasion, to unendurable oppression or to tyrannical forms of government. Since that time men have not hesitated to question the justice or the desirability of existing conditions, whenever it has appeared that a considerable number or class of people was suffering serious hardship; nor have they doubted the possibility of securing, in one way or another, a betterment of conditions.

A brief summarization of these great economic and social changes from this point of view will perhaps make the thought more clear.

1. The adoption of the factory system of production has in fact profoundly changed the relations which men bear one to another. Men no longer live and work independently. It is no longer possible for them to do so. One man produces one thing, another something else, another something else and so on, and then there is an exchange of products. Each seeks to get all of his wants satisfied, not through his own efforts directly, but by producing something, or taking part in the production of something, which through a constantly widening market may be exchanged for the other things that he wants. The principle of division of labor now runs right through the social organization. It is utilized not only inside the factory and within the large mercantile establishments; the entire organization of modern society is built up on this principle. At the beginning of the twentieth century there is in reality a greater interdependence of men, one upon another, than ever existed before.

2. Great numbers of men—and of women, too—have been brought together in factories and in cities as wage-earners.

They do not own the tools or machines with which they work; they do not own the raw material; they do not own the finished product; generally they do not own a habitation or dwelling-place. They work for wages. They have no direct economic interest in their work other than that of getting wages. They have absolutely nothing to say about how the product shall be made or where and for what price it shall be sold. They are in a position of dependence. They are dependent upon finding and keeping employment, or else becoming employers themselves. It has become increasingly difficult, however, for the employee to change his position to that of the employer. The factory system favors large scale production and comparatively few can secure the amount of capital that is required for large scale production. There is, therefore, a rather sharp division between employer and employee. We have two classes: one made up of employers and capitalists, those who occupy, as a class, the stronger economic position; the other made up of the wage-earners, who occupy, as a class, the weaker economic position.

3. Along with the growth and extension of the factory system there has been an enormous production of wealth. Economy in cost of transportation, economy in methods of production, economy in methods of marketing the finished products, as well as the economy resulting from the application of the principle of division of labor, have combined to secure the accumulation of wealth during the nineteenth century at a rate far more rapid than the world has ever known before. Those who are in the stronger economic position, however, have control of the whole process of production and distribution, and they also have control of the net income. They cannot of course fix the net income arbitrarily but the entire management of the business is in their hands and they get the net income without telling the employees how much it is. In other words, there is no direct guaranty that the wage worker will get his full share under the factory system. There is nothing inherent in the system that guarantees that. There is nothing inherent in the system that guarantees steady employment.

4. During the progress of the industrial revolution there have been frequent crises in the business world—"hard times," they are called for want of a better term. They are apparently something new in human experience. Up to very recent times famines were not uncommon, but famines have now been abolished wherever the industrial revolution has become an accomplished fact. If there is a crop failure in one country, or in one section of a country, a food supply can be obtained from some neighboring region. Food supplies can be transported quickly over vast areas. The telegraph and cable lines, the railways and steamships constitute a rapid means of communication and of transportation. We have abolished famines, but we have apparently got something else nearly as pernicious. The factories suddenly close down, not because anyone wishes them to, but because the market will not apparently take their products. Numbers of men are thrown out of employment and since they do not get their wages they cannot purchase the things they want, although everything that they want is on the market. The merchants and traders have the goods to sell but they cannot sell them. There is no lack of material goods. Everything that anyone wants is at hand. Still numbers of people suffer extreme hardship for a considerable period, through no fault of their own, and the charitable resources of our cities are taxed to the utmost.

5. Even during the periods of expansion of business, however, when production is going forward with a rush and opportunities for employment are abundant, the incidence of the risks of modern industry so far as human life is concerned seems to fall almost entirely upon the wage-earners, those who are relatively in the weaker position. Accidents and injuries in the course of duty, it is assumed, are to be borne by the employee unless he can prove at law that his employer was negligent. If a man accepts employment in a certain position he accepts the ordinary risks of that position. In case a family is deprived of its chief support by the permanent injury or the death of the wage-earner who is the head of the family, the employer pays as a business proposition the smallest

amount that he can under the circumstances and hires another man. There is no one who assumes any real responsibility for the future welfare of that family except possibly some well organized modern charitable agency with ample resources, which the community may be fortunate enough to possess. Let me refer you for facts and a more explicit statement of the case to the volume of "The Pittsburgh Survey" entitled *Work-Accidents and the Law* and to other similar studies of recent date. Who shall say that the demand on the part of industrial workers for "justice, not charity" is a groundless plea? Who shall say that the sociologist may not legitimately concern himself with the incidence of the risks of modern industry?

6. To a very considerable extent the domestic or household arts have been absorbed by the factory system of production. The factories have been gradually taking over the manufacture of clothing and of wearing apparel of all kinds, the manufacture of house furnishings of all kinds and even the preparation of the food supply to a very marked degree, as is well illustrated by the quantities of canned goods that are now on the market. This absorption of the domestic industries by the factories has had some very important consequences. In so far as the conditions under which the work is done may affect the quality and the wholesomeness of the goods put on the market, the consumer can be safeguarded only by some social or public regulation of factory conditions. The individual consumer cannot acquaint himself with the conditions surrounding the manufacture and distribution of what he purchases. He must purchase, as an individual, merely in faith and in hope. It is also true that relatively more of the women are to be classified under the head of wage-earners. Instead of working at home spinning, weaving, making house furnishings, and preparing meals for a family, many women are now working in factories, stores, and offices for wages. The home and the life of the family, at least the traditional family life, is necessarily affected when this happens. Children may also be employed advantageously in modern industry, unless in the interest of the children themselves and of future generations child labor is

prohibited by a wise and farsighted social policy. It should be further noted that the homes of the wealthier people, those from which the women do not go out to work for wages, are also affected by the factory absorption of the domestic industries. The woman of the house becomes a manager chiefly rather than a provider. The household work has been reduced to a minimum and servants are employed to do this minimum amount. This gives to the woman of the house and to her daughters a very considerable leisure which has come to be occupied largely by "social duties," i.e., engagements of various kinds outside the home which may be grouped under such heads as educational, charitable, philanthropic, clubs, teas, receptions, parties. In any event, the constant extension of the factory system of production vitally affects the living conditions, as well as the working conditions, for an ever-increasing proportion of the population.

7. The industrial revolution has promoted the growth of the largest cities that the world has ever known. The rapid growth of great cities is one of the distinctive features of the nineteenth century. Since the modern cities are primarily factory centers and centers of exchange (trade and commerce), great numbers of people are required to carry on this work and they must necessarily live close together. As yet, however, these masses of population, these varied groups differing widely as to their traditions and their religious affiliations, crowded together in cities, have not learned apparently the first principles of living in cities. There is constant violation of every rule for the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the human race. Ignorantly and blindly, and, I may add, half-heartedly, these struggling millions are reaching out for some means by which they can secure an improvement of urban conditions. It is but gradually coming to be recognized that the distribution of health is a question quite as important in our cities as the distribution of wealth. Facilities for wholesome recreation, also, are just beginning to receive a proper recognition of their importance under urban conditions.

It is in these fundamental changes in the social organiza-

tion, thus briefly indicated in this summary, that philanthropy has its basis. The necessary social readjustments furnish ample opportunity for philanthropy legitimately to make its influence felt and there is the utmost need for its exercise. There is need not only for wise private philanthropy but for carefully considered public philanthropy as well. There is need for the so-called welfare work, for relief departments, for pension funds; but also for factory legislation, for labor legislation, and for general social legislation designed to secure an improvement of conditions. There is urgent need for a better distribution of the inevitable risks of modern industry, especially in so far as they affect human life.

The course on philanthropy includes, among others, these topics: the development of factory legislation, modern social legislation, welfare work, railway relief departments, employers' pension and relief funds, mutual benefit associations, benefit features of trade unions, employers' liability, workingmen's compensation, industrial or workingmen's insurance, old-age pensions, agencies for encouraging thrift, postal savings banks, etc., provident loan associations, various forms of private philanthropy, endowments, experimental agencies and organizations for the betterment of conditions. These are subjects to which the sociologist may properly give his attention. They need to be studied and discussed as social questions, not merely as economic and governmental questions of interest only to economists and political scientists. My experience indicates, also, that students of sociology are glad to have an opportunity to study them. And may I add without being misunderstood, that these topics are quite as important for a college curriculum in sociology as the question whether the origin of the human race is to be found in the middle of the Indian Ocean or somewhere in the arctic regions; quite as important as the attempt to determine precisely what a certain set of stone implements indicates as to the mental caliber of some primitive race; quite as important as the consideration of the question whether society has an objective or only a subjective existence.

Another course offered in the department is a study of col-

onization from the sociological point of view and it is designed to make direct use of the student's knowledge of history. Colonization is looked upon as a series of social experiments and the course is described as a laboratory course in sociology. It is scarcely advisable for the sociologist to attempt to conduct experiments in a laboratory within four walls and it is quite impossible to get together a group of people and transport them wherever you wish them to go, or subject them to whatever conditions you wish, merely for the purpose of sociological experimentation. But in the history of colonization we find that numbers of people have gone out from the older civilizations to the uttermost parts of the earth and have with more or less difficulty founded new societies. The records of their successes and failures are available and their experience furnishes valuable information concerning emigration and immigration, acclimatization, the relation of the struggle for existence to the development of social institutions, frontier society, the growth of new societies, contact of races, the native question. It is apparent that here is a fertile field awaiting the sociologist's exploitation; it as yet has been scarcely more than touched from this new point of view. For the present, Professor Keller's book on *Colonization* supplies an excellent textbook for such a course. It may be added that this course is one that is of practical interest to American students now that this country has come to possess colonies of her own and is of primary importance for a study of colonial administration preparatory to entering the consular service.

A course on American society, for the second half-year, has been planned to follow the course on colonization. In this course American social conditions are studied not as a succession of more or less unrelated social problems but as phenomena characteristic of a colonial society which has reached an advanced stage of development. For example, the problem of immigration is viewed as a social question common to all prosperous colonial societies. In short, American society is treated simply as one of the colonial societies studied in the preceding course which is selected for further consideration because it happens

to be the society in which we live and the future of which is therefore of special importance to us.

A course on social evolution has been made course 1 in the department but it is the plan to permit students to begin work in the department with either this course or the course on practical sociology, or even with the course on colonization if they wish. The department insists merely upon a logical sequence of courses. It is recommended to students who desire to specialize in sociology that they elect both the courses on social evolution and practical sociology at the beginning of the junior year and then follow the indicated sequence of courses. Other courses in the department are: Principles of Sociology—which is designed for the second half-year to follow the course on social evolution and to utilize the concrete descriptive material provided by that course—courses on the child and the community, the family, history of sociology, and four additional courses of a specialized and practical nature, penology, charity organization and administration, the social function of the church, special problems in sociology.

With this curriculum as a basis it is planned in the future to make further extensions in the direction of giving definite and effective preparation for specific lines of practical social work. The demand for trained and capable social workers and for efficient public administrators in our great industrial centers is an increasing one and the supply at the present time of men and women who are properly equipped for important positions in this field is considerably below the demand. If proper instruction and training were offered there can scarcely be any doubt of a ready response from those who are seeking to enter this field of work. By adding to the faculty experts and specialists in various fields of social work, the department may then be placed in a position wisely to undertake to provide professional training for directors of organized charities, Christian Associations, institutional churches, settlement and civic work, for executive secretaries of educational and philanthropic societies, welfare managers of factories and stores, superintendents of public recreation, expert sanitarians, probation officers, super-

intendents of child-helping agencies and of reformatories and other agencies of correction. The instruction that may thus be provided will also be of interest and profit to clergymen and church workers, lawyers, journalists, business men, officers of the state and municipal public service, school teachers, librarians, labor leaders, factory and health inspectors, members of boards of managers and committees of philanthropic institutions, friendly visitors and volunteer workers in any field of social service where a knowledge of existing conditions and of modern methods of work is essential to efficiency. The same professional needs which have established schools of engineering with practice shops and field work, the same conditions and tendencies which have established schools of medicine with laboratories and hospitals furnishing practical experience and opportunity for investigation, the same requirements which have established schools of theology and law schools, are now demanding, in connection with the rapid growth of cities, a modern scientific training for social work. The responsibility for providing preparation and training of this character rests very largely upon the departments of sociology in the urban universities.

REPORT ON QUESTIONNAIRE OF COMMITTEE ON TEACHING

F. STUART CHAPIN
Columbia University

To the Members of the Committee on Teaching, American Sociological Society:

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with Professor Jerome Dowd's request I herewith present to you this abstract and digest of the material returned in answer to the committee's questionnaire sent out during the investigation into the subject-matter of beginning courses at present given in colleges of the country under the title of Sociology.

The following questionnaire, at the approval of Professor Jerome Dowd, chairman of the committee, was sent out to some four hundred colleges, universities, theological schools, and state normal schools.

COMMITTEE ON TEACHING
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
PROFESSOR JEROME DOWD, *Chairman*

DEAR SIR: The American Sociological Society has appointed a committee of ten of its members to report to the next annual meeting:

First, a statement of the subject-matter of first courses at present given in colleges of the country under the title of Sociology.

Second, a suggested outline for a fundamental introductory course in Sociology.

Will you kindly assist in this work by filling out the accompanying questionnaire?

A. Name of institution.
B. Name and title of person filling out this blank.
C. Please paste here a clipping from your catalogue giving the statement of your beginning course in Sociology.
D. Give an outline of the subject-matter of that course and add the list of authors and their works assigned for students to read in connection with the course.
(*Subject-Matter*) (*Authors and References*)
E. Suggest the subject-matter for a fundamental course to serve as a basis for advanced work if the beginning course you now give does not fully answer the purpose of a fundamental course.

The list of institutions to which the questionnaire was sent was made up as follows:

Mr. L. L. Bernard kindly let me have the questionnaire returned to him during the course of the investigation into "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States" conducted under the auspices of and published in the *American Journal of Sociology* in September, 1909. From this material a list was made of the names and addresses of professors and departmental heads who taught sociology. In this manner a list of 199 institutions was obtained which had answered Mr. Bernard favorably and which were therefore known to teach sociology. To this number were added the 167 institutions which Mr. Bernard gave in Table IV of his report. The names of these institutions were added because in going through their catalogues Mr. Bernard found that they gave courses in sociology although they had not answered the questionnaire. Finally, to the 366 institutions thus obtained were added some 30 institutions. A few of these had reported to Mr. Bernard's questionnaire as intending to give courses in sociology in the near future, but the majority of these were obtained from the list of colleges in the *World Almanac* for 1910. The final total was 396 institutions to which the above questionnaire was sent on October 15 of the present year.

From the four hundred odd institutions addressed by the questionnaire, some 145 answers were received. Of this number 128 reported as teaching sociology and 17 reported no course in sociology. Of the total answers, 126 were from colleges and universities, 5 were from theological schools, and 14 were from state normal schools. Fifteen colleges and universities offered no course in sociology and two state normal schools offered no course.

TABLE I

INSTITUTIONS ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE.—Institutions marked * give no course in sociology; institutions marked † are interested in the report of the committee; institutions marked *† expect to start a course soon.

†Adelphi College	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Professor Annie M. MacLean
Albany College	Albany, Ore.	Professor F. G. Franklin
Albion College	Albion, Mich.	Professor F. T. Carlton

TABLE I—*Continued*

Albright College	Myerstown, Pa.	Professor C. A. Bowman
*Amherst College	Amherst, Mass.	Professor J. W. Crook
Augustana College	Rock Island, Ill.	Professor E. F. Bartholomew
*Bates College	Lewiston, Me.	Professor D. W. Brandelle
Baker University	Baldwin, Kans.	Professor H. J. Hoover
Beloit College	Beloit, Wis.	Professor R. C. Chapin
Boston University	Boston, Mass.	Professor F. S. Baldwin
Bryn Mawr College	Bryn Mawr, Pa.	Dr. Marion Parris
Carleton College	Northfield, Minn.	Professor E. E. Robinson
Catholic University of America	Washington, D.C.	Professor W. J. Kerby
Carthage College	Carthage, Ill.	Professor S. N. Carpenter
†Central College	Pella, Ia.	Professor J. L. Beyl
Colgate University	Hamilton, N.Y.	Professor E. W. Goodhue
Cornell College	Mount Vernon, Ia.	Professor H. H. Freer
†Claflin University	Orangeburg, S.C.	Professor G. Evans
Clark College	Worcester, Mass.	Professor F. H. Hankins
Coe College	Cedar Rapids, Ia.	Professor C. T. Hickok
Colorado College	Colorado Springs, Colo.	Professor F. A. Bushee
Cumberland University	Lebanon, Tenn.	Professor W. P. Bone
Columbia University	New York City	Professor F. H. Giddings
Dartmouth College	Hanover, N.H.	Professor D. C. Wells
*†Davidson College	Davidson, N.C.	Professor J. M. McConnell
De Pauw University	Greencastle, Ind.	Professor C. C. North
Des Moines College	Des Moines, Ia.	Professor S. Z. Batten
Dickinson College	Carlisle, Pa.	Professor G. A. Crider
*Doane College	Crete, Neb.	Professor A. B. Fairchild
Earlham College	Richmond, Ind.	Professor H. Lindley
*Emory College	Oxford, Ga.	Professor E. H. Johnson
Eureka College	Eureka, Ill.	Professor A. C. Gray
*†Georgetown College	Georgetown, Ky.	Professor A. Yager
George Washington University	Washington, D.C.	Professor R. R. Kern
Goucher College	Baltimore, Md.	Professor T. P. Thomas
Guilford College	Guilford, N.C.	Professor D. D. Carroll
Grand Island College	Grand Island, Neb.	Professor E. H. Sutherland

TABLE I—*Continued*

Harvard University	Cambridge, Mass.	Professor T. N. Carver
Haverford College	Haverford, Pa.	Professor D. C. Barrett
Hendrix College	Conway, Ark.	President A. C. Millar
Hobart College	Geneva, N.Y.	Professor J. M. Williams
*Illinois College	Jacksonville, Ill.	President C. H. Rammelkamp
*Iowa State College	Ames, Ia.	Professor B. H. Hibbard
James Millikin University	Decatur, Ill.	Professor W. W. Smith
*†Jamestown College	Jamestown, N.D.	Professor F. B. Taylor
Juniata College	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Professor C. C. Johnson
*Johns Hopkins University	Baltimore, Md.	Professor J. M. Vincent
Keuka College	Keuka Park, N.Y.	Professor G. W. Eddy
†Knox College	Galesburg, Ill.	Professor J. H. Raymond
†Lake Erie College	Painesville, O.	Miss Florence Ball
Lawrence College	Appleton, Wis.	Professor C. J. Bushnell
*Leland Stanford Jr. University	Stanford University, Cal.	Professor I. B. Cross
Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge, La.	Professor W. O. Scroggs
McMinnville College	McMinnville, Ore.	Professor F. G. Boughton
Macalester College	St. Paul, Minn.	Professor G. W. Davis
Marietta College	Marietta, O.	Professor A. T. Perry
Marshall College	Huntington, W.Va.	Professor J. U. Fitzgerald
Morningside College	Sioux City, Ia.	Professor F. E. Haynes
Miami University	Oxford, O.	Professor S. E. W. Bedford
Millsaps College	Jackson, Miss.	Professor J. E. Walmsley
Mount Holyoke College	South Hadley, Mass.	Professor Amy Hewes
Nebraska Wesleyan University	University Place, Neb.	Professor E. H. Wells
Northwestern University	Evanston, Ill.	Professor F. S. Dribler
New York University	New York, N.Y.	Professor R. M. Bender
Oberlin College	Oberlin, O.	Professor A. B. Wolfe
Olivet College	Olivet, Mich.	Professor H. A. Miller
Ohio State University	Columbus, O.	Professor J. E. Hagerty
Oriental University	Washington, D.C.	President H. P. Holler
Pacific University	Forest Grove, Ore.	Professor L. B. Shippee
Park College	Parkville, Mo.	Professor T. M. Matthews
Parker College	Winnebago, Minn.	Professor M. Lewis

TABLE I—*Continued*

Parsons College	Fairfield, Ia.	Professor P. C. Hildreth
Pennsylvania College	Gettysburg, Pa.	Professor C. F. Sanders
*Princeton University	Princeton, N.J.	Professor H. J. Ford
Purdue University	La Fayette, Ind.	Professor T. F. Moran
Radcliffe College	Cambridge, Mass.	Professor T. N. Carver
Randolph-Macon Woman's College	College Park, Va.	Professor E. E. Ayers
St. Olaf College	Northfield, Minn.	Professor C. A. Mellby
*St. John's College	Fordham University, N.Y.	Professor T. J. Barrett
Simmons College	Boston, Mass.	President Henry Lefavour
Smith College	Northampton, Mass.	Professor Georgia Laura White
*†Stevens Institute of Technology	Hoboken, N.J.	President A. C. Humphreys
Talladega College	Talladega, Ala.	Professor D. B. Pratt
Taylor University	Upland, Ind.	Professor Newton Wray
*Trinity College	Durham, N.C.	Professor W. H. Glasson
Tri-State College	Angola, Ind.	Professor Lorin Stuckey
Tufts College	Tufts College, Mass.	Mr. L. M. Bristol
University of Colorado	Boulder, Colo.	Professor J. B. Phillips
†University of Florida	Gainesville, Fla.	Professor E. M. Banks
University of Indiana	Bloomington, Ind.	Professor V. G. Weatherby
University of Kentucky	Lexington, Ky.	Professor E. Tuthill
University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pa.	Professor J. P. Lichtenberger
University of Nebraska	Lincoln, Neb.	Professor Elliott Howard
University of Notre Dame	Notre Dame, Ind.	Professor M. J. Walst
University of Montana	Missoula, Mont.	Professor J. H. Underwood
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Mich.	Professor C. H. Cooley
University of Missouri	Columbia, Mo.	Professor C. A. Ellwood
University of North Dakota	Grand Forks, N.D.	Professor J. M. Gillette
University of Oklahoma	Norman, Okla.	Professor Jerome Dowd
University of Porto Rico	Porto Rico	Professor E. H. Casterlin
University of Puget Sound	Tacoma, Wash.	Professor J. C. Zeller
University of South Dakota	Vermilion, S.D.	Professor E. G. Nourse
†University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minn.	Professor S. N. Reep
†University of Southern California	Los Angeles, Cal.	Professor R. D. Hunt
University of Utah	Salt Lake City, Utah	Professor G. Coray

TABLE I—*Continued*

University of Wisconsin	Madison, Wis.	Professor E. A. Ross
*†University of Wyoming	Laramie, Wyo.	Professor J. D. LeCron
University of Vermont	Burlington, Vt.	Professor H. W. Lawrence
University of Virginia	Charlottesville, Va.	Professor W. H. Heck
University of Chicago	Chicago, Ill.	Professor W. I. Thomas
University of Illinois	Urbana, Ill.	Professor E. C. Hayes
University of California	Berkeley, Cal.	Professor Lucy C. Mount
Upper Iowa University	Fayette, Ia.	Professor J. W. Dickman
Wake Forest College	Wake Forest, N.C.	Professor E. W. Sikes
Washburn College	Topeka, Kan.	Professor D. M. Fisk
†Washington College	Chestertown, Md.	Professor J. W. Cain
Washington and Jefferson College	Washington, Pa.	Professor E. M. Weyer
†Washington and Lee University	Lexington, Va.	Professor S. D. Hancock
Wellesley College	Wellesley, Mass.	Professor Emily G. Balch
Wesleyan University	Middletown, Conn.	Professor W. C. Fisher
Western Reserve University	Cleveland, O.	Professor J. E. Cutler
Wheaton College	Wheaton, Ill.	Professor Elliot Whipple
Whitworth College	Tacoma, Wash.	Professor W. E. Roe
William Jewell College	Liberty, Mo.	Professor E. C. Griffith
*Williams College	Williamstown, Mass.	Professor G. Droppers
Yale College	New Haven, Conn.	Professor A. G. Keller
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES		
Auburn Theological Seminary	Auburn, N.Y.	Professor A. S. Hoyt
Drew Theological Seminary	Madison, N.J.	Professor E. L. Earp
Hartford Theological Seminary	Hartford, Conn.	Professor A. R. Merriam
Meadville Theological School	Meadville, Pa.	Professor N. P. Gilman
Western Theological Seminary	Pittsburgh, Pa.	President J. A. Kelso
NORMAL SCHOOLS		
*State Normal College	Troy, Ala.	Professor E. M. Shackelford
State Normal School	San José, Cal.	Professor Gertrude F. Rowell

TABLE I—*Continued*

(Course in social psychology based on Ross)

*California State Normal School	Chico, Cal.	Professor E. J. Miller
Western Illinois State Normal School	Macomb, Ill.	Professor Alfred Bayliss
Central Michigan Normal School	Mount Pleasant, Mich.	Professor C. S. Larzelere
State Normal School	Duluth, Minn.	Professor E. W. Bohannon
State Normal School	Springfield, Mo.	Professor B. M. Anderson
Westfield Normal School	Westfield, Mass.	Professor J. C. Hockenberry
State Normal School	Mayville, N.D.	Professor C. M. Correll
Northern Normal and Industrial School	Aberdeen, S.D.	Professor W. E. Johnson
State Normal School	Bellingham, Wash.	Professor James Bever
State Normal School	Milwaukee, Wis.	Professor W. H. Chewer
State Normal School	Oshkosh, Wis.	Professor F. R. Clow
Hampton Institute	Virginia	Professor T. J. Jones

Comparing these results with Mr. Bernard's, it is worthy of note that 95 of the institutions which answered the committee's questionnaire are found in Mr. Bernard's Tables I, II, and III, comprising institutions which answered him favorably. Some 27 of the answers to the committee's questionnaire were from institutions in Mr. Bernard's Table IV, comprising institutions which taught sociology but did not answer him. The remaining 23 answers of the 145 reporting to the committee's questionnaire are from institutions not contained in either of Mr. Bernard's tables but given in the *World Almanac* list of colleges for 1910. Of the 23 new institutions thus obtained 12 are at present teaching sociology.

The material sent in has been classified with the object in view of having such a classification as representative as possible of the general significance of the 150 odd answers. It has been the effort of the writer of this report to use an objective standard of classification obtained from the totality of the material itself. To this end the broadest possible divisions of the subject-matter were chosen and the various statements made upon the questionnaire

regarding the subject-matter of the courses were copied and marked one for each time they occurred. Thus Anthropology was definitely spoken of nearly 40 times; Poor Relief and Pauperism nearly 25 times; the Biological Method was emphasized 16 times, etc. In many instances, however, there was no such specific statement. In such cases the writer had to classify the subject-matter of the course as Historical, Psychological, Practical, etc., in accordance with the general characteristics of the textbook or reference book mentioned. This latter method was resorted to only when it was impossible to get specific statements of the subject-matter. This situation obtained in about 12 per cent of the cases.

It will be noticed that the mark for the general division is in most cases smaller than the sum of the marks of specified subject-matter. Thus the mark for Historical subject-matter is only 84, while the sum of 40, 37, 52, and 56, the specific marks, is considerably over 150. The reason for this is that very often where the Historical subject-matter was specified there were also carefully specified several definite fields such as Anthropology, Ethnology, and Social Institutions. This same correction is true of the other divisions.

In many cases all six general divisions were emphasized, as were also the specific subdivisions. Many cases combined the practical with the theoretical. In this manner also the subdivisions became large.

The writer of this report wishes to make it emphatic that the numerical marks should not be taken too literally. The effort has been to classify a mass of very heterogeneous material so as to show its most representative elements; the effort has not been to produce an exact and exhaustive analysis. This would be almost impossible considering the nature of many of the replies. In this respect the writer found it difficult to classify such a specified field as Sociological Theory, which obviously overlaps the Historical and Psychological fields. It therefore seemed best to place this specified field by itself. The same may be said of Social Pathology, which might mean Social Psychology or some practical study of Criminology. It has therefore been placed by itself also.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECT-MATTER OF COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY GIVEN BY THE INSTITUTIONS NAMED IN TABLE I

I.	Emphasizing Historical subject-matter		84
	Including such fields specified as:		
	Anthropology	40	185
	Ethnology	37	
	Social Institutions	52	
	Social Evolution	56	
II.	Emphasizing Psychological subject-matter		80
	Including such fields specified as:		
	Social Psychology	56	116
	Association	29	
	Imitation	31	
III.	Emphasizing Biological subject-matter		16
	Including such fields specified as:		
	Eugenics	5	11
	Population (statistically treated)	6	
IV.	Emphasizing Descriptive and Analytic		21
	Including such fields specified as:		
	Study of a specific social group	9	19
	Physical Factors	10	
V.	Emphazising Economic subject-matter		22
	Including such fields specified as:		
	Industrial Conditions	10	40
	Labor Problem	14	
	Practical economic problems not definitely specified	8	
	Socialism	8	
VI.	Emphasizing Practical subject-matter		56
	Including such fields specified as:		
	Population problems of congestion and housing	23	159
	American social problems	19	
	Social problems (not specified)	15	
	Visits to institutions	9	
	Poor Relief and Pauperism	25	
	Charity	23	
	Philanthropy	14	
	Crime and Criminology	20	
	Education	11	
VII.	Subject-matter overlapping some of the above six divisions and therefore classified by itself.		
	Specified as:		
	Sociological Theory	40	
	Social Pathology	13	

Divisions III and IV are also subject to the same criticism.

Some eighty institutions used a textbook as the basis of the work in their beginning course. The textbooks of the following authors were in use:

TABLE III

AUTHORS WHOSE TEXTBOOKS ARE USED IN BEGINNING COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY BY INSTITUTIONS NAMED IN TABLE I

Not specified	8	Henderson	1
Blackmar	8	Ross	8
Cooley	5	Small and Vincent	6
Carver	1	Sumner	2
Dealey	10	Thomas	1
Dealey and Ward	4	Ward	1
Devine	1	Wright	8
Ellwood	2		—
Fairbanks	1		86
Giddings	18		

Only a few of those reporting answered part E of the questionnaire, asking for suggestions regarding the subject-matter for a fundamental course to serve as a basis for advanced work. Those who did answer part E of the questionnaire were classified in accordance with the above method as they suggested Historical, Psychological, Practical, etc., subject-matter for the fundamental course, the emphasis on each being laid in the following manner:

TABLE IV

SUGGESTED SUBJECT-MATTER TO FORM A FUNDAMENTAL BEGINNING COURSE

Historical	28	Descriptive and Analytic	7
Psychological	25	Economic	3
Biological	7	Practical	16

Among those who suggested subject-matter for a fundamental course in sociology the comments of the following are particularly pertinent:

1. Professor G. E. Howard, University of Nebraska, believes that a differentiation of the subject-matter of sociology into three main divisions would facilitate team work. The divisions are: I. Pure or General Sociology; II. Practical Sociology; III. Social Anthropology.

He says: "The work of our Associate Professor of Practical Sociology is intended to lay a scientific basis for social service. The beginning courses in Practical Sociology and Social Anthropology are mainly concerned with the concrete; while theory is more accented in Pure Sociology, first taken up by third-year students."

2. Professor W. I. Thomas, The University of Chicago, says, in speaking

of his introductory course in social origins devoted to anthropology and ethnology: "I regard my course as a good type of introduction for graduate work. A course in Social Science, bearing on the problems and relations of all the Social Sciences, with a statement of this general content and bearing, would, I think, be suitable as an introductory course for Sophomores."

3. Professor E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin, says: "I can't say I believe much in a beginner's course. I would prefer to have my courses taken in this order: Sophomore year, Fall, Elementary Sociology; Spring, Charities and Corrections; Junior year, Fall, Social Psychology; Spring, General Sociology; Senior year, seminars such as Cities, The Family, Psychology of the American People."

4. Professor R. D. Hunt, University of Southern California, says: "A foundation course should combine as much as possible of the *generally accepted* 'principles' of Sociology with less of the controverted matter and a frank recognition of the *practical* aims of the subject in its entirety."

5. Professor C. H. Cooley, University of Michigan, says: "In my opinion the central problem of sociology is that of the interactions between personality (the individual, the socius, or whatever you may call it) and the social structures and processes. I would devote a beginning course to a very full and concrete exposition of what is most fundamental in this relation."

6. Professor C. A. Ellwood, University of Missouri, says: "If I were to give a beginning course in sociology *regardless of training for citizenship*, and could have mature students who I knew were specializing in the Social Sciences, I would begin the course with a study of the biological factors in association—Nutrition, Reproduction, Multiplication, Conflict, Selection, Heredity, etc., and continue it by a study of the psychological factors—Instinct, Feeling, Intellect, Imitation, Sympathy, Social Control, etc., and would end it with outlining a theory of Social Order and a theory of Social Progress."

7. Professor B. M. Anderson, State Normal School, Springfield, Mo., says: "I think a fundamental course should include a substantial amount of sociological theory, with enough historical and descriptive material to illustrate the theory. But the theory should be the thing stressed—I do not favor making too much concession to the pedagogical mania for 'concreteness.'"

In conclusion, it may be said that assuming the 145 answers as fairly representative of the institutions teaching sociology in the United States, the classification of these replies shows a majority laying emphasis upon theoretical subject-matter including the historical and psychological, as opposed to the practical subject-matter specified by Charity, Poor Relief, Philanthropy, etc. This same general conclusion may be drawn from Table IV representing the suggestions for a fundamental introductory course.

Finally, in the belief that one further source of material contained in the questionnaire might be of interest to the committee, the writer has added Table V.

TABLE V

TEXTS AND AUTHORITIES CITED BY AT LEAST FIVE INSTITUTIONS NAMED IN TABLE I

American Journal of Sociology		7
Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*		5
Baldwin (not specified)		7
Blackmar, *Elements of Sociology*		11
Bryce, *American Commonwealth*		6
Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*		18
Comte (not specified)		8
Cooley, *Social Organization*		19
U.S. Census		5
Dealey, *Sociology*		27
Ely, *Evolution of Industrial Society*		7
Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*		14
Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*	29	83
" *Elements of Sociology*	16	
" *Inductive Sociology*	7	
" *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*	16	
" Not specified	15	
Henderson, *Social Element*		14
Kidd, *Social Evolution*		5
Le Bon, *The Crowd*		6
Plato, *The Republic*		5
Ross, *Social Psychology*	19	53
" *Social Control*	7	
" *Foundations of Sociology*	7	
" Not specified	10	
Small, *General Sociology*		16
Small and Vincent, *Introduction to Sociology*		19
Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*	22	34
" *Study of Sociology*	6	
" Not specified	6	
Thomas, *Source Book*		14
Tylor, *Anthropology*		6
Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*		10
Ward, *Pure Sociology*	12	60
" *Applied Sociology*	11	
" *Dynamic Sociology*	37	
Wright, *Practical Sociology*		21

Respectfully submitted,

F. STUART CHAPIN

December 13, 1910

DISCUSSION

FRANK D. WATSON, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The nature of the course in Freshman economics at the University of Pennsylvania is such that it might well be discussed in connection with such a conference as the present, as no hard-and-fast line is drawn in this course between the fields of sociology and economics. Many of the problems which are discussed in this introductory course are of a distinctly sociological nature, such as the problems of immigration, congestion, the school system, child labor, and women in industry. Of course, in handling all of these problems, their bearing on economics is indicated, the thought constantly emphasized being that they directly affect the efficiency of that important factor in production, labor. The handling of these problems is concrete and much of the subject-matter is of a descriptive nature.

One might say that the chief aim of the course is to interest the student in the social and economic life about him. Accordingly, problems of the above nature are put in the foreground, and theory is introduced merely as an aid in digesting and classifying the material given. We desire primarily in the first year that the men should connect the everyday facts about them, which they have probably not stopped to analyze, with their work in college. Pure theory is largely ignored until in the Sophomore year.

To carry out the general purpose of the course, the men are given in addition to their textbook work a list of books to read on which they write reviews or criticisms of several hundred words' length at the rate of one a month. These books are of such popular nature as Steiner's *On the Trail of the Immigrant, The Long Day,* by Dorothy Richardson, *The Making of an American,* by Jacob Riis, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets,* by Jane Addams, and *The Bitter Cry of the Children,* by John Spargo. An additional feature of the course is a list of outside magazine readings which are given to the men monthly and on which they are quizzed. These readings are on current economic discussions in such magazines as the *Independent,* the *World's Work,* the *Outlook,* etc. Our experience has been that this method not only attracts the interest of the student, but many times causes him to do additional reading independent of that which is required. For example, it has been my personal experience to have students bring to me magazine or newspaper clippings saying that they felt sure that I would be interested in them as they were just along the lines of the subjects that we had been discussing in class. As the year goes on, this practice seems to increase, showing what seems to be the fact, that many men in reading the newspapers and magazines are now attracted to subjects which formerly they passed over, for the simple reason that the subject-matter has been dignified by previous classroom presentation or discussion. Subsequently they seem to take somewhat of a professional attitude in their general reading on these subjects. As a result, many men accumulate a considerable amount

of economic material during their Freshman year. An attempt is made to digest and classify this material in classroom as far as time permits, although, as can readily be seen, an exhaustive study of no one of the problems can be attempted.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

At the University of Missouri we believe in a general elementary course in sociology which shall be prerequisite to the taking of any other course in the department. Professor Dowd did not include the University of Missouri a few minutes ago in the list of institutions giving a fundamental course. I beg leave to correct him. The elementary course in sociology at the University of Missouri is both fundamental and practical. It aims to present not only the fundamental facts of the social life but to present them in such a way that the simpler fundamental principles of sociology shall be evident. We believe in starting with facts rather than with theory, but in presenting the facts in such a way that theory or interpretation issues from them. The course aims to be inductive, and starts therefore with the concrete and biological rather than with abstract and psychological. After certain preliminary definitions, I have found it advisable, however, to point out first of all to the student the biological facts and principles which the sociologist must take account of, even in the simplest sociological interpretations, and which are therefore as much data for sociology as the facts of the social life itself.

The guiding thought of the elementary work in sociology at the University of Missouri, however, is the belief that sociology can be learned from the study of any concrete form of association or social group whatsoever; that just as the botanist can learn botany from the study of one or two typical plant types so the sociologist can find in any concrete form of association whatsoever most of the factors which are at work in the social life and can make this group reveal many of the essential problems of sociology. This method has the advantage of concreteness and at the same time of studying the social life in the little rather than in the mass. The student sees more plainly the actual forces at work molding and shaping human association, and if he is kept aware that he is simply studying an illustration, he has no difficulty in reasoning from the smaller and more concrete group to society in the mass.

For many years I have found the family group, as in many ways the most typical of all the forms of human association, to be the most convenient for introducing the student concretely to the science of sociology. The family group has the advantage that it is intimately known by every student. On account of the complexity of relationships involved in it the study of its origin, development, structure, and function serves to illustrate the origin, development, structure, and function of social forms generally. Of

course, there is danger that the student will mistake the illustration for social life as a whole, but this can easily be guarded against. About one-third of the course is taken up with the study of the family in its various aspects, after which various related concrete social problems, such as population, immigration, the negro problem, the city problem, and the like, are studied in order to illustrate further the working of biological and psychological factors in the social life. The whole plan of the course is very clearly set forth in my text on *Sociology and Modern Social Problems* which, however, omits many things such as discussions of scientific method, additional statistics, and the like, which are included in the course. The course also has at its end a number of lectures summarizing the results of the concrete inductive study with reference to the whole social life and briefly outlining a general view of social institutions, social organization, and social evolution. This I did not include in my published text, because I believe that it can best be done by every teacher for himself.

Judged by the standard of interest, this elementary course has been a success. For a number of years over one hundred students have been regularly enrolled in it. Now it is repeated each semester (coming five hours a week) and in each semester there are about one hundred students enrolled, or two hundred through the year. Judged also by the experience of my students in later life, the course has been found very helpful, especially by those who go into the law, the ministry, journalism, or teaching, to say nothing of those who enter practical social work.

I should add that at the University of Missouri students must have had a general course in history and a biological science before taking elementary sociology, and they are advised and expected to precede or follow it with an elementary course in economics or in political science or both. Branching from this fundamental elementary course in sociology at the University of Missouri are both theoretical and practical courses. The practical courses take up the subjects of philanthropy, social betterment, criminology, and penology, the social conditions of rural and urban communities, and the like. We also have strong courses in theoretical sociology, but these are open only to Seniors and graduates. They include a general course in sociological theory, a course in psychological sociology, a course in biological sociology, and a course in the history of sociology. The plan which we have been following has seemingly thus far worked well. There has been close co-ordination between practical and theoretical work, because both branch from the fundamental elementary course. While the practical work is mainly given to one man, and the theoretical work is mainly taken by another, yet this is not exclusively so, for we believe that practical study of social conditions and movements needs all the light which theoretical sociology can give it, and that, on the other hand, theoretical sociology needs the help which comes from vital contact with living facts and movements. While our plan has

worked well thus far, we are looking for ways and methods of improving it and should be glad for any suggestions which anyone who is teaching sociology can make from his experience.

ALBION W. SMALL

It has been a question in my mind for a long time whether it would not be possible to do a better thing for undergraduates in the social sciences by breaking away entirely from departmental programs, and by adopting an introductory course which would be a proper foundation for all advanced work in social science.

Of course Sophomores have a certain smattering of information which would have to be classified under each of the social sciences. Although their acquisitions are usually not abundant enough so to preoccupy the ground that further knowledge in either of these territories would be superfluous, yet the situation is not precisely as though we were dealing with utterly blank minds. Conceding, therefore, that all Sophomores have picked up a certain quantity of scrap information about social facts, our problem is to find out the best way of putting them on the track of precise and scientific study.

Without arriving at an agreement, or without even settling on a precise proposition, a number of the men in the social science departments at the University of Chicago have lately been wrestling with this question. There is certainly in the air a suspicion that we are defeating our own purposes by taking our academic departmental divisions too seriously. Are there not certain things which every Sophomore should know if he is to get the most out of Junior or Senior or graduate work in either of the social sciences? May there not be a body of material and an outlook which every Sophomore might acquire which would serve him better than any strictly departmental work in the Sophomore year?

Instead of making a theoretical argument on this question I submit a concrete proposal. I suggest that the social science departments in all our fully equipped institutions agree to offer a course running through the Sophomore year to be known as Social Science I, to be prerequisite for more advanced work in each department, and to be based on Schmoller's *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre.* The work might fairly be described as an outline of the evolution of human institutions. While it is intended as an introduction to economic theory, no one who is chiefly interested in other phases of society need fear that Schmoller's emphasis upon economic interests would give a Sophomore an essentially incorrect notion of the relative importance of the different divisions of human activity.

Here then is a conspectus representing the outlook of a man who is by common consent in the front rank of the economists of the world. Whatever

be our special academic interests, we can hardly differ on the proposition that a Sophomore who had taken this survey would have an enormous advantage over one who had not, in pursuing further study in the social sciences. It seems hardly open to question that our work in the different social sciences might be made much more effective if we could presuppose such a common background in the minds of our students. Without much abstract discussion of methodology Schmoller brings into view all the social factors, in their historical and in their contemporary aspects, which we have to distribute among social science departments for division of labor. There is not enough departmental sectarianism in the two volumes to make any of us sensitive. One of the European economists who ranks with Schmoller, but is not of his school, remarked to me a few years ago apropos of the *Grundriss,* "Yes it contains a little of everything except economics." It was the sneer of a rival, but it was not meant very seriously. It meant that this particular man would have introduced into the outline a much larger proportion of the psychology of the economic process. For the purpose which I now have in mind the change which the criticism called for would certainly not be an improvement.

Not speaking for the subject of sociology alone, but with the best judgment I am capable of with reference to the whole scope of the social sciences, I am convinced that we could not at present devise a measure which would do more to promote academic social science in general than the adoption of this suggestion.

John Lewis Gillin, University of Iowa

This discussion has been a most interesting one to me. There is no doubt in my mind that equally important, perhaps, with the necessity of arriving at some conclusion as to what sociology is and what it is not, is the question of how it shall best be presented to college classes. It has come into our college curricula to stay. An increasing number of students demand that they know something about this new subject. It is important, therefore, that the best methods of teaching it should be known by all of us who have this important task to perform. To the younger men among us this is especially important, and it is to be hoped that future programs of this society will give a not unimportant place to the question as to how best to present the subject of sociology to students.

S. N. Reep

Professor Cutler has given us some very valuable suggestions regarding the organization of a department of sociology in an urban university; they are valuable because of the attempt to make the work fundamental and because it has gained the interest of the university community. There is one

point to which I wish to call attention which is not a criticism of Professor Cutler's paper. It is the distinction between the theoretical and practical which are often used interchangeably with abstract and concrete. In the minds of most students, and others also, theory may be good mental discipline but that which is really worth while is the practical. They do not distinguish social description, social interpretation, and social technology. All are dealing with social facts. The first describes them; the second finds their meaning; and the third studies the way by which new social facts may be evolved out of existing ones.

Now it seems to me that a fundamental course must be more than description and must precede technology. Mere description is not science and interpretation of social facts is necessary before there is a reason for any change.

I conclude therefore that a fundamental course in sociology is social theory or the interpretation of the meaning of social facts; and that the danger in outlining a fundamental course is not too much use of description but a weakness in interpretation due to too much consideration of "problems" which center the attention on technology.

J. E. Cutler

A number of questions have been raised which it seems to me are worthy of further discussion. As we have already exceeded the time allotted to this session, however, I shall confine myself to two or three points and make my remarks brief.

The points made by Professor Kelsey are well taken. I am in hearty agreement with him. Those are points which we intend to bear in mind at Western Reserve.[1]

The plan proposed by Professor Small is one that was put into operation in an experimental way at Yale University some seven years ago. I was interested in it from the beginning and for a time I had a part in it. Its development has been of special interest to me. In many ways it has been successful. The subject-matter of the course has been shown to be of value; the course has been popular among the students. In some other respects, however, the plan can scarcely be said to have been successful. Still I had a predilection for this kind of an introductory course when I went to Western Reserve University to establish the Department of Sociology. After giving the matter serious consideration, however, I did not dare to organize such a course and follow this plan.

As a matter of fact, I was in the position which many of you have also occupied, I am sure, where it was expected that you would arrange for college students some work that was specifically and definitely sociology—not history, or economics, or philosophy, or psychology, or anything else

[1]The report of Professor Kelsey's remarks was not sent to the *Journal*.

than sociology. In this situation you are surrounded by fairly definite limitations. You must find for yourself and on your own responsibility some direct and effective way of introducing your students to the subject of sociology. The plan that I finally adopted is the one that I have described. I was of course aware that it was a plan somewhat different from that followed anywhere else; otherwise I should certainly not have made it the subject of a paper for this meeting.

Other considerations also may enter into this question of a proper introductory method. At Western Reserve University it was decided that the work in sociology should begin with the Junior year. A large percentage of our seniors are to be found in one or another of the professional schools —law, medicine, or engineering. These students who are pursuing a combination course with a professional school are entitled to consideration. They want to get some knowledge of sociology but they do not feel that they can give time to this subject unless it is clear that the knowledge that will be gained is of real value to them in connection with their professional work. It is necessary, therefore, that the courses in sociology be made definite, concrete and to the point; everything that is in any respect non-essential for this purpose must be excluded.

The courses in practical sociology have been organized to meet this situation. Students may begin the study of sociology by electing these courses. If at any time the results appear to be unsatisfactory, the whole plan is of course subject to change without notice. Thus far the results have been satisfactory. But this plan has the merit of proceeding from the known, that which is near at hand and is a part of actual experience, to that which is more remote from ordinary experience, the more general, the more abstract. It therefore rests upon what is surely a sound principle. All students who propose to specialize in sociology, however, are required to elect both the theoretical and the practical courses. Social evolution and the general principles of sociology are to be studied as well as practical sociology. The emphasis placed upon the applied aspects of the subject does not necessarily imply that the more general and theoretical aspects are not of importance.

There is an additional reason why a department of sociology in an urban university should give special attention to practical sociology. As we all know, much social work is now being done without any recognized scientific basis and methods of work are being followed that are far from scientific. Many social workers are themselves lamenting the lack of coordination and of a common understanding about fundamentals which prevails even in connection with some of the best and most efficient work. Under these conditions the sociologist, if he familiarizes himself with the applied aspects of his subject, ought to be able to contribute something that will be of value. His department ought to inculcate a wider knowledge,

at least among college students, of the need in every community for a constructive social policy and of what is involved in the formulation and administration of such a policy; his department ought to assume at least a measure of responsibility for promoting the growth and extension of social work in proper directions and by proper methods. The sociologist is overlooking a splendid opportunity if he does nothing that will tend directly to make practical social work more scientific, more systematic, more comprehensive in its scope, more efficient.

THE CHURCH AND THE CITY COMMUNITY

WALTER LAIDLAW
Executive Secretary of the Federation of Churches, New York City

If the church has no program for the city community, church extinction—not church extension—is the duty of the day. The city communities are so extending themselves over the map of this nation that every county of the continental United States having a city of 25,000, with the exception of two, has increased its population in the last ten years, and city communities of 25,000 and over have absorbed, since 1900, 55.01 per cent of the growth of the nation. Of every 10,000 persons in the continental United States 2,594 lived in cities of 25,000 and over in 1900; in 1910 the figures had risen to 3,099 of every 10,000. In 1900, 7,406 of every 10,000 lived outside the cities of this group, and in 1910 only 6,901. The cities, through their universities, through their press, and, above all, through the concentration within them of the industrial problems incident to the shifting of the stress of economic equities from fields to factories—the cities, through these and other factors, are the gauge and guide of civilization. If the church is not essential to banish their barbarities and to produce an urban brotherhood—humane, urbane, and yet as dynamic as the "Mauretania's" turbines—the church should strike its flag, and yield to capture by charity organization, civic federation, labor federation, or some other "denomination" which will furnish the nation with a better ration. The capital invested in the churches will no more save them from extinction, if they are not socially serviceable to the coming generations, than the capital invested in ships with double-expansion engines availed to save them from towage to the Erie Basin as hulks unsuited to carry the heavier yet swifter-moving cargoes of the international commerce of our time. The church, to adapt Wordsworth's description of immanent Deity, must become

A Motion and a Spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

The church, which has been bringing immortality to light, must, like its Founder, bring life, as well, to light. It must transform itself from "an ark of refuge" into a battleship and merchantman of progress.

The church, which is daring in our day to translate its celestial message into the tongue of every tribe upon the planet, is evidently seized with a sense of its catholicity. It is endeavoring to make

the bonds of brotherhood outspread
Beyond the confines of old ethnic dread.

It is summoning Pekin to believe what neither Rome, London, nor New York has yet obeyed. Has it any warrant to tell Tokio that "a God has mingled with the game" of pushing the earth to "reach its heavenly best," if hell, to use an oft-quoted description, is a city "much like London"? The capital of the country where the church originated was exceeded in population by fifty of the cities of the United States; its houses were low and flat-roofed; many, if not most, of its families lived in one room; it took care of its garbage in an outdoor Gehenna so slow in its cremation that, though the fire was not quenched, the worm did not die. Has the church, which originated amid such city conditions, an essential message and a transforming mission for the cities of our time?

To state the question in this way is perhaps to invite the answer "No" from the fair critic of this paper. Nevertheless my own answer is "Yes."

Christianity originated in an urban community; gained, within a generation, adherents in city after city, and, both from tenement and palace, even in the empire's capital; and gave to the world a vision it will not willingly let die, the vision of a city of wholeness (a holy city) let down from heaven to displace the cities of disease, despair, and swollen death-rate of today.

The vision of the Revelation of St. John the Divine to the seven churches in seven cities of Asia is not indeed couched in

scientific, sociological language, but the whole book, which has been "the favorite stamping-ground of fanatical interpreters of Scripture," is coming to be regarded as "the consolation of martyrdom," a prophecy of that perfected association of men on earth which morbid mediaeval hymnology postpones post-mortem and removes beyond the revolution of the earth and beyond the evolution of its society. Those were days when Christians who succeeded in keeping their heads on their shoulders had difficulty in keeping hope in their hearts, and the book, cryptic in its reference to the persecutions of the Roman power, is plain in its prediction of the coming of a city controlled by a religious concept of life, a New Jerusalem, a city of pity, purity, and perfection. It is a city, to translate some of its descriptions into modern terms, with low morbidity, where pain has passed away; a city whose death-rate is lowered to a minimum; a city without crimes of violence and fraud; a city of ravishing beauty within and without; a city of wealth and gladness; a city of gleaming cleanliness, with a crystal and unfailing water supply, and marvelous park and great residential space, but a city withal most highly characterized by its spiritual distinction—its blue-blood citizens whose foreheads proclaim them sons of God, and whose primary occupation is to fulfil the purposes of him who held in his compassion the whole of the human race.

That was the vision splendid by which Christianity in the days of its persecution was on its way attended, yet it is plain that some of its descriptions are symbolisms unless we are willing to think that the race of the future will live in skyscrapers far excelling the height of the towers of commerce of today. Without symbolism one can understand a description of a city whose "length and breadth" are equal, but one whose "length and breadth and height are equal" can only be regarded as in symbolic contrast to the pent-up meagerness of the insulae, or tenement houses, of Rome, and the narrow and tortuous streets of Jerusalem.

The first century hung a city plan on the wall of every

Christian's imagination, and impeached with imperfection every city of the time.

What was the source of this splendid vision?

I for one believe that it came direct from the campaigning method of the public ministry of the Man of Nazareth. His main labors were in Galilee, which was as urban in his day as Rhode Island is today. The whole of Palestine would not reach from New York to Boston and its average width was only fifty miles, yet Josephus, who is not always statistically accurate, says that Galilee had 250 cities of 15,000 each, and Sir William Ramsay, whose services to archaeology won for him his baronetcy, says that from a mountain top Galilee must have looked like one continuous city. It is evident from the record of the life of Jesus of Nazareth that he lived and labored not among rural communities but in city communities. He said of himself that he must hurry on to preach his gospel to "other cities." He sent thirty-five committees of two to announce the gospel of the Kingdom to the cities of Israel and bade them lose no time at their tasks, which apparently occupied six weeks, and yet he said that they would not have entered all the cities of Israel before another stage of his career and campaign was reached. He evidently felt that he had a message for communities as well as for individuals, for he impeached Chorazin and Bethsaida for going on in their old ways. He called his followers to engage in communal service, the extension of a Kingdom of God; and yet he individualized the community, as when he sorrowed over Jerusalem. He went up to the mountain to pray, and he was free there from the intrusion of the crowd, and yet, if Ramsay is right, he may have gone to the mountain top to get the vision of the crowd—all Galilee lying at the mountain foot like one continuous city. He believed that the Spirit of God would come to his followers, after he was withdrawn from their sight, in the city, even in the city in which he suffered, and there they waited, and there, according to the narrative, men from all parts of the earth received the message which the twentieth century is translating into all tongues of the earth. One of his followers, St. Paul, has compelled the

literature of the world to record the impregnable belief of early Christianity in the conquest of cities by Christian principles, for the letters to the Ephesians, Corinthians, Romans, and all the rest are witnesses to the belief of the early Christians in the superiority of their message to any obstacles of wickedness or power. There was one fatuity in the belief of all these men, and St. Paul himself was not free from it, namely, that a single generation would bring the full fruition of Christianity. Social workers, even of our own day, have wrongly anticipated a similar quick success, and since 1859 there is less excuse for expectations of revolutionary reform. But if disciples and apostles made this mistake it was not made by the Man of Nazareth, who both taught that his gospel, like yeast in meal, would ultimately permeate every conviction and custom of humanity, but predicted also that his gospel was to be taught to all nations, growing like a mustard tree; and whose working philosophy, therefore, expects no city to be thoroughly Christian till every city is thoroughly Christian, and expects therefore that the church will both export its beliefs and impart its principles.

He is a superficial student of Christianity who will charge Christianity with failure because it cannot present in 1915 or in 1945 a perfected city. Christianity has a bigger job than that on its hands, a perfected race, and it has been big enough and wise enough from the beginning to have the evolution of all humankind on its program.

The church has been commissioned by its Founder not only to teach men to believe the things which he revealed, especially the fatherhood of God and the certainty of a life beyond, but to teach the nations to obey the principles which he enunciated. The church in the city community has, therefore, not only a theological teaching function, but also a sociological teaching function, and even a sociological action program. The distinguished and earnest apostle of the new nationalism is fond of claiming that his ideals are derived from and in accord with the ideals of Abraham Lincoln, but the Springfield episode of Mr. Lincoln's disappointment with the

clergy of that place shows that his social principles stretch backward beyond the first president of the nation to the only founder within my knowledge of a religion which, from the first, has had a perfected internationalism as its goal.

Lincoln drew from the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth his antipathy to slavery. He believed that a house divided against itself could not stand, and that therefore a nation half free and half slave could not endure. Lincoln had imagination enough, moreover, to see that if the Golden Rule is not an emancipation act, it is a manumission act for every slave-holding Christian, and the need of the church in the city community today is the study not of its catechisms but of the social ideals of its Founder, and the social needs of every section and class of the community. If, as one of America's most distinguished teachers of sociology has said, "the scientific study of sociology reveals the essential sanity and permanence of the Christian, or humanitarian, concept of society" (I quote from memory), the Gospels and the Prophets have a modernity about them which fit them to be a textbook for the social workers of the time, while the scientific, sociological study is equally necessary to prevent the limitation of the interpretation of their teachings by the conditions of some other time or of any neighborhood of our own time. Tolstoy is to be forever praised for his insistence on the permanent value of the words of Jesus; but he is to be forever blamed for his heretical, that is to say, his voluntary emphasis on parts of them to the exclusion of the whole. Professor Peabody, Shailer Mathews, and Canon Fremantle are fully as loyal and infinitely more logical. John Ruskin was a teacher of righteousness, but equally a pleader for reaction, and the interpretation of the gospels must be geared to that dynamics of society in which the Master both exceeded the men of his time and these followers of a later time.

If the church in the city community, where men live in close association, will address itself to such a study of the purposes of Jesus its seminaries, hitherto called theological, will deserve the name sociological seminaries equally well, and they will teach, not only what man is to believe concerning God,

but what duties God requires of man. The 107 questions of the Presbyterian Shorter Catechism, from which I have quoted the preceding phrase, will then, perhaps, have an appendix of 701 questions which will actually deal with the duties God requires of man, for, while my memory of the Shorter Catechism, despite deliberate neglect, is fairly complete to this day, I cannot remember within it any detailed development of the biblical doctrine of such duties.

Yet the doctrine of such duties is there, and abundantly there, and while it is applicable to the function of the church in rural communities, it is more insistently applicable to the church in the city community.

The child in the country, for example, has abundant play space, and sometimes too few companions. The child in the city, on the contrary, has too many companions, and too little play space. Would a study of the teaching of Jesus lead the church in the city community to take an interest in the play problem of the children as a religious duty? The writer would unhesitatingly answer yes. He would recall the observance by Jesus of the wedding and funeral games in the market-place —the biggest space in a Galilean town; and his refusal to silence the gladness of the children of the temple; and he would specifically apply the words of Jesus, "It is not the will of your heavenly Father that one of these little ones should perish," to include the lack of play-space, and of play-training as a cause of the perishing of many a child. Here is one of the instances where the church in the city community must not only study the words of Jesus, but study the facts of life to gather their correct interpretation and application. Jane Addams' recent book and other manuals are a modern "imitation of Christ" in their relation to the problems of child-play.

Nothing can be sadder than the deposit of theological dogma over Christ's doctrine of the child. The parable of the Ninety and Nine is popularly believed to refer only to the reclamation of prodigal sons or prodigal daughters, whereas, while, in one gospel, it does refer to that, and warrants the work which the church in the city community is doing to reclaim

the down-and-outs, it is a pat illustration which the Man of Nazareth used on two distinct occasions, one of which was his use of it to proclaim the heavenly value of the child-lives which the Roman law of his day allowed the parents to destroy or desecrate. The church in the city community of that time understood him, and obeyed him, and even the skeptical Gibbon was forced to concede that infanticide became a crime in the Roman Empire only after the mild protest of Stoicism had been reinforced by the missionary passion of Christianity. Even in New York State, however, the empire state of America, the community was not abreast of the sentence of St. Paul, "The children are not for the parents, but the parents for the children," till a little more than a generation ago, when the law forfeiting the parental right of a parent endangering the life, limb, or morals of his child was passed.

It is not the will of the heavenly Father "that one of these little ones should perish"; the church in the city community should, therefore, study the tenement as it affects child morbidity and child mortality; the standard of living, in relation to the same ends; child-labor in its ante-natal effects and in various trades and factories; and the education of the city's childhood—mentally, manually, and morally. A field for social service, whose edges only are cultivated as yet, lies open to the church in the city community which will be loyal to the revolutionary teaching of Jesus concerning the child.

I have spoken of Christ's demands for the children first, not because they are more direct than other neglected demands which need attention, but because the pathos of child-life in the tenements of a big city would make the very stones cry out with sympathy; and because the social service of the children of the city must, it seems to me, compel the churches, as well as permit the churches, to work together. The Baptist and the Presbyterian, for example, teach different doctrines of the relation of childhood to the first of the sacraments of the church; theologically they are there at odds; but at the door of the factory, where they are investigating child-labor, there is nothing in their past denominational history to prevent them

from desiring and doing the same thing. Their theological seminaries, hitherto too commonly located in the country, as if Christianity had to do only with the individual, are rapidly becoming sociological seminaries as well, wherein the common wants of all citizens are reviewed in the light of religion. Only as the churches become the church of the city community, in fact, can the Revelation of St. John the Divine become a reality in the cities of the world. Our usual test of city administration, for example, is the tax-rate. If it is low, the tax-payers are urged to continue it, in order to save their money; and too often the church in the city community is silent about the sin of the false economy which, while it lowers the tax-rate of the city, may raise its death-rate, and, while lessening the city tax-rate, may raise the state rate by compelling the state to care for additional prisoners or additional insane. In New York City, in 17 years, I have met only one man who growled at the smallness of his tax-bills. There are many reformers who, like myself, perhaps, are chronically willing to advise the city to spend more money, but who themselves are taxed neither for realty nor for personal property and who have so little hope of ever acquiring any realty that they would like to see all taxes concentrated on land. But this man was different; he was a large tax-payer; and he was chronically sore at heart because the city did not put into its budget sufficient allowances for the education, recreation, and relief of citizens young and old. But a better time is coming. I have before me a sermon entitled "The City Budget and the Day of Pentecost," a combination of thenness and nowness which would have been impossible to the preachers of a generation ago. I do not myself think that the pulpit of the church in the city community should very frequently specifically deal with the economic themes which preachers have not been educated to handle as intelligently as the specialists who will come at their summons, with creditable civic spirit, to give their message as lay preachers and lay teachers on matters of interest to every citizen, and, therefore, appropriate for any gathering in a house of God. But the church which will summon its worshipers to lament over the lack

of room in the Bethlehem inn for the birth of the Babe of Bethlehem and which never exhibits any agony over the basement-born children of New York is a church which will never be visited either by the Spirit of God or regarded with respect by men; and if the pulpit should not, as in my view it should not, become a mere economic forum, the church should, in my judgment, be organized into a Laity League, of both men and women, and subdivided into committees dealing with the common needs of every citizen and committees dealing with the special wants of some citizens, while the pulpit of the church should constantly so teach the value of human life as to make the tax-payer say, not "How much can we save in city administration?" but "Where can we best spend, for the advantage of the community, through other departments, the savings we have effected in departments A and B?" or, to put it more briefly, and concretely, "If the giving of a cup of cold water to a child shall not fail of its reward, what kind of a Christian am I to work and pray for a decreased tax-rate which will impair the joy of 10,000 children?".

Were I today, therefore, the pastor of a city church I would stress in my pulpit work the divine values of human life, and would endeavor to organize my church into committees as follows:

A. *Committees dealing with the common needs of every citizen, as follows:*

1. Housing
2. Health
3. Education
4. Economic Success
5. Religion
6. Recreation, Art, and Love of Nature
7. Neighborhood Welfare
8. Community Efficiency

B. *Committees dealing with the special needs of special citizens, as follows:*

1. Childhood
2. Old Age
3. Prisoners

4. Defectives
5. Dependents
6. The strangers within our gates

At this time I cannot develop the detail under each of these headings. Suffice it to say that this is the general outline for the work of Boston—1915 which I submitted to its directors about a year ago, and that its development is proceeding excellently, so far as I can judge at this distance, in the city on the Charles. It is my highest ambition to foster the same departmentation I then thought out in every church of the city community called New York.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE DOMESTIC RELATIONS

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD
University of Nebraska

For four centuries the ancient constitution of the household has been in process of dissolution; and for the same period society has been striving to put in its place new forms of control. By "household," I mean, in all its wide implications, the trinity of institutions, marriage, family, and the home; and by its "constitution" I understand the vast complex of relations, internal and external, arising in Nature's triad of personalities, the father, mother, and child.

Now, in America this dual process of constitutional decay and substitution is far advanced. Here the remnants of the old patriarchal authority are swiftly passing. Here the wife is gaining a more even place in the connubial partnership. Here precocious youth is often too soon "emancipated." Here the voluntary and state experiments in child-saving are many and daring. Here the household economist and the sociologist are joining hands in the earnest effort to create better methods of home building and higher ideals of family living. At last there are distinct signs of an awakening of the social consciousness and of the social conscience to the cardinal truth that the household, as just defined, is the basic fact in our national life, and hence the dynamic factor which ultimately, for good or for ill, must determine the quality of American civilization.

Nevertheless, the American people have as yet no thought-out or comprehensive policy for developing a proper social control of the domestic relations. This is the simple truth which I wish to emphasize in this paper. We have many "movements," we are doing many things—some wise and some otherwise—to secure such control in this or that direction; but our efforts are not correlated or wisely economized. Reform goes on more or less at random in the various cities and states. What expert

social servant, for instance, can tell without research how many varieties or instalments of the social control of parental authority, or of marriage relations, or of home economics, or of domestic hygiene have already been established by law? or which of them have stood the test of actual experience? or what new projects are arising?

A "HOUSEHOLD PROGRAM"

In a word, is it not high time to construct a scientific program for the promotion of the right social control of the domestic relations? The "Municipal Program" worked out by experts several years ago has borne good fruit. Is not a "Household Program" quite as urgently required? Such a program is not the business of an hour. Its genesis might well engage the earnest attention of this society. Its final construction would be a task worthy of a conference of the leaders of American social science and American social service.

A brief discussion of several questions, as examples, may perhaps reveal the nature and magnitude of the problem which such a concerted policy would help to solve. What basic influences, for instance, are causing the dissolution of the mediaeval constitution of the household and the rise of new forms of social control? In what directions is there a growing demand for the further extension of social control? Is it possible to construct a new system of education, broad enough and intensive enough to provide efficient training for the business, the obligations, and the domestic relations of the household? If that should be accomplished, may we safely restore to the family group some portion of the functions which we are now taking from it?

WHY THE MEDIAEVAL HOUSEHOLD CONSTITUTION IS BEING DISSOLVED

To the student of modern history the gradual change in the household constitution appears clearly as a process of social liberation which is profoundly affecting the relative positions of man and woman, of parent and child, in the family and in

society. With respect to right and privilege and social values the sex-line is being wiped out. There is a tendency more and more to recognize the equal spiritual worth of each personality in the family group. More and more, wife and child are being released from the power of the housefather and placed directly under the larger social control. The new solidarity of the state is in part being won at the expense of the old solidarity of the family. The tie which binds its members together is ceasing to be juridical and is becoming spiritual. Essentially the family society is becoming a psychic fact. Beyond question, this process of dissolution and readjustment, although attended by some evil, is producing a loftier ideal of the home and of the marital union, a juster view of the relative shares of the sexes in the world's work.

Thus the assault upon the surviving remnants of the patriarchal authority following the Reformation has inured to the benefit of the state. It is a process of individualization for the sake of socialization. In another way, too, the state was the gainer by the Protestant Revolution. Under the leadership of Martin Luther a fatal blow was struck at ecclesiastical control of the marriage relation. Slowly, almost reluctantly, Luther made up his mind to repudiate the sacramental dogma of wedlock. Marriage, he declared, is a "temporal worldly thing" which "does not concern the church." It was a righteous revolt against the absurdity, cruelty, and wickedness of canon-law theory and practice in matrimonial causes.

ORIGIN OF SOCIAL CONTROL OF MARRIAGE

Moreover, this revolt involved a new doctrine of social control, of the function of the state, which is of deep interest to sociologist and political scientist alike. In principle, by accepting Luther's dictum, marriage and the family were recognized as social institutions, to be dealt with freely by men according to human needs. Assuredly no more harmful blunder was ever committed by theological subtlety than the setting apart of marriage as *par excellence* the divine institution. A stumbling-block was thus put in the way of social progress.

Yet how tenaciously many good people cling to the old teaching! They resent the interference of the bold sociologist with the privileged matrimonial institution.

On the other hand, while fatalism, mob-mind, is still singularly powerful in the whole field of the domestic relations, notable progress has been made in recent years. In college departments of sociology and household science, in normal and even public schools, the problems of sex, marriage, and the family are beginning to be studied in connection with the actual conditions of modern social life. We are coming to realize how vain is the appeal to ideals born of old and very different conditions; that the guiding light will come, not from authority, but from a rational examination of the existing facts. Small progress can be expected while leaning upon tradition. The appeal to theological criteria, no doubt, is matter of conscience on the part of many earnest men. Nevertheless, the vast literature which seeks to solve social problems through the juggling with ancient texts seems in reality to be largely a monument of wasted energy. Much of it is sterile or but serves to retard progress or to befog the issue. Truly, there is urgent need that the moral leaders of men should preach actual instead of conventional social righteousness! It is high time that in school and college the family and its related institutions should be as freely and openly and unsparingly subjected to scientific investigation as are the problems of modern political and industrial life. There is no evading the fact that among the rank and file of the people prevails a vast ignorance of true social origins and of the true causes of social change.

GROWTH OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The repudiation of the sacramental sanction and the decline of the patriarchal authority cleared the way for the social control of the domestic relations. It was now inevitable that for its own protection the state should institute civil marriage and its counterpart, civil divorce. First in Holland, then in the New England colonies, and at length throughout the occidental world this great task has been accomplished. With what degree of

wisdom the American lawmaker has performed his part may later be considered.

The assumption by society of full responsibility for the marriage contract is the first great step in the establishment of its control of the household. Equally significant is the second step. With the rise of democratic self-government, it soon became clear that as a safeguard for liberty the state must provide for the elementary education of her children. By public taxation to give the opportunity was not enough. Selfish or ignorant parents could not be trusted to make proper use of it. So its acceptance was made compulsory by statute. The state now freely enters the home and for a considerable portion of each working day during the school year takes the child out of the parents' hands and intrusts it to the care of the teacher.

PUBLIC BREAD AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Moreover, there are distinct signs that in the school child's behalf the state is about to extend its interference with the parental régime. Of late we are coming to realize how large and sinister a rôle hunger plays in the fate of the children of penury. Several years ago Robert Hunter estimated that in normal times 2,000,000 American children of school age are in poverty. How many hundred thousand of these go breakfastless to school! Does not the situation call for state intervention? In fact, it is already being urged by thoughtful men that in a vast number of cases public bread is the needful complement and the just guaranty of public education. Compulsory education at public expense is wasted on a hungry child. In some of our cities and in some foreign lands, as you are aware, the beginnings of a policy such as that just hinted at are already in hand.

COMPULSORY SOCIAL HYGIENE

The school child cannot live by bread alone. Although saving him from malnutrition may tend to shield him from a horde of deadly maladies, is it not needful that society should safeguard his health by more direct action? Already the problem of efficient medical inspection has arisen. Should there not be

an earnest effort to solve it in a broad scientific way? State-wide medical inspection of schools has been made compulsory in Massachusetts; while elsewhere voluntary inspection exists in many cities. The law now enforces vaccination and quarantine. Its inspector goes into the tenement to prevent the factory from turning the home of the poor into a sweatshop. Shall he not have like power, in case of need, to enter both home and school in order to conserve society's precious vital resources, the bodily welfare of the rising generation? In a word, with respect to the home and the school, in their necessary relations, would it not be a worthy task for the practical sociologist and the household scientist to work out a safe but efficient scheme for compulsory social hygiene? If necessary in this regard should not the home be safeguarded at public expense?

MODERN INDUSTRY A MENACE TO THE FAMILY GROUP

It is obvious, as the foregoing discussion implies, that a chief cause of the swift expansion of the state control of the domestic régime is the neglect or inability of parents to care properly for the nurture of their children. Society finds it needful to remove the child from the environment of the derelict home. This is due largely to the dissolution of the solidarity of the family group through the industrial revolution. With the rise of corporate and associated industry in the place of household industry comes a weakening of the intimacy of home ties. Through the factory and the division of labor the family hearthstone has often become a mere temporary meeting-place of the individual wage-earners. The congestion of population in cities is forcing into being new and lower modes of life. The tenement is destructive of the home. Neither the "lodging-house," the "flat," nor the "apartment" affords an ideal environment for domestic joys. In the vast hives of our great urban centers even families of the relatively well-to-do have small opportunity to flourish—for self-culture and self-enjoyment. To the children of the slum the street is a perilous nursery. For them squalor, disease, and sordid vice have frequently supplanted the traditional blessings of the family sanctuary.

The cramped, artificial, and transient associations of the boarding-house are a wretched substitute for the privacy of the separate household.

Accordingly, for the reasons just suggested, and because with increasing light we are able to see faults in household nurture which have always and everywhere existed, a many-sided movement for child-saving has arisen. Minor children are no longer looked upon as the absolute property of the father. A legal ban is being placed upon child labor. Society forbids their employment in mines, factories, or other injurious vocations during their tender years. Under child-saving laws, they may even be removed from home, when they are cruelly treated or exposed to vicious influences, and placed under the protection of the state. For this purpose have been established orphans' asylums, boards of children's guardians, placing-out systems, and societies for the prevention of cruelty.

THE JUVENILE COURT AND THE HOME

Especially significant of the modern trend and purpose of social control is the intervention of the state on the behalf of the delinquent child. In particular, the American may well take pride in the invention of the juvenile court. In how many ways are the paternal care and authority of the children's judge being used to save them from suffering, vice, and crime! The new policy recognizes that the delinquent child is the victim of bad social conditions, often of bad home environment. How rapidly are the powers and functions of the judge expanding! Parents are being forced to perform their elementary obligations to their children. At a recent session of the court in the town where I dwell nine fathers were virtually commanded by the court to have their children's eyes treated for trachoma. In Nebraska, happily, through the benign influence of the detention home, the state "industrial" schools are losing their population. As usual, undisciplined sentiment criticizes this new interference with the home and parental authority. Yet it seems almost certain that the powers of the juvenile court will be increased. No doubt there is some danger in the process.

As a safeguard, should not an organized effort be made to develop a thought-out policy and more uniform laws among the states? In particular, should not the precedent set by Kentucky in 1908 and by Colorado in 1909 be followed throughout the land? These states have provided for the enforcement of the obligations of delinquent parents in the chancery rather than the criminal branch of the juvenile court.

THE MODERN HEROD

Out of old Hebrew days comes to us a voice of great authority commanding children to honor their parents. The command is good; and there is urgent need that it be heeded by precocious American youth. Yet from the enlightened social conscience of the present arises a second voice, not less imperative, commanding parents to honor their children. In default of obedience, the state in so many ways has become an "over-parent" to the neglected child. There is more work for it to do. The pitiful story of infant mortality shows that thus far social control has signally failed to protect the innocent and the helpless. It is heartrending and should quicken the public conscience to read the city death roll of children under five years of age. These are the preferred sacrifice to malnutrition, foul air, patent medicine, poisoned drugs, improper food, and ignorant parental control. Even in these tender years, commercialism and child labor are claiming their share of the prey. Bad social conditions are the modern Herod who is slaughtering the innocents on an enormous scale. Shall not the enlightened teacher and the enlightened magistrate with increased authority come to their relief?

STATE ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERS

Moreover, in our time, a third voice, each day mounting clearer and more insistent, is calling upon society to honor the mother. Here is the true race-altruism. As a matter of fact the state, in taking upon itself, in so many ways, the duties of "over-parent," has been carrying out a part of the socialist program. Shall it put in force a second part of that program

by recognizing parentage as a social service, a social duty, which should be paid for at public expense? Shall motherhood be endowed by the state? "Parents who do their duty," says Mr. H. G. Wells, "are as much entitled to payment and economic security as a soldier, a judge, or any other sort of public servant"; and he draws this picture of domestic policy under the socialist régime:

> [When] a woman is likely to become a mother [if duly reported by her medical adviser] her special income as a prospective mother in the state will begin. Then when her child is born, there will begin an allowance for its support, and these payments will continue monthly or quarterly, and will be larger or smaller according, first, to the well-being of the child, and secondly, to the need the state may have for the children—so long as the children are in their mother's care. All this money for maternity will be the wife's independent income, and normally she will be the house-ruler, just as she is now in most well-contrived households. Her personality will make the home atmosphere; that is the woman's gift and privilege, and she will be able to do it with a free hand.

To me the ideal here suggested looks very much like social justice. I wonder if it looks the same to those of you who in our great cities are striving to safeguard motherhood among the laboring poor?

IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN BREED

Let us draw nearer to the genesis of the domestic relations. In the effort through social control to reconstruct the household constitution, what aid may come from the new science of eugenics, the science whose aim is the improvement of the human breed? Surely there is need of help; for in the mating of human beings we have been less careful than in the breeding of domestic animals. No doubt positive eugenics, applying the laws of heredity, is destined to play a useful rôle in promoting wiser selection in wedlock. At present, however, public interest centers more in negative eugenics, the experiments now being tried to prevent the propagation of the unfit. While the debate among experts is still undecided, it may be too early to judge whether the sterilization of criminals, sanctioned by law in several states, notably in Indiana, will prove a safe or an

efficient method of social control. There is more hope from restraining the marriages of the physically and mentally defective classes, especially of those tainted by heredity or sexual disease.

THE GREAT BLACK PLAGUE

One or two salient facts will show how imminent is the danger from the great black plague. According to the careful estimate of Prince Morrow, "fully one-eighth of all disease and suffering comes from this source." Each year, in our country, 770,000 males reach the age of early maturity; and every year under existing conditions 450,000 of these young men are tainted by the great black plague. If such is the venereal male morbidity for a single year, how vast must be the aggregate cumulative ravages of this destroyer. Moreover, innocent wives and mothers must pay the penalty. "There is abundant evidence to show," declares Mr. Morrow, "that 80 per cent of the deaths from inflammatory diseases peculiar to women, 75 per cent of all special surgical operations performed on women, and over 60 per cent of all work done by specialists in diseases of women" are from this source; "while 50 per cent or more of these infected women are rendered absolutely and irremediably sterile." Frightful as is the slaughter by the great white plague, the victims of the great black plague are believed to be several times as many. Here is a clarion call for social control, both voluntary and compulsory. Such laws as that proposed in Vermont for obligatory notification of venereal diseases, or the drastic statute enacted by Washington two years ago, requiring physical examination before marriage, may have their full justification in facts such as these.

A BAD MARRIAGE CODE

Finally, it is needful that society should make an effort to increase the stability of the family. That the marriage tie is lax recent discussions of desertion and of divorce for this and other causes has abundantly shown. One means for securing greater stability lies ready to our hand: the complete revision of

our marriage laws. A good civil marriage code tends to check hasty, clandestine, frivolous, and immature wedlock. A bad marriage law favors such unions, which so often end in the divorce court. Now, it may reasonably be doubted whether any people in occidental civilization has marriage laws so defective as ours. Almost every conceivable blunder has been committed. We need a uniform marriage law much more than a uniform divorce law. It is much to be regretted that the proposed congress on this subject has not been held.

As a preliminary to further reform—to clear the field of a practice subversive of all constructive legislation—the common-law contract should be utterly abolished. Practically all the hardship and social anarchy caused by the canon law at its wickedest survives in our "common-law marriage." Each state not already emancipated ought to enact a statute, as clear and decisive as that of Kentucky, Utah, or New York, repudiating a custom which legalizes and virtually invites impulsive, impure, and secret unions.

Next, the substance or body of our state enactments should be purged of their many crudities, inconsistencies, and conflicts. In particular, we should remedy the evils growing out of our amazing tangle of statutory provisions relating to forbidden degrees of kinship and to void and voidable contracts. Then the age below which a marriage may not be contracted ought to be that of legal majority for both the man and the woman. "Majority" is the law's simple device for securing mental maturity in the graver affairs of life. Is not wedlock as serious a business as making a will or signing a deed? Immature marriage is a fruitful source of evil; why should the parent, often ignorant or selfish, have the power of legalizing them by his consent?

In its administrative division our matrimonial laws require drastic revision at almost every point. We need a better and a uniform license system, so as to secure full publicity and faithful compliance with the spirit of the law. It should include an efficient plan for the collection, registration, and publication of vital statistics. For both the bride and the bride-

groom it should prescribe a reasonable term of previous residence in the district where the wedding is to occur. It should embrace a rigid requirement of civil banns, so that at least twenty days' published notice shall precede the issuance of the license.

To crown all, let us safeguard the office of marriage celebrant, so that, instead of a menace, it may become a powerful and conservative agent of social control. For the time-honored "American plan" of optional civil or religious ceremony, at the pleasure of the persons contracting, is crude, illogical, and unsafe. "There is the clergyman, and here is the justice of the peace; take your choice." That is the system in a nutshell. No standard of legal, mental, or moral fitness is established. Often this important function of social control is exercised with incredible ignorance and levity. The frivolous or mercenary magistrate and the Fleet parson flourish on American soil. It is said that the horrible cretins of Aosta are seldom in want of a priest to "solemnize" their nuptials, thus enabling them legally to propagate their loathsome kind. The story of our marriage resorts or Gretna Greens, so much more dangerous than our divorce colonies, shows that we have small reason to boast.

The fact is we are behind the times. European peoples have reached a wiser solution of the problem, prescribing in all cases without exception as the prerequisite of a valid marriage the obligatory celebration before an authorized civil officer, leaving the wedded pair to decide, as wholly a private matter, whether a religious ceremony shall follow.

A trained civil officer for the special business of solemnizing wedlock in his district! The idea may startle some people; but where can the merit-system be used to better advantage?

WHY GOOD MARRIAGE LAWS ARE A PREVENTIVE OF DIVORCE

Surely the foregoing discussion suggests the reason why good mariage laws are more effective in checking divorce than are good divorce laws. *They help to prevent the formation of bad marriages; and bad marriages are the only marriages which*

divorce dissolves. No happy marriage is destroyed by the divorce court. "You can't make people better by law" is a popular saying; but it is not true. You *can* make people better by law. For instance, good laws may remove temptations and create opportunities. A good marriage law is prevention—social prophylaxis; whereas a good divorce law is cure—social therapeutics.

Thus the lawmaker has a worthy function to perform in the development of social control. Yet, after all, the most effective social control of the household will consist in a properly informed public sentiment. Fill the minds of the young with social knowledge, and you will forestall domestic unrest and check household dissolution. There is crying need of a loftier ideal of the domestic relations. But the raising of ideals is a slow process. It will come only through a sound training in the problems of sex, parentage, and the household. Should not elementary education in these things be made compulsory? Then there is the great problem of providing competent leaders in this field. I wonder if the hour has come when the sociologist, the economist, the household scientist, and other specialists concerned should join forces in creating "The College of the Domestic Relations"? When in the fulness of time the new education has done its work, may it not be possible that the regenerated family group, disciplined and enlightened, may regain some portion of the functions which for the good of its members have passed under the control of the larger society?

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SURVEYS

THOMAS J. RILEY
Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

I. APPROACHES TO THE SOCIAL SURVEY

The social survey is the social technologist's attempt to see things in perspective. It is his appreciation of the organic character of social facts. It is as yet his nearest approach to a doctrine of social forces. The purpose of this paper is to consider some of these surveys, especially to consider to what extent they have taken account and to what extent the method can take account of the social forces, to which the sociologists give the fundamental place in social theory. The general spirit of the paper is rather to ask questions than to close arguments.

Through the charity organization movement.—To appreciate the social survey one must consider how it came to be. I shall not, however, attempt to give a history, but rather an essential account of it. When we recall who have planned and conducted these community invoices, consider their scope, the relative emphasis of subjects, and their immediate results, it is at once apparent that they are closely related to the charity organization movement.

The charity organization movement is in one sense organized, co-operative effort in some selected districts. A charity organization society lists all the agencies for social betterment in a given district, takes account of the needs of the neighborhood, and deliberately begins a persistent fight for better things. It brings together the charity agent, the friendly visitor, the truant officer, the probation officer, the settlement worker, the teacher, the preacher, the physician, and the citizen; focuses their minds now on this case and now on that condition; and then sends them out as united workers with a plan. This is done not once and not twice but all the time. If the city is properly organized by districts, it is possible through this plan to know conditions

and to work according to a well-defined program. It was inevitable that those who united to solve now this problem and then that one, coming from different fields and using different methods, should soon discover that there were common elements in many of the questions they considered from time to time. Who, therefore, more than the thinker in the work of organized charity should require a general survey of the social problems of the community?

The social survey is wider and deeper than this. The associated charities is an organization of the forms and factors of social service; the survey examines living, working, and community conditions, takes account of the home, the shop, and the neighborhood. The charity organization is an appreciation of the organic character of *forms of social service;* the social survey is an appreciation of the organic character of *social problems.* Although the survey is broad and deep it is not long. The influence of it may abide, but soon its pictures are old, and its figures out of date. It has a definite beginning and a definite close as a survey. This is one of the problems involved to which I shall recur near the close of the paper.

There is another way in which the charity organization societies created the demand for the social survey. Through the "case-counting" method of determining the causes of poverty, used so generally by these societies, it became clearer and clearer that these causes ran in series or even in circles instead of standing isolated. Sickness was frequently set down as the cause of distress in a case, but what caused the sickness? It may have been the conditions at the shop or the conditions at the home. It may have been the habits of the person involved. It may have been these separately, but often it was all combined. Or again, we may ask why do people have bad habits? Often it is because of bad homes that are bad because of bad shops. Or, it may be, people have bad homes because of bad habits, because of bad work, i.e., low wages, long hours, unhealthful or dangerous occupations. And so the series runs, or the round goes on. The discovery of the serial or circular character of the causes of

poverty created a demand for a competent investigation of these problems in their interrelations.

Another evidence of the close connection of the charity organization movement and the social survey is the fact that one of the most significant outcomes of probably the greatest social survey that has yet been made was an associated charities, born out of the needs that the survey disclosed, and commissioned to carry forward the work that the survey outlined.

Through scientific method.—There is another approach to the social survey. This is by way of the scientific method. However else we may characterize the scientific method it is the method of objectified material. The instruments of science are laboratories, test tubes, weights, and measures. In social technology this same objectivation of material can be seen. Scarcely more than a dozen years ago the charitable workers of the country were still classifying the causes of poverty under the heads of misconduct and misfortune. Today they are charging distress almost entirely to general social and living conditions. To illustrate this one might cite the classification by Dr. Frankel, viz., ignorance and industrial inefficiency (both chargeable to the failure of education), the exploitation of labor, and the lack of governmental supervision of the welfare of citizens; while Miss Brandt would leave out the first two, ignorance and inefficiency, regarding them as the results of the other two, but would add a personal cause, the perverted will.

The scientific method may also be described as inductive. It is an allegiance to induction that has given us the more competent methods of social investigation, of which the social survey is the comprehensive type. Although "case-counting" is strictly inductive it is not scientifically valid. The cases that are counted are not representative for the general population, or even for the industrial class. They may be representative of dependents, but even in the case of these, the personal equation is so manifest that only the tyro in science could regard his "counts" as more than shrewd guesses. Against this "form" of scientific method applied to an element of the population not of general significance, the reaction was inevitable.

Moreover, there are limitations to personal observation by the individual investigator. It has been aptly said that: "Life is too short, prejudices too ineradicable, individual qualifications too specialized, and the personal equation too disturbing, to permit any single individual, however gifted, to see for himself the community as a whole, and to measure the influences and forces that shape the family destiny."[1] Thus arose a demand for comprehensive investigations of great classes of the population by scientifically valid methods, that brought forth a grist of studies of the standard of living; or for a general examination of living and working conditions in significant districts that brought forth the social survey. The social survey is an attempt to determine what standards of living do and may exist in a district, or to apply an approved standard to the industrial population of a community in order to disclose the heights and depths of living, and to set the problems of raising weakened life to higher powers.

Through sociology.—Although the social survey is primarily the work of the social technologist it does not appear to what extent the social theorist may have been responsible for the point of view and for the ordering of effort and of material. It is not unlikely, however, that the insistence of the sociologist upon the interrelation of problems, that the claims of sociology as a synthesis of the special social sciences, and that the efforts of sociologists to answer the question what is worth while, have at least played the part of nurse, if they have not been the father of the thought.

These things, then, may probably be set down as antecedents of the social survey: (*a*) the charity organization movement—the organized effort of social service, necessarily disclosing the organic character of social problems themselves; (*b*) the scientific method—dealing inductively with objectified material and demanding representativeness and the elimination of the personal equation; and (*c*) the insistence of sociology upon the organic character of social facts.

[1] Dr. E. T. Devine, Publications of the American Sociological Society (1908), 85.

II. SOME SOCIAL SURVEYS

Some beginnings.—It would be difficult to list the social surveys that have been made, not so much because of their number, as because of their variety. Indeed, without some definition of the social survey one would hardly know what to include in the list. However, we shall not offer a definition, but will call attention to certain investigations that have some elements in common which perhaps entitle them to the name social survey.

A few years ago there appeared in one of the leading magazines of America a series of articles on the cultural interests of great cities, including among others London, Paris, New York, and Chicago. In one sense these were social surveys. They were somewhat short on data and not fundamentally inclusive, but they had the survey spirit.

I had the pleasure of preparing a monograph on what I was pleased to call the Higher Life of Chicago, which in form and spirit, though certainly not in significance, might have some claim to the title we are considering. It set in order of composition, at least, the several classes of facts found in the greater surveys about to be mentioned.

The city plan is a form of survey; though we may hardly call it a social survey. It is, however, the ground plan for all the various social undertakings of a community nature. In one very true sense also a competent charities directory—as the London, New York, and Boston directories—is a social survey. It is usually more formal than vital, but after all it is a fairly complete and well arranged inventory of the agencies of community betterment. But I must come at once to the great surveys.

"The Life and Labor of the People of London," Charles Booth.—I should like to call attention first to the monumental work of Charles Booth, *The Life and Labor of the People of London,* published in seventeen volumes, after seventeen years of investigation. Mr. Booth writes of his work, "My object has been to attempt to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort, and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives" (I, 6). Or again he says that he has tried to describe

"life and industry as they exist in London at the end of the nineteenth century, under the influences of education, religion, and administration" (XVII, 220). Accordingly we find four volumes on poverty, five on education, and seven on religious influences.

"The Pittsburgh Survey," Paul U. Kellogg and collaborators. —In the United States the Pittsburgh Survey stands out preeminent. The survey is so recent—not all the volumes having yet been published—and so stupendous that one may easily mistake it at many points. I shall have recourse therefore to the words of the director of the survey in describing it. Mr. Kellogg has called it "a rapid close-range investigation of living conditions in the Pennsylvania steel district." Or, again, he says, "Our inquiries have dealt with the wage-earners of Pittsburgh (*a*) in their relation to the community as a whole and (*b*) in their relation to industry. Under the former we have studied the genesis and racial makeup of the population, the physical setting and its social institutions; and under the latter we have studied the general labor situation: hours, wages, and labor control in the steel industry; child labor, industrial education, women in industry, the cost of living, and industrial accidents."[2]

In brief, the Pittsburgh Survey deals with (*a*) the people—for the most part the immigrant, (*b*) the place—clean air, clean water, and pure food, (*c*) the work—homes, wages, factory inspection, accidents, cost of living, and (*d*) the culture—libraries, schools, playgrounds, and children's institutions.

"The Buffalo Survey," Mr. John Daniels, in its demonstration year amounted to a study of the Poles as a considerable factor in the population of the city. The work has been permanently organized and much is expected from the survey in perpetuity so well begun. We might pause long enough to mention that some other cities, as Boston with its "1915 movement" and Kansas City with its Board of Public Welfare, are doing social surveying in a legitimate sense of the word, while St. Louis and Chicago and some others are at least talking about it.

[2] *Charities and the Commons,* June 2, 1909.

III. SOCIAL SURVEYS AND THE SOCIAL FORCES

Interests.—I have tried to describe but not to discuss the surveys of the life and labor of the people of London and of the people, the place and the work of Pittsburgh. I desire now to reconsider these social surveys especially from the standpoint of what the sociologists call social forces. It may at first seem that this is not a legitimate procedure because the surveys deal with material conditions and not with social forces. There is a measure of plausibility in such an objection. But it is not our purpose to require the surveyor to speak in the jargon of the sociologist or to think in terms of social forces. We shall not think it amiss if he speaks in terms of wages instead of appetitive desire. We shall encourage him to think in terms of industrial accidents instead of protective or negative ontogenetic forces.

I should like to say at the outset that it has been a most delightful experience to find how close is the correspondence between the social technologist's topics in his survey and the social theorist's terms in his list of social forces. There is, as should be expected, a constant difference between them; the one speaking in terms of forces, and the other in terms of the results of these forces, a difference that should not be hard to translate.

Before pointing out this correspondence it is necessary to adopt for the purposes of comparison, some statement of the social forces. My assumption at this point is that the phenomena of society are the phenomena of social forces. I assume also that the social forces are desires. It is my understanding that sociologists are practically agreed upon these two assumptions. How shall we classify these desires, these social forces?

Professor Ward has classified them as follows (*Pure Sociology,* 261):

Physical Forces (function, bodily)	Ontogenetic Forces	Positive, attractive (seeking pleasure)
		Negative, protective (avoiding pain)
	Phylogenetic Forces	Direct, sexual
		Indirect, consanguineal

Spiritual Forces (function, psychic)	Sociogenetic Forces	Moral (seeking the safe and good) Aesthetic (seeking the beautiful) Intellectual (seeking the useful and true)

Professor Small adopts the familiar sixfold classification of human desires, saying "that all the acts which human beings have ever been known to perform have been for the sake of (*a*) health, (*b*) wealth, (*c*) sociability, (*d*) knowledge, (*e*) beauty, (*f*) rightness, or for the sake of some combination of ends which may be distributed among these six" (*General Sociology,* 444).

Professor Ross adopts another classification of desires, hence of social forces. He classifies them as natural and cultural, and lists them as follows:

Natural Desires	*a*) Appetitive: Hunger, thirst, and sex-appetite. *b*) Hedonic: Fear, aversion to pain, love of warmth, ease, and sensuous pleasure. *c*) Egotic: These are demands of the self rather than of the organism. They include shame, vanity, pride, envy, love of liberty, of power, and of glory. The type of this class is ambition. *d*) Affective: Desires that terminate upon others: sympathy, sociability, love, hate, spite, jealousy, anger, revenge. *e*) Recreative: Play impulses, love of self-expression.
Cultural Desires	*f*) Religious: Yearning for those states of swimming or unconditioned consciousness represented by the religious ecstasy. *g*) Ethical: Love of fair play, sense of justice. *h*) Aesthetic: Desire for the pleasures of perception, i.e., for enjoyment of "the beautiful." *i*) Intellectual: Curiosity, love of knowing, or learning, and of imparting.[3]

However competent the schematic classification by Professor Ward may be philosophically, it does not lend itself readily to the uses of the surveyor be he never so philosophical or scientific.

A little familiarity with the greater social surveys that have already been briefly described makes it perfectly clear that the

[3] *Foundations of Sociology,* 169.

list of Professor Small corresponds quite clearly to the scope and order of subjects in the surveys. This obvious fact may be because the list was consciously or unconsciously used, or because both the theorist and the technologist arrived at the same classification giving it a high degree of probable adequacy for working purposes.

What has just been said is not necessarily an acceptance of the sixfold list as a competent classification of human *desires,* using that word to name the subjective side of *interest.* It is declaring the fact of a close correspondence and practical agreement between the list of Professor Small and the subjects in the surveys. What has been said leaves one free to adopt any other classification of *desires* as contrasted with *interests,* using the latter term as Professor Ross does when he says, "Desires may well be distinguishable from interests, the former being the primary forces as they well up in consciousness, the latter the great complexes, woven of multicolored strands of desire which shape society and make history."[4]

Professor Ross himself offers a fourfold classification of *interests,* i.e., of "complexes of goods which serve as means to the satisfaction of a variety of wants," which differs from Professor Small's list chiefly in having four instead of six classes. I have been surprised at the close correspondence between the classifications of Professor Small and Professor Ross on the one hand, and of Mr. Booth and Mr. Kellogg and their collaborators on the other. Note the correspondence in the case of Professor Ross and Mr. Booth; the former listing wealth, knowledge, religion, and government; the latter using life and industry, education, religion, and administration. Except for practical limitations the agreement in the case of Professor Small and Mr. Kellogg might have been equally apparent. These limitations, however, only obscured, they did not destroy the classification.

It has already been noted that the *Pittsburgh Survey* included a study of the problems of clean air, clean water, and pure food, including a special study of the prevalence of typhoid, and also

[4] *Foundations of Sociology,* 168.

of industrial accidents. Nothing could more happily illustrate the recognition of the health interest as Professor Small calls it. Or, to consider the wealth interest for a moment, at every point in the survey the question of wealth and its distribution is present or presupposed. Indeed, Dr. Devine has declared in the presence of some here now that one of the most striking things discovered by the *Pittsburgh Survey* was

> the contrast between the prosperity on the one hand of the most prosperous of all the communities of our western civilization, with its vast natural resources, the generous fostering of government, the human energy, the technical development, the gigantic tonnage of the mines and mills, the enormous capital of which the bank balances afford an indication, and, on the other hand, the neglect of life, of health, of physical vigor, even of the industrial inefficiency of the individual. Certainly no community before in America or Europe has ever had such a surplus, and never before has a great community applied what it had so meagerly to the rational purposes of human life.

The wealth and sociability interests are inseparably bound up with the fundamental subjects of the survey such as low wages for men, lower wages for women, overwork for all, and the destruction of family life by the demands of such days' work and by the accidents of industry. Under this head should be mentioned also the problem of the immigrant and the work of charity.

The knowledge interest is reported under schools and libraries, while the beauty interest has recognition under such subjects as art galleries. The rightness interest was taken into account under the moral influence of playgrounds, the system of aldermanic courts, and the work of the churches.

There is every internal evidence for believing that some such a classification was used in ordering the survey and that the directors recognized the organic character of the problems involved.

Desires.—Thus far I have been considering the social surveys from the standpoint of *interests,* using that term to denote complexes of the objective aspects of desire. I wish now to reconsider them from the standpoint of desire, that is from the subjective aspect of interest, as Professor Small uses the term.

For this purpose I shall use Professor Ross's classification of desires. I have already given the list and shall now take it up *seriatim,* noting its recognition in the surveys under discussion. First must be mentioned, therefore, the *appetitive desire,* that is hunger, thirst, and sex desire. With these *as such* neither of the surveys deals except perhaps with the thirst for drink. But at the same time they deal much with the questions of wealth, wages and labor—complexes of the *ends* of the appetitive desire; the desire appearing as a sort of veiled force.

The hedonic desire, that is fear, aversion to pain, love of warmth, ease, and sensuous pleasure, is for the most part not taken into the account by the surveyors, possibly because it is so nearly submerged under the more immediate desires of appetite just referred to. *The egotic desire,* that is shame, vanity, pride, envy, love of liberty, of power, and of glory, and ambition did not seem to impress the surveyors much, possibly because it is deadened by the manner of life, save in the case of vanity, envy, and the love of liberty and of power. Much the same can be said of the *affective* and the *recreative desires.* Some of these natural desires, as Professor Ross calls them, have a veiled recognition through a fairly adequate account of their objects of satisfaction.

When we consider the cultural desires, it is not altogether clear to what extent they were reckoned with. The *religious* desire, as a yearning for "states of swimming consciousness," the *ethical* desire as a love of fair play, a sense of justice, seem to have been consciously present at many points in the surveys, especially in that of Mr. Booth. The *aesthetic* desire, as a desire for the pleasures of the beautiful, and the *intellectual* desire as a love of knowing, of learning, and of imparting, likewise has a place, though a somewhat uncertain one, in these social invoices.

A little care is necessary in passing judgment as to the desire lying behind some specified act, for all too often the mischief and even the crime of men are due not to an evil desire but to a worthy one denied its legitimate expression. It is apt, though it may be trite, to name the recreative desire as an illus-

tration, which, when denied its natural gratification, is likely to express itself in petty offenses among youths, or in more vicious practices among men. So that when one is considering drunkenness, immorality, and crime, one may be dealing with the objective aspect of the natural recreative desire gone wrong.

But it may seem I have pronounced on the recognition of desires in the surveys without having given any evidence in support of the findings. I shall therefore call attention to some of the evidence upon which I have based my judgment.

Mr. Booth seems to have appreciated the value of such spiritual things as desire and at the same time the difficulty of reducing these values to terms of traditional standards. He declares that "in intensity of feeling . . . . and not in statistics lies the power to move the world." At times he writes as if he had the hedonic and the recreative desires clearly in mind. For example, he says, concerning the inside "filling up" of many blocks in London, that in some places may still be seen small rough-roofed erections, interspersed with little glass houses, that "represent hobbies, pursuits of leisure hours—plants, flowers, pigeons—and there is room to sit out, when the weather is fine enough, with friend and pipe" (I, 31).

At another time he writes as if he were discussing the egotic desire. He says: "Connected with this—the ebb and flow of this or that industry, or all the industries together for a time —is the saddest form of poverty, the gradual impoverishment of respectability, silently sinking into want" (I, 151). He is thinking not of wealth or of want but of that psychical somewhat that he calls "respectability silently sinking into want." At another time he points out the subjective and objective difference between a man who is on the up grade and another who is on the down grade even though they both are at the same level, assuming that each knows the direction he is going. Such a keen analysis makes the psychic fact of the condition of a man's mind a force to be reckoned with. He calls attention vividly to another psychic fact and indicates the necessity of reckoning with it in a program of meliorism. He says:

With regard to the disadvantages under which the poor labor, and the evils of poverty, there is a great sense of helplessness; the wage earners are helpless to regulate their work and cannot obtain a fair equivalent for the labor they are willing to give; the manufacturer or dealer can only work within the limits of competition; the rich are helpless to relieve want without stimulating its sources. To relieve this helplessness a better statement of the problems involved is the first step [p. 67].

Furthermore, in his chapter on "The Point of View," Mr. Booth (II, chap. VII) describes three elements of it that are readily translatable into the ordinary lingo of the social psychologist. They are (1) the relation to past experience, (2) the relation to expectation, and (3) the degree of sensitiveness of the public mind.

Other internal evidence of the virtual recognition of desires as social forces could be cited from *The Life and Labor of the People of London,* but we will content ourselves with these few. Turning now to the *Pittsburgh Survey,* I am compelled to say that, in the short time I have had to consider the partial reports that have come to hand, I have not found evidences of an appreciation of desires as social forces so plentiful as in the London survey. I believe, however, that a careful reading would find many evidences of this appreciation. In the quotation I am about to make there is an implicit recognition of several classes of social forces some of which the survey can and some of which it cannot take account of. Mr. Kellogg says:

The War Department engineers can tell you the exact number of cubic feet which slide past either side of the Point every minute. The sanitarians can give you the number of bacteria, friendly or plague-begetting, which infect a cubic centimeter. The weather man in a high building can forecast the exact stage which the water will register hours hence. But what of the people? . . . . They have largely taken themselves for granted. They have rarely taken time to test their own needs or consciously gauge the destination of the currents that possess them. They are here . . . . the strong, the weak, the cowed, the ambitious, the well-equipped and the pitiful. They jostle and work and breed. For the most part they run a splendid course. But they do not keep tally, and their ignorance means sorrow and death and misunderstanding.[5]

[5] *Charities and the Commons,* XXI, 526.

IV. SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SURVEYING

Social surveys and social psychology.—In conclusion I wish to set a few problems about social surveying in the light of what has already been said. I shall not attempt to discuss the questions asked, leaving them for the most part with little more than the asking. The first problem to which I invite your attention may be pointed by the question: Is it possible to take an account of the social interests of a community in terms of general living and working conditions and to work out a program of betterment from such an inventory, if the fundamental proposition of the sociologist is true, viz., that the social forces are the desires of men, or that the vital principle of society is psychical force? To take but a single illustration, does not the thesis of the sociologist demand a psychological account of poverty rather than a statement of wages and a description of housing conditions? This question may be stated in a slightly different form on the practical side thus: Can the desires of men be controlled through the objects that satisfy them?

Social surveys and their eugenic factors.—Closely related to this general question is another one: Is there not some danger of overlooking the factor of heredity, and especially the principles of eugenics, in the prominence given to the environmental factor? Under the spell of objectivication is there not danger that personal and parental responsibility may be undervalued? This may be another way of saying that we are in danger of undervaluing the power of religion in our wonderful progress of understanding and controlling social conditions. It is not altogether evident that we should look to the sociologist to rediscover the personal power of religion, but he may well have a care as may the social technologist that this powerful and general force may not be valued too lightly.

Social surveys and social statics.—Another problem that comes to mind is: Can the social survey, which is essentially static, be made to function through a long period of time. A good survey is an accurate picture, but it is not a motion picture. Mr. Booth says:

I have attempted to produce an instantaneous picture, fixing the facts on my negative as they appear at a given moment, and the imagination of my readers must add the movement, the constant changes, the whirl and turmoil of life.[6]

After his seventeen years of work Mr. Booth depends not upon the cross-sectional view of social conditions, but upon the memory of his workers and the flow of the seventeen years, to give length to his survey. Mr. Kellogg says:

The modern industrial city is a flow, not a tank. The important thing is not the capacity of a town but the volume and currents of its life and by gauging these we can gauge the community. We must gauge at the intake —the children, the immigrant, the countrymen who come in; gauge at the outlets; and gauge at the stages in the course of the working life. If there be unnecessary death, if strong freed hands are crippled or diseased through their manner of living or working, if the twelve-hour man sees everything gray before his eyes in the morning, if women work in new ways that cost their strength or the strength of their young; if school children are drafted off as laborers before they are fit; if boys grow into manhood without training for the trades of this generation—then we have a problem in social hydraulics to deal with.[7]

Of course, it is perfectly evident that if the surveys are significant they are certain to carry themselves forward not as surveys perhaps, but in the form of undertakings that got their inspiration and their basis of fact out of the survey. In this sense they are functional. Might it not be possible for them to carry themselves forward in adequate systems of social accounting, whereby we should not need again to take the invoice, but a balance sheet?

Social surveys as purposeful.—It may be pertinently asked also whether the social survey dominated by a practical purpose can be completely scientific. Perhaps we should not put upon the survey the test of scientific validity. It may be that they are for immediate and practical purposes and reach their sufficient proportions when they amount to convincing arguments to persuade men to undertake the work of civic and social betterment. The question would still remain, however, whether the collection and interpretation of data can be done without prejudice when

[6] Booth, *op. cit.*, I, 26.

[7] Kellogg, *op. cit.*, 525.

there is an ever-present purpose, and when every item is to be tested by the touchstone of getting something done.

Allow me a word of summary and then I am through. I have tried (1) to indicate the approaches to the social survey, naming the charity organization movement, the scientific method, and the insistence of sociology; (2) to describe the London and the Pittsburgh surveys; (3) to raise some questions as to the limitations of the method of the surveys. I wish to add my heartiest approval of this latest form of organizing the available knowledge of general living and working conditions, and its necessary outcome, a program of industrial and social betterment, the measure of the power of which no one can yet take. To use the figure of the distinguished president of the American Political Science Association in his splendid address at the opening meeting of these kindred societies, the social survey issuing in action is the best illustration I can think of, of the scholar and the statesman coming together in united effort.

DISCUSSION

MAURICE PARMELEE, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

I have been asked to discuss Professor Riley's paper from the following point of view: "What do the facts and conditions of crime and the principles of criminology indicate should be included in a social survey of a great city?"

I find it a little difficult to discuss this paper from this point of view because Professor Riley has not furnished us in his paper an outline of a social survey of a great city. If he had done so I could have indicated just where attention should be paid to the investigation of crime. But without such an outline it is impossible to indicate briefly the scope of such an investigation, for many of the things which would be done anyway in such a general social survey would also be necessary for a thorough investigation of crime. For example, the subject of population is of great importance for the investigation of crime, as, for example, its density, composition, etc. But it goes without saying that the population would be studied anyway in a general social survey of a great city, so that the information thus gained would be at hand to use in the investigation of crime.

It is a well-known fact that the majority of crimes are committed in cities, so that the city is the best place in which to investigate crime. Such a thoroughgoing investigation of crime included in the social survey of a

great city ought therefore to be of the greatest value. For one thing it ought to throw light upon this very significant fact that crime is concentrated in the cities. Furthermore, it ought to throw a great deal of light upon the general question of the causation of crime.

The first question of importance for the social surveyor is, of course, how he is to go about investigating the crime in a great city. It is natural to expect that the records of the criminal courts would furnish a great deal of valuable information, but unfortunately under present conditions the courts fail to record a great deal of very valuable information which cannot be secured in any other fashion. These records will of course indicate the number of persons tried, the number convicted, and for what crimes. But they furnish very little information as to the character and past life of these individuals. For example, some years ago while making a study of the effect of immigration upon crime in New York City, I tried to determine the classification of those convicted of crime according to race. After going through the court records for a good many years I was forced to desist from the attempt because of the inadequacy of these records. In like fashion the police records would give the number of arrests but would fail to furnish a great many other important facts which should be included in them. However, from the personal knowledge of many of those connected with the courts and the police administration a good deal of this information can be secured.

To speak of but a few of the things which should be included within the scope of such an investigation, the administration of the criminal courts and of the police should be carefully studied; the influence of the saloons or of other drinking-places upon crime; the opportunities and incentives for gambling and high living as well as the ways in which making a living is difficult in a great city. As many individual cases as possible should be studied in order to trace in these specific concrete cases the causation of crime. It would be well to choose the cases in such a fashion that they will illustrate as far as possible all the different kinds of crimes and of criminals. And while of course the social or environmental causes of crime will be thoroughly studied in such a survey, the hereditary forces also should not be neglected, but as far as possible the anthropological characteristics of these criminals should be studied in order to be able to estimate to some extent the biological forces which are at work in the causation of crime.

Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri

Professor Riley has discussed in his paper a very timely topic, the relation of sociology to social surveys. The sociologist is, of course, vitally interested in the scientific survey or investigation of the social conditions in various communities. This work, if properly done, should be not simply of some practical value to the community concerned, but should be signifi-

cant for the development of a science of sociology, which is after all nothing but the study of the biological and psychological factors in the social life. I suspect, however, that some of the social surveys undertaken in this country fall far short of the requirements of scientific sociology. Most of them, to be sure, have undertaken a more or less adequate study of the biological factors in the community life, such as population, place, work, and the like. The conditions of the environment and the conditions affecting nutrition and physical well-being have received attention, but relatively less attention has been given to the psychological factors in the community life, such as education, religion, government, and law, to say nothing of more intangible phenomena like public opinion, the mental attitude of individuals toward their group, and the ways in which they are co-ordinated. Professor Riley's monograph on *The Higher Life of Chicago* comes as near being a social survey approaching the matter from the psychical standpoint as some recent social surveys do in approaching the matter from the material side.

But why should the psychological aspects of the community life be so emphasized? Is not their study quite unnecessary from a scientific point of view? Do we not know everything about a community when we know the material conditions of its life? The answer will be evident if we consider for a moment what sociology is. A society is certainly a group of people living together. I think that we can all agree upon that. But how do they live together? By co-ordinating their activities or by co-operation, as we say, but this does not tell us much. How do they co-operate, or co-ordinate their activities? Manifestly by means of mental interactions, that is, through interstimulation and response. A society is, therefore, a group of people living together by means of interstimulation and response. What its total life is depends very largely upon the attitude of its members toward one another. How they co-operate depends, therefore, upon common will, belief, and opinion, and the agencies by which common will, belief, and opinion effect social control. These agencies are chiefly religion, government and law, and education. These are the chief agencies by which a community controls its common activities and carries on a collective life process. We should not forget, however, that back of them stand the more intangible things already mentioned. We need, therefore, in any scientific social survey a study not only of the material conditions of life, such as work, wages, population, housing, etc., but also a study of religion, government and law, education, and the more intangible things of common will, common belief, common opinion, and the like. Only such a survey can be adequate from the sociological point of view, or from any purely scientific point of view.

My criticism of some social surveys in the United States, then, is that they fail to take account sufficiently of these psychological factors. They do not go to work in any intelligent way to study these factors. Of course, the study of these factors is more difficult than the study of the material factors,

and I have not time to discuss with you scientific methods by which the study of these factors may be undertaken. But it is evident that these factors are not impossible of scientific study and that they are the real key to the social situation in every community. If more stress were laid upon them, if ways were found out of influencing mind, the dynamic agent in society, I think the complaint of Professor Blackmar regarding the inefficacy of most social reform movements would not need to be made.

I need hardly say that I disagree with Professor Riley's assumption that the desires are the true social forces. Surely Dr. Riley is aware that for at least a dozen years a considerable number of sociologists have protested against this idea. By social forces we can mean, of course, nothing more than the active factors present in any social situation. The word desire is altogether too vague to cover the subjective or psychological factors in the social life. No two sociologists could agree upon the exact connotation which they give to the word. Some use the word desires to mean the native impulses; others mean by it the feelings, and still others, general habits of response of a population. The truth is, this word desire was borrowed by the sociologists, not from the psychologists, but from the economists, who made use of the term in connection with that over-rationalized conception, "the economic man." Desire is a term borrowed from the intellectualistic social philosophy of the early nineteenth century. It is vague in its psychological connotation and altogether inadequate to describe the varied psychological factors in human society. How much, may I ask you, of the phenomena which Professor Vincent has so admirably described for us in his paper on "Group Rivalry" could be interpreted in terms of conscious desire? We must bring the terminology of sociology into accord with the terminology of scientific psychology; and only thus can we take into account and adequately study the various psychological factors in the social life, whether we are making a concrete social survey or giving an abstract statement of theory.

REVIEWS

The Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, LL.D. Two vols. New York: Putnams, 1910. $4.

The revival of interest in the Old South due to many causes continues to supply us with good books on Virginia: during the present year Munford's *Secession of Virginia,* Ambler's *Sectionalism in Virginia,* Gordon's *Life of Gordon,* and Wertenbaker's *Patrician and Plebeian* have come to the reviewer's notice—a rather large number of books on a single American state, especially for one so far from the center of the great stage of the world's events. Now Mr. Philip Bruce, the foremost authority on Virginia history, comes out with a book which surpasses all others that have appeared since the publication of his own former work, *The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.*

The Institutional History of Virginia is written from the original sources as is evidenced on every page, i.e., from the manuscripts bearing on the English colonies in America in the British archives, from the various collections in Virginia and in Washington, and from the local or county records. Mr. Bruce has spent a dozen years in collecting the materials and in writing this book, and the result fully justifies the immense expenditure of thought and labor. If there was any doubt before there can be none now that he is the first and greatest authority on early Virginia history, and coming from such hands all students and even "lay readers" of history must turn to his pages as to a court of last resort.

In a work of this high character it is scarcely necessary to outline in detail the chapters of which it is composed except perhaps to show the nature of the topics treated. The two volumes are divided into five parts as follows: Religion and Morals, Education, Legal Administration, Military System, Political Conditions, and these parts are subdivided into many chapters such for example as "The Clergy," "Dissent," "The Parish," "Witchcraft," and so on. If we bear in mind the topics of Mr. Bruce's former writings, the economic history and social life of early Virginia, it will be seen that in this book he has completed the story.

He has now presented to us a full life-portrait of the first great English colony in America. And nothing is clearer than that this colony was but a part of England—a projection of Shakespeare's country across the wide Atlantic. In church, as in state, affairs Virginia was a new England. The country, its life, its organization, its whole spirit was genuinely English. There were the aristocratic leading families, the sturdy yeomen, the servant class; and the county lieutenant, the dignified justice of the peace, the quiet, ceremonious clergyman, the self-perpetuating vestry were all good counterparts of similar local officials or institutions in England.

The old story that Virgina manifested no interest in education, that the church languished for the lack of devoted clergymen, receives a severe blow from these pages; and the opinion that all Puritans and saints settled in Massachusetts and that only cavaliers or worse people went to Virginia is also shown to be entirely incorrect. The so-called Old Dominion was a resort, even in the seventeenth century, for Puritans and Quakers; and Massachusetts was perhaps the home of as many cavaliers as was the more southern offshoot of England.

The treatment of all these topics by the author is without bias of any kind; there are no invidious comparisons, there is no defense of anything—simply the straightforward narration of the facts, unadorned, to be sure, except that every page shows forth truthful history, and that is adornment indeed. Every scholar must be grateful for this thorough, complete, and final work upon the subject and in the years to come its influence will very likely be greater even than that of the *Economic History* which has been for a decade the most quoted book on Virginia.

WILLIAM E. DODD

Organismic Theories of the State. By F. W. COKER. New York: Columbia University (Longmans, Green & Co., Agents), 1910. Pp. 209. $1.50.

After a rather lengthy introduction in which conceptions partly organismic, the combinations of contractual and organismic ideas, and the metaphysical conceptions of the organism as held by Hegel, Schelling, Krause, Ahrens, Waitz, and others are reviewed, the author takes up the body of his analysis as follows: (1) The

Psychic Conception of the State, (2) The "Natural Science" of the State, and (3) The State and the Social Organism. Under (1) he considers the theories of Görres, Welcker, Rohmer, Volgraff, Stahl, Schmitthenner, Stein, Lasson, and Gierke; under (2) the theories of Zacharia, Volgraff, Frantz, and Bluntschli; and under (3) those of Comte, Spencer, Lilienfeld, Schäffle, Worms, and Fouillée. Though Dr. Coker is ostensibly dealing with the organismic theories of the state, the internal evidence of his subject-matter shows that the writers he treats were, for the most part, concerned primarily with organismic theories of society as a whole. Consequently, Dr. Coker has been more or less under the necessity of selecting his facts, a procedure which is always open to the danger of throwing them out of focus with the viewpoint of the writers themselves. This species of displacement has, however, been fairly well guarded against.

Dr. Coker's conclusions are essentially as follows:

> The theorists failed to make explicit and definite their rendering of terms; certain fundamental propositions involved in their conception of organism or person cannot be validly asserted of the state; such of their propositions as are valid are inadequate to prove that the state is an organism or person in the sense either in which these terms are commonly used, or in which the theorists must be inferred to have conceived them; and the hypothesis that the state is an organism or person has no practical or moral consequence (p. 202). . . . . The important part of the work of the writers we have studied has been their insistent statement of what we may call the secondary principles of their systems (p. 203).

These secondary principles he summarizes as

> the close interdependence among the citizens and institutions of the state; the political effects of environment in its broadest sense; the consequences of antecedent state events; the perpetual and important character of the aim of political organization in its relation to the career of man; and the relatively subordinate importance of any particular department of that organization (pp. 202–3).

With most of Dr. Coker's criticisms we may agree and yet insist that, at least from the standpoint of the sociologist, he has missed the point. We may dismiss the biological analogies without further comment. But the fact that the actual truths of the organismic theories lie in what Dr. Coker terms "the secondary principles" has for us an important meaning. The primary motives or purposes of a theory or movement frequently do not appear in its argumenta-

tive or propaganda literature; in the effort to make the concepts explicit and concrete the argument frequently becomes lost in subsidiary details, which for many are the sole animus of discussion. This notably has been the case in connection with the organismic theories.

The significant fact about the organismic movement in social and political theory is that it was in practically all the stages of its growth a more or less conscious protest against the old individualistic theories. It conceived of society and the state as the most highly organized institution in society, as something more than the product of the individual consciousness, tracing their origin at various times to divine fiat, to a growth from inner necessity, and finally to the collective reaction upon environment. The absurd analogies were primarily in the nature of illustrations. The prevailing motive of the movement has been to establish the necessary unity of society as the condition of securing a higher degree of co-operation among its members. Novicov—whom the author does not cite—expressly states this as its purpose,[1] and Durkheim—to whom the author also does not refer—lays great stress upon the theory that society is the organismic or unitary product of a co-operative differentiation of functions.[2] Even Spencer—almost the only pronounced individualist among the theorists of the social organism—has been shown by Huxley to have contradicted himself in drawing his individualistic conclusions.[3]

It is a mistake to find the chief significance of the organismic theories in their analogies. The facts of importance in this connection are those which called the various organismic theories into existence.

L. L. BERNARD

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Mental Discipline and Educational Values. By W. H. HECK, M.A., Professor of Education in the University of Virginia. New York: John Lane Co., 1909. Pp. 147.

It is illuminating to notice the convergence of opinion in educational thought toward the idea that the external objective conditions to be found in the environment of the individual as he

[1] *Conscience et volonté sociales*, 2–3, 9–10; *Annales de l'Institut international de sociologie*, (1898), 188.

[2] *De la division du travail social.*

[3] T. H. Huxley, "Administrative Nihilism," *Essays* (Appleton), 1, 269 ff.

functions or is to function in life should be the governing influences in the shaping of the curricula of the schools, high and low. While the title of the volume in review might not suggest the thought of the foregoing statement, a perusal of the book itself brings the reader to that conclusion. The essential thought of the volume is contained in the final paragraph:

> Mental discipline is the most important thing in education, but it is specific, not general. The ability developed by means of one subject can be transferred to another subject only in so far as the latter has elements in common with the former. Abilities should be developed in school only by means of those elements of subject-matter and of method that are common to the most valuable phases of the outside environment. In the high school there should also be an effort to work out general concepts of method from the specific methods used. Through courses which develop valuable specific abilities and, in addition, valuable concepts of method, the school can become a vital, direct means of preparing boys and girls for environmental usefulness, especially if the school combines, simultaneously or successively, with the general course such vocational training as will make its graduates independent economic factors in society.

The author's position is that specific mental discipline is the object of the schools because this specific discipline is the best preparation the youth can get for his further undertakings in society. To get up to this position the author gives the history of the doctrine of formal discipline, collects the numerous experiments which have been made by psychologists to disprove and to prove it, investigates the localization of functions in the brain, considers the general concept of method, and the standards of educational value. His conclusions as to discipline are that the seeming transference of discipline relative to bodily organs or of mental powers arises from the fact that, first, symmetrical parts of the body or mind are used, involving in their co-ordination the same brain tracts, and thus having a common element; second, that a method of procedure or plan of action is developed which is able to be used in different fields of action, in so far as those fields contain cognate or similar content; and, contrariwise, that interference is likely to ensue as a result of attempting to force one special line of training to serve as a propaedeutic for one that is not cognate.

His plan for the division of labor between sociologists and psychologists is that sociologists are competent to pronounce upon the subject-matter of education (and the subject-matter he considers by far the most important element in the training process,

much more important than considerations of formal method of teaching), and psychologists should have for their function the distribution of this subject-matter so as to make it most available for the various ages of the pupils.

There is an abundance of valuable material gathered together in the chapters treating the doctrine of formal discipline, experiments, and localization of functions, consisting of quotations of authors pro and con, and of the substance of the material of the experiments which have been made. The author's considerations of the matter and his conclusions are not the least valuable portion of the contribution. All in all Professor Heck's treatise is of inherent value and will serve as an effective agent in clearing away the cobwebs of illusion concerning formal discipline which still hang heavy in certain educational quarters.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

Das Geschlechtsleben der Menschheit. IV: "Das Geschlechtsleben der neuesten Zeit." Von FRANZ HELBING. Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1910. 8vo, pp. viii+296.

A thorough study of the problems of sex-life in recent times, even for a single people, would be a hard task and it would be a social service of great value. Such a study would require unique equipment. In particular, no one but an expert in institutional history and in sociology could well hope for success. The present work has not in any important respect advanced the solution of any of the grave questions incident to the sexual life of man. There is little evidence that the author understands the sociological meaning of his subject. The sensational is exploited. Curiosities and highly seasoned anecdotes are collected. One seeks in vain for help on such questions as sex-education or the social remedies for the great "black plague." Sometimes a coarseness of style is deliberately adopted. The author declares that, "in spite of an unavoidable freedom of expression," he believes his book "has served true morality." The earnest sociologist will be the last person to criticize plain speaking. Prurient modesty in the discussion of sex-problems is a serious hindrance to social progress. Yet it is much to be doubted whether the "freedom" of the author's speech is always prompted by wise zeal for the revelation of unpleasant truth. Moreover, his judgments are often harsh and without discrimination. He is inclined to brand with hard names an

epoch, a people, a book or a social theory. There is little suspension of judgment or calm weighing of evidence; slight effort to search out the fundamental social causes of sexual vice or degeneration. Good examples of such violence of assertion and of such sterility of method may be found in the first chapter where the teachings of St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, and other socialists are indicted.

The text is not sustained by a proper scientific apparatus. Sometimes a book or a writer is named in the discussion, and there is an occasional footnote in the margin; but no bibliography of sources or of secondary authorities is provided. Some of the incidents or other details would be of real service, if backed up by exact citation of the sources. In the present stage of historical research, is it not too much to expect the reader to take unverified assertions on trust?

The author's hardihood in some portions of his book is amazing. Such is the case in the chapter devoted to the United States, which he styles "the land of unlimited possibilities." The narrative does not rise above the level of gossip. It is absolutely without scientific value. Trustworthy sources of information seem to be entirely unknown to the writer. A few rambling paragraphs, for instance, are given to divorce; but they contain no evidence of first-hand acquaintance with either of our two great government reports, with the monographic literature to which these reports have given rise, or with any of the papers which the very active discussion of the problem of marriage and divorce during the last few years has called forth. It is to be regretted that this book was ever published!

George Elliott Howard

University of Nebraska

Transition in Virginia from Colony to Commonwealth. By Charles Ramsdell Lingley, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Dartmouth College. New York: Columbia University, 1910.

Dr. Lingley has treated an already familiar subject, the beginning of the Revolution in Virginia, with great care and without bias or preconceptions. His book, based as it is in all its parts upon the original sources, sought out at great pains and expense in Virginia, in the libraries of New York and Massachusetts, is decidedly a contribution to American historical literature, and it is

likely to become a familiar guide to the student of this important field.

The first chapter treats briefly the expansion of Virginia during the two decades preceding the conflict with England; the second is a careful review of the quarrels of the Burgesses with the governor or the mother-country from 1752 to 1770; and the third shows how mistaken was the British cabinet in sending Lord Dunmore to Virgina, with teams of instructions, as a peacemaker. The remaining five chapters give a thorough account of the fall of the old régime, the Revolutionary movement, the conventions, the constitution of 1776, and the legal revision and readjustment which necessarily followed.

The author does not give Patrick Henry such importance as some have done, and he discounts the view that there was a strong aristocratic party in the eastern counties which was dragged along by the enthusiasm of the up-country. To Dr. Lingley it appears that the leaders of the colony who were even most loyal and conservative were already indoctrinated with ideals of autonomy and self-government, and were therefore ready for a break, though not desiring it, when the aggressive policy of the British crown and Parliament became during the early seventies unendurable. And there is much evidence to support this contention. Further, it is the view of this book that there was no real struggle over the main principles of the constitution of 1776. And here again the silence of most witnesses supports him.

However there are some facts which support the claims of biographers of Henry, like Moses Coit Tyler, that an aggressive and democratic up-country precipitated the quarrels about the clergy, the Stamp Act, and constantly pressed upon the eastern oligarchy the necessity of a break with England. And one of these facts was the investigation of the financial affairs of the colony in 1765 and 1776 which, though no great publicity was given to it, thoroughly discredited the older leaders of the East. Henry, R. H. Lee, and Richard Bland were practically prosecutors of the speaker treasurer, Robinson, who was shown to have squandered £103,000 in Virginia currency on his political machine. Another was the unanimous support of Henry by up-country members in his fight for his famous resolutions of 1765, and the general hostility to him by the low-country men.

And when the break came it was the back-country counties

which organized the independent companies; there Henry found his recruits for his short campaign to regain the gunpowder, and to the back-country Washington looked for reinforcements when his army was in sorest straits. While these things do not show that the East was entirely indifferent to the cause of independence, they do suggest a strong party alignment.

And finally the conservative character of the constitution of 1776 was due to the efforts of men who had been slow to join the Revolutionary movement, perhaps to the failure of Henry to stand up for his ideals of democracy—a compromise such as one meets with in every crisis of American history. The constitution certainly was a sore disappointment to the men who had done most to bring on the war and who were to respond most readily to the recruiting officers of the Continental army.

But this is too good a book to be criticized severely for omissions of this sort. The reviewer knows of no other equally satisfactory account of the movement for independence in Virginia.

WILLIAM E. DODD

Social Service and the Art of Healing. By RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1910. Pp. 192.

The high value of this book lies in its analysis of the special functions of the physician and the social worker and in the fine illustrations of co-operation between them. To the sociologist the "outline study of character" (pp. 72–74) has particular interest, and it may be compared with the analyses of ends or interests of social effort made by Small, Ward, Ross, and others. While this outline reveals many defects, it is worth attention for the new points of view and for the demonstration of the helpfulness of such a study. The main proposition is that "the true business of the social worker is a physical diagnosis and treatment" or "the study of character under adversity and of the influences that mold it for good or ill."

C. R. HENDERSON

Nature and Nurture. By KARL PEARSON. London: Dulau & Co., 1910. Pp. 31.

The Eugenics Laboratory is producing substantial results, and this address is a capital popular presentation of the method and

conclusions of the London pioneers. Pearson seems to make out his case against the generally accepted assumption that natural inheritance is a minor matter, that education and improved environment can work wonders. But Pearson is fighting the best and strongest motive of our time, and repeating the mistake of Herbert Spencer, when he decries philanthropy and general education; and he is losing a fine opportunity by false tactics. There is not a hint in this powerful and convincing lecture that the great social mathematician has ever heard of our American policy of segregation of the unfit in celibate colonies which reconciles the tenderest feelings of pity with the widest vision of remote results for the race. When society is called on to support or correct an incapable member it has a right to select the method of doing so; for the unfit this method is the celibate colony.

C. R. HENDERSON

Sociology and Modern Social Problems. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. New York: American Book Co., 1910. Pp. 331.

In presenting this volume to the public, Professor Ellwood has made a valuable contribution to the literature of applied sociology, to use the familiar terminology of Lester F. Ward. The writing of a textbook in the formative period of a science is a peculiarly hazardous undertaking. This the author has realized fully and has cautiously limited his field to that of "an elementary text in sociology as applied to modern social problems." While the book "aims to teach the simpler principles of sociology concretely and inductively," it makes no claim to the systematic or comprehensive development of sociological theory.

Written as it is for beginners' classes, university extension courses, and teachers' reading circles, the author has perhaps wisely adopted the newer method of developing theory, as far as he has sought to develop it at all, as an incident of the discussion of concrete practical problems, rather than adhering to the more common method of developing the abstract principles of the science and then illustrating the principles in their application to concrete material. He says: "The student's attention is called to certain obvious and elementary forces in the social life, and he is left to work out his own system of social theory."

Two chapters are devoted to preliminary explanations. The

first is given to the explanation of the terms society, association, sociology, and the relation of sociology to other sciences, to socialism, and to social reform. For sociologists this is a hackneyed method, but taking into consideration the purpose of the volume as an elementary text for students who approach the subject for the first time, we believe that the method is justifiable. The second surveys "The Bearing of the Theory of Evolution upon Social Problems." This includes a discussion of the two somewhat distinct but closely related theories of evolution, viz., Darwin's doctrine of descent and Spencer's theory of universal evolution, and concludes with a brief description of the newer biological theories of heredity, showing their bearing on social interpretation. The value of this chapter will depend largely upon the supplementary work of instructors in the use of the text. The discussion of these topics is too fragmentary and incomplete to give the student who has not already some knowledge of the subjects an adequate basis for their application.

The body of the work is devoted to the discussion of the more important social problems. Five chapters are devoted to the Function, Origin, Forms, Historical Development, and Problems of the Family. One chapter each is devoted to "The Growth of Population," "The Immigration Problem," "The Negro Problem," "The Problem of City Life," "Poverty and Pauperism," "Crime," "Socialism in the Light of Sociology," and "Education and Social Progress."

The large amount of space given to the family is due to the author's method. He says:

> Instead of continuing the study of social evolution in general it will be best now, before we take up some of the problems of modern society, to study the evolution of some important social institution, because in so doing we can see more clearly the working of the biological and psychological forces which have brought about the evolution of human institutions.

Four of the five chapters on the family are devoted to this study, the last only being a consideration of the problems of the modern family.

In view of the statement that "the two most important institutions of human society are the family and poverty," it seems somewhat strange that no chapter dealing directly with economic problems appears. While the economic aspects of the problems discussed are by no means ignored, but on the contrary are given

ample consideration, nevertheless a discussion of the social aspects of the results of the industrial revolution, such as labor problems, standards of living, child labor, etc., seems to be rather too important to have been entirely omitted.

Again, how shall we account for the fact that while religious influences upon the problems discussed are often referred to, no discussion of modern religious problems is presented? The social aspects of institutional religion and the modern problems involved are too important to be overlooked in any treatment of modern social problems.

On the side of interpretation a still more peculiar omission occurs. The second chapter concludes with the following paragraph:

> From this brief and most elementary consideration of the bearings of evolutionary theory upon social problems it is evident that evolution, in the sense of what we know about the development of life in society in the past, must be the guide post of the sociologist. Human social evolution, we repeat, rests upon and is conditioned by biological evolution at every point. There is, therefore, scarcely any sanity in sociology without the biological point of view.

This statement is not in the least overdrawn and for this reason the insertion of the second chapter is amply justified. But in view of Professor Ellwood's well-known views on the subject of psychological sociology and his statements in the opening chapter, his treatment has not been wholly methodical. He says:

> It is manifest that sociology must depend upon biology, since biology is the general science of life, and human society is but part of the world of life in general; it is manifest also that sociology must depend upon psychology to explain the interactions between individuals because these interactions are for the most part interactions between their minds. Thus on the one hand, all social phenomena are vital phenomena, and on the other hand, nearly all social phenomena are mental phenomena.

Our criticism is merely that this well-balanced view does not find correspondingly well-balanced treatment because of the omission of a chapter or portion of a chapter setting forth the principles of psychological interpretation as an equally necessary prerequisite for the understanding of social problems. Limitations of space or time will hardly be a more satisfactory explanation than was such an explanation given by Mr. Spencer for the omission of principles of inorganic science from his *Synthetic Philosophy*.

Not that Professor Ellwood has pretended to offer a comprehensive treatment of sociology as applied to modern social problems, but the work is offered as a textbook and by that criterion it is to be judged.

As to positive valuation, much may be said in the way of appreciation. The book is the best that has yet appeared in the realm of practical sociology.

Substantially the same general outline is followed in the discussion of each problem. The syllabus of the chapter on "Poverty and Pauperism" will serve as an illustration of the general method of treatment:

1. Definitions of Poverty and Pauperism.
2. The Extent of Poverty and Pauperism in the United States.
3. The Genesis of the Depressed Classes.
4. Concrete Causes of Poverty.
   (1) Objective Causes of Poverty.
   (2) Economic Causes.
   (3) The Subjective Causes of Poverty.
   (4) Pauperism and Degeneracy.
   (5) The Influences of Heredity upon Pauperism.
5. Proposed Remedies for Poverty and Pauperism.
   (1) Public and Private Outdoor Relief.
   (2) State Charitable Institutions.
   (3) Dependent Children.
   (4) Public and Private Charity.
   (5) Preventive Agencies.

The author's wide acquaintance with the best literature on the themes, supplemented by personal investigation and critical observation, has enabled him to treat them in a constructive manner. At the end of each chapter is appended a double list of select references: "For Brief Reading" and "For More Extended Reading." These references taken together constitute an extended and valuable bibliography in practical sociology.

The sanity of the author's conclusions in reference to social problems is emphasized by his insistence upon a plurality of causes in every instance. A good illustration may be cited from the chapter on "Socialism in the Light of Sociology":

> Let us bring the discussion down to more concrete terms. The student has seen that in every social problem there are a multitude of factors or stimuli (causes) at work, and that in no problem is the economic factor so all important that it may be said that other factors are simply subsidiary.

On the contrary, in such a problem as crime the methods of production and the distribution of material goods, while important factors in the problem of crime, in no way determine that problem; and ideal conditions in the production and distribution of wealth would in no way solve the problem of crime. So, too, the negro problem is hardly touched by the question of the forms of industry or the economic organization of society. We might go on with a whole list of social problems and show that in every case the economic factor is no more important than many other factors, and that the economic reorganization of society would in some cases scarcely affect these problems at all. *The social problem, therefore—the problem of the relations of men to one another—is not simply nor fundamentally an economic problem; rather it is fundamentally a biological and psychological problem*—if you please, a moral problem.

The book is clear, concise, and, above all, readable, and we predict for it a useful service in the sphere for which it is intended.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Liberty and Progress. By C. Y. C. DAWBARN, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. Pp. xiii+339.

Mr. Dawbarn's title seems like an echo of Lecky's for the latter's two volumes on *Democracy and Liberty;* but his work is not comparable with Lecky's. Its scope is much narrower, as its main subject is the relations of employer and employed. On this matter and various kindred subjects, Mr. Dawbarn's opinions are those of a very conservative mind much given to admiration of Jeremy Bentham, "the father of modern thought and liberty." To Mr. Dawbarn it has "seemed sacrilege to give his views in any words but his own," and he therefore gives many quotations from the one prophet. The reader will not object to this proceeding, as there is the greatest possible contrast between Bentham's lively exaggerated style and the rather commonplace balancing of arguments which characterizes Mr. Dawbarn. He appears to be a gentleman of leisure who unfortunately has means to print his ideas, however pointless most of them may be. He advises his readers that he refers mainly, besides to Bentham, to Fawcett's textbook of political economy, and to that by "Mr. Walker of Massachusetts." He cheers our souls by informing us that "both can be obtained at a moderate cost, and those anxious to go farther into the subject will find them equally instructive and entertaining reading." We

ungratefully reply, "Why was so much money spent upon this excellent paper and binding rather than upon the distribution of free copies of the textbook of Mr. Walker of Massachusetts?"

N. P. GILMAN

MEADVILLE, PA.

BOOK NOTICES

Preventive Agencies and Methods. By CHARLES R. HENDERSON. 440 pages.

Penal and Reformatory Institutions. By Sixteen Leading Authorities. Illustrated. 346 pages.

Habitations à bon marché et caisses d'épargne. Par HENRY CLÉMENT. Pp. 63. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1911.

Le socialisme et la concentration industrielle. Par Hubert Bourgné. Paris: Marcel Rivière et Cie, 1911. Pp. 88.

L'habitation ouvrière et à bon marché. Par LUCIEN FERRAND, membre du conseil supérieur des habitations à bon marché. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1911. Pp. 210. Fr. 2.

Correction and Prevention. Four volumes, prepared for the Eighth International Prison Congress. Edited by CHARLES R. HENDERSON. Price per set, $10; per volume, $2.50.

Prison Reform. By CHARLES R. HENDERSON, F. B. SANBORN, F. H. WINES, AND OTHERS. And *Criminal Law in the United States.* By EUGENE SMITH. Illustrated. 320 pages.

Les fondements énergétiques de la science de la civilisation. Par WILHELM OSTWALD. Traduit de l'allemand par E. PHILLIPPI. Bibliothèque sociologique internationale. Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1910. Pp. 147.

Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children. By HASTINGS H. HART. Illustrated. 420 pages. (Russell Sage Foundation Publications.)

Each of these volumes will be noticed later in this *Journal.*

L'idée d'une science du droit universel comparé. Par M. GIORGIO DEL VECCHIO, Professeur à l'Université de Messine. Traduction de M. RENÉ FRANCEZ. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1910.

Les manuscrits économiques de François Quesnay et du Marquis de Mirabeau aux archives nationales (M. 778 à M. 785). Inventaire. Extraits et Notes. Par GEORGES WENLERSSE. Pp. 150. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1910.

La solidarité sociale dans le temps et dans l'espace. Annals de l'Institut International de Sociologie. Tome XII, contenant les travaux du Sep-

tième Congrès, tenu à Berne en Juillet, 1909. Pp. 324. Tome XIII, *La solidarité sociale, ses formes, son principe, ses limites.* Pp. 326. Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1911.

Le sabotage. Par EMILE POUGET. Bibliothèque du Mouvement Prolétarien, XIII. Paris: Marcel Rivière et Ciè. Pp. 68.

If one wishes to learn the gospel of "soldiering on the job," it will be found very frankly argued in this monograph.

Workmen's Insurance and Compensation Systems in Europe. Twenty-fourth annual report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1909. Vol. I, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany. Pp. xv+1493. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

Some Nativity and Race Factors in Rhode Island. Reprint from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics of Rhode Island for 1909. By CAROL ARONOVICI. Providence, R.I.: E. L. Freeman Company, 1911. Pp. 223.

Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States. In nineteen volumes. Prepared under the direction of CHARLES P. NEILL, Commissioner of Labor. Vol. II, *Men's Ready-made Clothing;* pp. 878. Vol. III, *Glass Industry;* pp. 970. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

American Labor Legislation Review. Vol. I, No. 1; pp. 144. $1.00. ($3.00 per year.) Issued quarterly by the American Association of Labor Legislation, Madison Avenue, New York City.

With this number of the Society's publications (No. 12) a new journal enters the field. This initial number contains the proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the society.

A History of California Labor Legislation. With an Introductory Sketch of the San Francisco Labor Movement. (University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. II.) By LUCILE EAVES. Berkeley: The University Press, 1911. Pp. xiv+461.

If we are too much in and of the labor movement to be final judges of its meaning, our generation is certainly deserving the gratitude of future historians by its work in compiling sourcebooks for later generations to interpret. This volume will be among the most valuable bodies of material for that purpose.

The Modern Criminal Science Series. Published under the auspices of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Vol. I, *Modern Theories of Criminality.* By C. BERNALDO DE QUIRÓS. Translated from the Spanish by ALFONSO DE SALVIO, with an introduction by WM. W. SMITHERS, ESQ. Pp. xxvii+249. Vol. II, *Criminal Psychology.* By HANS GROSS, J.U.D., Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Graz, Austria. Translated from the fourth German edition by HORACE

M. KALLEN. With an introduction by JOSEPH JASTROW. Pp. xx+514. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1910.

To be reviewed later.

What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Communities. An outline. By MARGARET F. BYINGTON, Associate Field Secretary of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 105 East Twenty-second Street, 1911. Pp. 32.

This essay might be described as a set of blanks for a social survey of any community. Every social worker who is not convinced that he has a superior system of categories should obtain a copy of the pamphlet.

Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans. A Social Study Made by Atlanta University under the Patronage of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund. By W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS (Editor). Atlanta University Publications, No. 14, 1009. Pp. 136. $0.75.

This publication is the result of the second investigation of the efforts of the Negroes for their own social betterment. It is a descriptive and statistical account of their schools, churches, general charity, social settlements, day nurseries, orphanages, hospitals, kindergartens, old folks' homes, women's clubs, social and art clubs, literature and newspapers, civic reform, etc. There is no consistent selection of topics of study, and the results purport to be only representative, not exhaustive. The publication will be valuable for comparison with the study on the same subject in 1899, to show concretely the progress that the Negroes have made in this direction. E. H. S.

Social Adjustment. By SCOTT NEARING. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xvi+377. $1.50 net.

The author attempts to correct three popular beliefs: first, "that things are sacred because they are old, or dangerous because they are new"; second, "that the submerged class wants to be submerged"; third, "that the submerged class is poverty stricken because it is degenerate." The book attempts to displace these beliefs by arguing the following propositions: (1) Maladjustment exists in numerous virulent forms in many parts of the United States; (2) Maladjustment is (*a*) due to economic causes, (*b*) involving social cost, and (*c*) remediable through social action; (3) Maladjustment can be, and in many instances is being, eliminated by efficient education plus wise remedial legislation; (4) The vast majority of children are born normal and are made abnormal, degenerate, and diseased by their defective environment; (5) Recent investigations demonstrate that the proportion of genius, mediocrity, and defect does not vary materially from one class to another, and hence all are capable of the same uplift; (6) Progress is impossible so long as society maintains the fatalistic viewpoint which condemns men because of the sins of the fathers and is blind to the transgressions of the brothers; (7) Maladjustment will be eliminated and adjustment secured through promulgation of the new view of the universality of human capacity, the remediability of maladjustment, and the advantages of universalized opportunity.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Notes sur le problème des origines du droit.—The primary group is due to the instinct of sociability. Within this group, the genetic instinct later organizes the smaller family group. The group demanded rules which had their bases in the instincts of its members. The cult adopted for controlling the gods was based on pleasure and displeasure, was anthropomorphic, yet believed to be revealed by the gods. The controllers of the ritual of actual combat gradually developed judicial powers. To turn the decisions over to judges secularizes the law, but even today this act contains a religious element, e.g., marriage. Codification prevents both the arbitrariness of the judge and the further evolution of the law. The latter is assisted by interpretation, fictions, and new legislation.—George Cornil, *Rev. de droit intèr. et legis comp.*, No. 5, 1910. D. I. P.

Les caractéristiques du progrès.—All progress is an emancipation from some form of tyranny . . . . from the tyranny of physical means, of the supernatural, of personal despotism. Material progress is the adaptation of natural agents to the needs of man; intellectual progress implies the subordination of subjective conception to objective method and frees the individual from subjective tyrannies; social progress is characterized by the substitution of the statute for the contract; political progress means the guaranty of the rights of the individual, the coexistence and competition of parties, the predominance of economic competition over political competition. Progress implies the substitution of the scientific and industrial civilization for a sacerdotal and warlike civilization. Progress is possible in direct proportion to the power of man over things and in inverse proportion to the power of man over man.—Y. Guyot, *Revue internationale de sociologie*, January, 1911. E. S. B.

The Social Problem.—The social problem is concerned with the reduction in the numbers of the improvident and incompetent classes by a population policy that demands quality not quantity. Poverty is merely fostered by philanthropic measures which make easy the multiplication of the poor by removing responsibility for offspring. When it has been discovered that the community will not bear the expense there will be hesitation and the marriage of those without prospect of support will be less frequent. Our present policy constantly increases the competition of the unskilled by increasing the supply of labor.—John J. Stevenson, *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, March, 1911. A. D.

Sanitation in Rural Communities.—While death-rates in cities are larger than in rural communities, many diseases show a high death-rate in rural communities which can be reduced by proper sanitary measures, cleanliness in dish-washing, open windows at night and raised curtains by day, use of "driven" and artesian wells and careful protection of the "dug" well, improved facilities for preserving food-stuffs and for meat-inspection, cleanliness of milk, improved sewage and garbage disposal. Fundamentally, education in sanitary considerations is peculiarly an important phase of the rural problem of sanitation.—Charles E. North, *Annals American Academy*, March, 1911. A. D.

A Domestic Immigration Policy.—The assimilation of immigrants requires a definite policy in order to secure distribution, protection, and education of aliens. (1) The Federal Division of Information should become a clearing-house governing distribution throughout the country, co-operating with state agencies and controlling all private agencies. Seasonal congestion, segregation of men, and immigrant colonization should be brought under control. (2) There should be a federal system for the protection of aliens on arrival, of alien workmen in

courts and in general knowledge of the law. (3) The educational system should require organized schools of citizenship and industrial training for adults, as well as careful provision for general education of foreign children.—Frances A. Kellor, *North American Review,* April, 1911. A. D.

Class Consciousness.—Class consciousness, as a militant movement, is not to be deplored any more than family or national consciousness. It is of value (1) for its "internal disciplines," fitting people to play a due part in corporate action, and (2) for the widening of sympathies in its internationalism, while in its later developments it is not hostile to a national and religious bond. Its final end, furthermore, is the abolition of privilege and of class-distinction. The slow shifting of sympathy on the part of the general public toward the side of the workers and the supply of leaders of the proletariat from the middle classes is an encouragement to class consciousness and an outgrowth of genuine democracy. —Vida Scudder, *Atlantic Monthly,* March, 1911. A. D.

Sources of Information on the Public Health Movement.—Statistical data in the United States are far behind those of other nations. (1) Our census reports are weak in vital statistics, especially in registration of deaths, lack of uniform classification, inaccuracy in records of occupational mortality, and absence of registration of births. (2) Local reports fail to study carefully local effects of race, nativity, and occupation; special study of the mortality and morbidity of school children is necessary. (3) The reports of hospitals and philanthropic institutions are confusing, lacking in uniformity, and often unintelligent. Further, caution is needed in the interpretation of statistical data requiring correction for age, sex, color, et cetera. These defects could be remedied by a federal Bureau of Health.—R. E. Chaddock, *Annals of the American Academy,* March, 1911. A. D.

People's Rule in Oregon.—The outcome of the Oregon project for direct legislation, and of the methods of the campaign of 1910, indicates a strengthening of the "people's rule" idea, but shows (1) that the extremely complex ballot is "preposterous," and (2) that great attention must be paid to the psychology and ethics of title-writing for measures presented to the people. There is much value in the keenness and vitality which the method brings into politics, and in the resulting stimulus to political education.—George H. Haynes, *Pol. Sci. Quart.,* March, 1911. A. D.

Die Produktionsform als geschichtlicher Faktor.—The conception that the form of production is the certain key to all historic development forms the nucleus of the materialistic interpretation of history. Historians have been too dogmatic in their denial of it. Riehl's critical denial does not exclude the operation of the Marxian principle as such, but reduces it to merely one of the number of factors that co-operate in the infinitely complex concrete social process. While from the nature of historical science a law of universal validity is inadmissable, this by no means prevents us from conceding specific validity to an explanatory concept. In the case of the Protestant Reformation, for example, a recent historian has proved that the change from a barter to a money system of exchange was responsible for the transition from mediaeval lack of freedom to modern individualism and protestantism; that therefore the conditions of production of a period involve profound consequences for its purely psychic and even religious activity.—Dr. W. Wagner, *Arch. f. System. Philos.,* 1911. P. W.

Lässt sich eine Zunahme der Geisteskranken feststellen?—Whether the number of insane has increased within the last five years cannot be determined with certainty from the statistics, for these include only those cases of mental disturbance which dependency, delinquency, or economic incapacity bring to public notice. Modern conditions of life do not so much produce insanity as they cause it to be recognized, especially in its marginal manifestations. Experienced physicians who today report more borderline cases of mental diseases than ever before, leave unanswered the question as to whether this increase is an absolute

one or conditioned by spreading customs of publicity. Chapman on the basis of English conditions asserts that the increase in the number of institutional inmates consists of the less serious types of defectives. Two factors are involved in all cases of psychic abnormality: (1) endogenic, or inherited cerebral instability, and (2) exogenic, or injurious habits of civilized life. The latter act as the immediate occasion of the more serious and acute mental derangement that is becoming less frequent. Among the endogenic causes of racial degeneration we now know that the deterioration of the germ cell through alcoholism, syphilis, and tuberculosis of the parents, as well as a low standard of living plays a considerable part.—Prof. Dr. L. W. Weber, *Arch. f. Rassen- u. Gesellsch.-Biol.*, December, 1910. P. W.

Die Kompetenz der Demokratie.—Critics have at all times been ready to point to the lack of expert knowledge as to the characteristic mark of a Democratic system of government, and it is the fashion among French Republicans today to regard the imperfection of universal suffrage as a necessary evil. Many of the criticisms directed against democracy apply equally to other forms of political organization. Democracy as such is no better a form than any other, but it is capable of improvement. More than any other it can and must develop so as to give scope and expression to all the impulses and forces potential in it. In a democracy as under any other type of government the general law of specialization and of the competence of the specialist holds for the citizens' political life as for all their other activities. Every voter is or may become an expert on such questions as bear upon his vocational or social relations. For this he need but know accurately his own interest and needs, and judge the permanent effect of legislative proposals upon them. The domain of the voter's political competence is thus exactly coextensive with that of his private or occupational activity.—Etienne Buisson, *Sozialist. M.H.*, March, 1911. P. W.

Gesetzes-Ueberproduktion in den Vereinigten Staaten.—During the last session of the federal Congress in Washington, members of the House of Representatives proposed no fewer than 27,000 bills. Many of these are buried in committees. If they survive and are reported out they are often phrased so as to be ineffective or incapable of enforcement. Frequently a law newly enacted is promptly forgotten and remains a dead letter. The American has unlimited faith in the perfectibility of the world through legislation. He does not yet see that many of the goods of civilization can be attained only through the cultivation by the whole people of good habits, such as cannot be prescribed by law but must be achieved by slow individual development. It is a pernicious article of faith for the American people that "almost anybody can do almost anything," a principle guiding ignorant legislatures in passing superfluous and even preposterous laws, session after session. The widespread disregard of law in the United States is due in large measure to the immense number of laws that exist only on the statute books.—Dr. Ernst Schultze-Grossborstel, *L. f. Soz.-Wiss.*, January, 1911. P. W.

La théorie Lombrosienne et l'évolution de l'anthropologie criminelle.—Three phases in the development of criminal anthropology are: the Lombrosian period, 1875–89; the anti-Lombrosian period culminating in 1905, and followed by the present positivist stage. Lombroso chose for his task the examination of the defective physical organization of criminals. His assumption that criminals are persons born with the physical and psychical blemish that prevents their reaching moral stability and irresistibly impels them to crime leads to the fatalistic conclusion that while punishment is contrary to justice, reformation is impossible. The error lies even less perhaps in the underestimation of social environment, education, etc., as etiological factors in criminality than in the denial of perfectibility to even abnormal man. The reaction to Lombroso's theory consisted in the contributions of sociological thinkers, e.g., Tarde, Sergi, Féré, etc., who demanded due and undue recognition in criminogenetic discussions of the social and economic factors. The third or eclectic

phase is marked by the criticism of all previous doctrine and the recognition of the extreme complexity of criminological phenomena. In the program of this school the systematic analysis of the physical, functional, and moral personality of the delinquent plays as important a part as the careful study of social conditions.—Dr. Vervaeck, *Archives d'anthropologie criminelle,* August, 1910.
P. W.

German Labor Exchanges.—Germany is dealing with her unemployment problem by means of three main types of labor exchanges—those of the employers, those of the employees, and the public exchanges. The most striking feature of this system during recent years has been the phenomenal growth of the employers' labor exchanges maintained by various employers' organizations and used by them to control the labor supply not only in their own particular industry, but by means of co-operation throughout the entire community or area in which they operate. They are, however, conducted with the utmost efficiency and scientific thoroughness, and their principle of selection is that of special fitness primarily, only secondarily that of the order of application, and in the last instance that of family obligations. By the employees' labor exchanges, conducted principally in connection with the trade unions, applicants for work are sent out in the order of their registration. The public labor exchanges try to hold the balance between the conflicting claims of employers and employees, and consider that so long as they can satisfy the employers their aim is to give out work according to need. The danger that lurks in this system of employing men at short notice and gratuitously is the tendency to shorten the term of employment and to increase instead of draining the surplus pool of unemployed labor.—J. St. G. Heath, *Economic Journal,* September, 1910. P. W.

Ueber den Zusammenhang zwischen Geisteskrankheit und Kultur.—The facts presented suggest the conclusion not only that the civilized nations of Europe and America have retrograded in many important fields of physical efficiency, but that all these various symptoms of degeneration are reciprocally related among themselves and that they point to deep-seated common causes of the deterioration of the physical constitution of the white race. And a bodily depreciation, as has been shown by investigations of school children, implies a mental retrogression also. The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is that there exists among civilized peoples a strong tendency to physical degeneration, which necessarily involves, sooner or later, a lowering of nervous efficiency and the consequent undermining of the constitutional basis of our civilization.—Dr. Ernst Rüdin, *Arch. f. Rassen- u. Ges.-Biol.,* December, 1910. P. W.

La représentation proportionnelle.—Equitable representation for the individual members of society has long been a desideratum. Rousseau influenced the French nation in this idea more strongly perhaps than any other man. It is of interest to note the development in France relative to this subject. In 1789 the draft of the constitution was presented to the National Assembly, in which the age qualification for suffrage—minimum of 25 years—was a main consideration. Then the change in 1795—the bicameral triumph. In 1799 came the consular constitution, and the revision of the charter in 1830 lowering the eligibility to twenty-one years. Universal suffrage followed in the wake of this act, which came to mean in France a minority rule. Belgium has been the laboratory for the political experimentations of Europe. Proportional representation has made great advance in this country, and likewise in France.—J. Dessaint, *L'action populaire,* April 12, 1910. E. E. W.

La chanson et l'évolution sociale.—No tribe has been discovered that had not its chant; no society, however primitive, but had a song; no class so advanced but song has occupied a place in it. Song is the interpretation of a nation's activities, its aspirations, or lack of aspirations. France illustrates this fact. In the eighteenth century the songs were light and frivolous, indicative of the court pollutions and the levity of society in France at that time. But as deep prob-

lems engulfed the nation at the end of this century the character of song changed and the nation emerged from her woes with a troubled song which, from the lips of the peasant, grew to one of sweet simplicity.—André Chenal, *L'action populaire,* April 28, 1910. E. E. W.

Le vote politique des femmes en Norvège.—The influence of the women in the elections has appeared distinctly favorable to social pacification. The municipal council of Christiania has been completely modified in the last ten years. In 1900 it was radical-socialist; today the majority of members are liberal-conservative. We ought not to fear the vote of women. M. Emile Faguet declares his belief that the vote of women will have a moral and conservative influence upon the country; that they are less sensual, less criminal, and less alcoholic than men.—M. Parsy, *Réf. sociale,* April, 1910. R. B. Mc.

De l'intolérance comme phénomène social.—Intolerance is common to all eras and to all phases of society. It has been most obvious in religion, perhaps. But we find it in capitalism and among the laboring classes. The Republicans, Socialists, and Anarchists are addicted to it. Learning is saturated with it, and the dress fashions of society are based upon it. The present period is one in which there is a rapidly growing intolerance because it is a period of great doubt, a condition which invariably brings intolerance in its wake.—Raoul de la Grasserie, *Revue internationale de sociologie,* February, 1910. E. E. W.

Politik und Nationalökonomie.—Scientific politics is a contradiction of terms. Economics cannot attach itself definitely to a "system." Its problem is simply, "What is?" Cohn argues that it deals with living, hence variable, beings and that laws of causality cannot be established; the blood must be extracted from the material before mathematics can be introduced into life. Hence, it is impossible for the government to establish fixed relations, as of ratios in the money market. However, true causality does exist in this field; for, otherwise, reforms would be impossible.—L. Pohle, *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft,* May, 1910. E. E. W.

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